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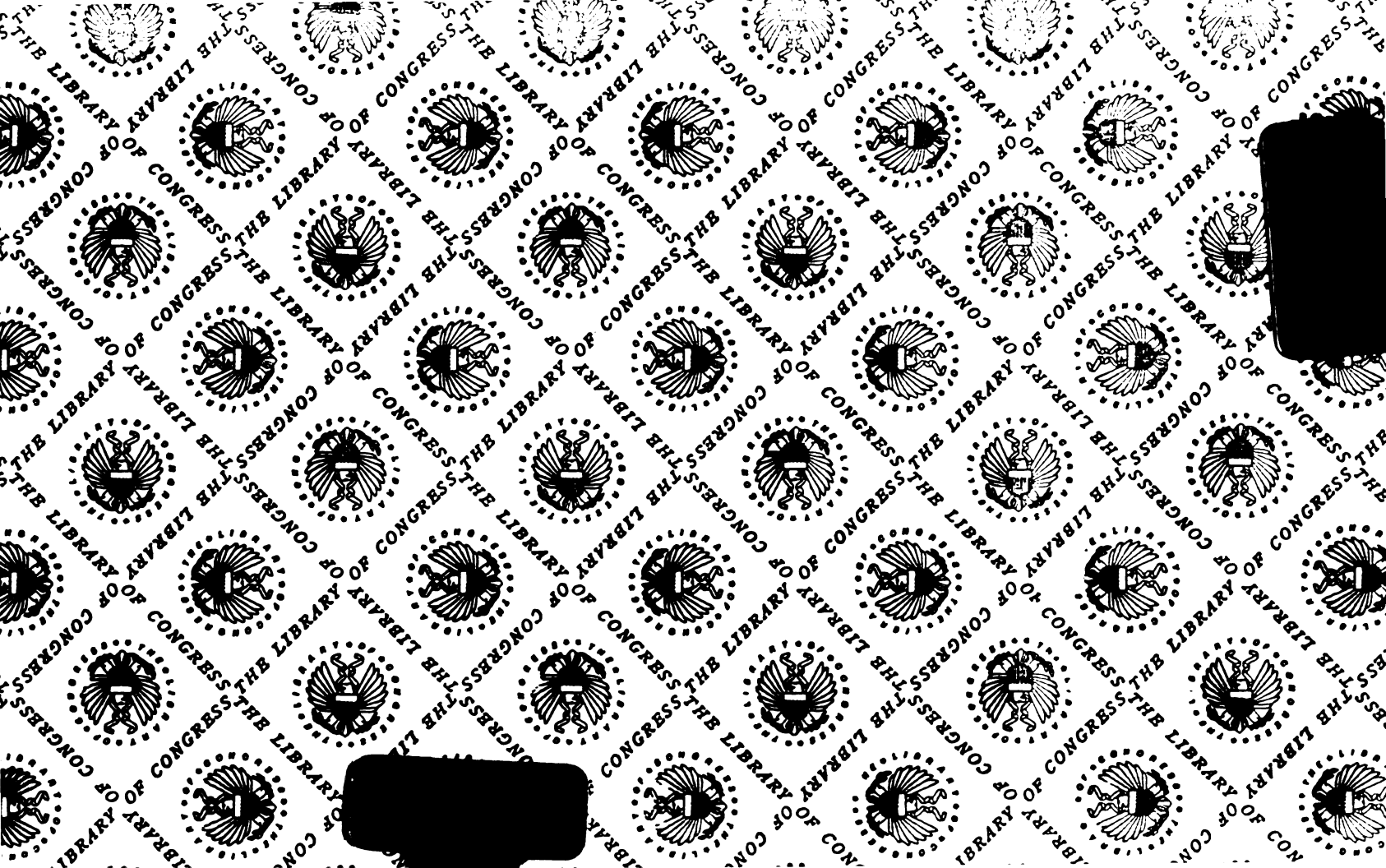
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NATIONAL GERMAN-AMERICAN ALLIANCE

HEARINGS

BEFORE THE

SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY UNITED STATES SENATE

SIXTY-FIFTH CONGRESS

SECOND SESSION

ON

S. 3529

A BILL TO REPEAL THE ACT ENTITLED "AN ACT TO INCORPORATE THE NATIONAL GERMAN-AMERICAN ALLIANCE," APPROVED FEBRUARY 25, 1907

FEBRUARY 23-APRIL 13, 1918

Printed for the use of the Committee on the Judiciary

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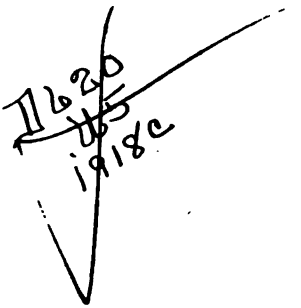

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AUG 9 1918

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NATIONAL GERMAN-AMERICAN ALLIANCE.

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 23, 1918.

UNITED STATES SENATE,
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY,
Washington, D. C.

The subcommittee met at 11.40 o'clock a. m. in the room of the Committee on the Judiciary in the Senate Office Building.

Present: Senators King (chairman), Wolcott, and Sterling.

Senator KING. The subcommittee will be in order.

Senate bill 3529 is before the Committee on the Judiciary. It is a bill to repeal the act approved February 25, 1907, entitled "An act to incorporate the National German-American Alliance."

A subcommittee consisting of Senators Sterling, Wolcott, and myself was appointed by the chairman of the committee, and this bill was referred to the subcommittee. The subcommittee have authority to take testimony and to subpœna witnesses and to take such course as they may deem necessary to be advised as to the desirability or necessity of repealing this charter, and to enable them to make such report as the facts warrant.

Pursuant to this authority this hearing is being held to-day. A number of persons expected to have been here to-day to testify, having asked for that privilege. They were advised that no meeting would be held to-day because of the expected absence from the city of one of the members of the subcommittee. The member who expected to be absent was able to remain, and advised the chairman of the subcommittee of that fact this morning; so that this meeting is hastily called for the purpose of hearing Mr. Gustavus Ohlinger, who is in the city. Those witnesses who asked to be heard were notified to appear before the subcommittee on next Saturday. This statement is made so that those witnesses may understand the reason why the subcommittee is meeting to-day.

Senate bill 3529, as well as the act under which this organization was incorporated, will be printed as part of this record.

(The statute (34 Stat., 928, Chap. 1190) referred to is as follows:)

[Fifty-ninth Congress, second session.]

[PUBLIC—No. 113.]

AN ACT To incorporate the National German-American Alliance.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That C. J. Hexamer, M. D. Learned, Adolph Timm, John Weber, Hans Weniger, H. C. Bloedel, all of the State of Pennsylvania; John Tjarks, of the State of Maryland, C. C. Lienau, of the State of New Jersey; Kurt Voelckner, of the District of Columbia; H. A. C. Anderson, of the State of New York; Gustave Bender, of the State of Texas; Joseph Keller, of the State of Indiana; F. O. Martin, of the State of Idaho; Gustav Halbach, of the State of Ohio; H. J. Nienstedt, of the State of Minnesota; officers and members of the National German-American Alliance

of the United States of America, and their successors, be, and they are hereby, incorporated and made a body politic and corporate of the District of Columbia under the name of "The National German-American Alliance of the United States of America." And by that name they and their successors may have and use a common seal, and may alter and change the same at pleasure, and may make by-laws and elect officers and agents, and may take, receive, hold, and convey real and personal estate necessary for the purposes of the society.

SEC. 2. That this corporation shall be perpetual and have all the privileges accorded by existing laws or that may hereafter be enacted by the Congress of the United States.

SEC. 3. That this corporation, composed of the individuals aforesaid and their associates, under the name and style aforesaid, is formed for the purposes as follows: The conservation of the principles of representative government and the protection and maintenance of all civil and political rights; the protection of German immigrants against imposition and deception and to assist in their naturalization; the study of American institutions and the publication of American history; the cultivation of the German language, literature, and drama, and the perpetuation of the memory and deeds of those early German pioneers whose influence has been of incalculable benefit to the intellectual and economic development of this country and whose loyalty in times of stress and strife is a matter of history.

SEC. 4. That said corporation shall have a constitution and shall have power to amend the same at pleasure: *Provided*, That such constitution or amendments thereof do not conflict with the laws of the United States, or of any State.

SEC. 5. That said corporation shall have the right to hold its meetings at any place within the United States as may be best suited or most advantageous to the carrying out of the purposes for which this corporation is formed.

SEC. 6. That said corporation shall not engage in any business for gain, the purposes of said corporation being educational and patriotic.

SEC. 7. That Congress may at any time amend, alter, or repeal this Act.

Approved, February 25, 1907.

The bill under consideration is as follows:

65TH CONGRESS, 2D SESSION.

S. 3529.

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES.

JANUARY 16, 1918.

Mr. KING introduced the following bill; which was read twice and referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

A BILL

To repeal the Act entitled "An Act to incorporate the National German-American Alliance," approved February twenty-fifth, nineteen hundred and seven.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the Act approved February twenty-fifth, nineteen hundred and seven, entitled "An Act to incorporate the National German-American Alliance," be, and the same is hereby, repealed.

SEC. 2. That the Attorney General is directed to bring an action in any district court of the United States having jurisdiction of the property of said corporation to have a receiver appointed to take charge of such property, pay the debts, and wind up the affairs of said corporation.

Senator KING. Mr. Ohlinger, will you be sworn?

TESTIMONY OF MR. GUSTAVUS OHLINGER.

(The witness was duly sworn by Senator King.)

Senator KING. Please state your name, age, and residence.

Mr. OHLINGER. My name is Gustavus Ohlinger; age, 40; residence, Toledo, Ohio.

Senator KING. What is your business?

Mr. OHLINGER. I am a lawyer.

Senator KING. How long have you lived in the United States?

Mr. OHLINGER. I have lived in the United States 24 years.

Senator KING. Prior to that where did you reside?

Mr. OHLINGER. Prior to that I lived in China.

Senator KING. Your nationality is what?

Mr. OHLINGER. American; born under extraterritorial jurisdiction, in China.

Senator KING. Your parents were what?

Mr. OHLINGER. My parents were both American born.

Senator KING. And were your parents of German extraction?

Mr. OHLINGER. My father was not of German extraction. My mother's father and mother both came from Germany.

Senator WOLCOTT. Your name is German, is it not?

Mr. OHLINGER. My name is Swedish. My father's family has been in this country for 250 years. The family was in the Revolutionary War. But on my mother's side I am of German descent.

Senator KING. Have you given any attention to the German-American Alliance?

Mr. OHLINGER. The National German-American Alliance?

Senator KING. The National German-American Alliance.

Mr. OHLINGER. Yes; I have given it some attention for the last three years.

Senator KING. And the organizations in the States which are connected with and are subsidiary to the main organization?

Mr. OHLINGER. Yes.

Senator KING. Are you the author of a book called "Their True Faith and Allegiance," which is devoted to an exposition of this organization and its aims and purposes?

Mr. OHLINGER. Yes, sir.

Senator KING. Was that based upon investigations which you made?

Mr. OHLINGER. That was based upon investigations.

Senator KING. Describe in your own way what you know about this National German-American Alliance and its predecessor, if there was one, the State or local organizations, if there be any, and the activities of the main or parent organization and of the subsidiary or State organizations; and, generally, give any information that you may have respecting this National German-American Alliance.

Mr. OHLINGER. I can give the early history of the Alliance possibly best by simply quoting from a pamphlet published by the Alliance. This pamphlet is entitled "Pro bono publico. National German-American Alliance of the United States of America; incorporated by Act of Congress."

This pamphlet, of which I have just given the title, contains this statement of the origin of the organization:

The German-American Central Alliance of Pennsylvania, now Pennsylvania State Branch, was founded on April 16, 1899.

This gave the impulse to the idea of the consolidation of German-Americans in all States, and at the preliminary meeting of delegates from Pennsylvania, Ohio, Maryland, and Minnesota, on June 19, 1900, the date for the constitutional convention was set for German Day on October 6, 1901.

Senator WOLCOTT. Do you know what "German Day" means?

Mr. OHLINGER. Yes; October 6 is the day on which the first German pilgrims landed in the United States in the year 1683. They came here, largely through the instrumentality of William Penn, and settled at Germantown, Pa. That day is known among the members of the Alliance as German day—October 6.

To continue the quotation:

The first convention formulating and adopting the constitution of the National German-American Alliance of the United States of America was held on that day in the hall of the German Society of Pennsylvania, an institution founded in 1764, located at Marshall and Springarden Streets, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

The organization at that time was unincorporated. They proceeded at once to organize State alliances and local alliances.

Senator STERLING. To what time do you refer?

Mr. OHLINGER. I refer to from 1901 on. The organization work began in 1901, and their method of procedure was to go to localities and get the local societies that were made up of German members. For instance, the maennerchors and mutual aid societies, the fraternal insurance societies, and the societies of men coming from some particular province in Germany.

Their process was to go to the different localities and organize these into what they called a "stadtverband," that is, a city alliance. The different city alliances in a State were then organized into what was known as the "Staatverband" or State alliance, and these State alliances were the members of the central organization, the National German-American Alliance.

This work proceeded quite vigorously, and in 1907 an act was passed by Congress incorporating the National German-American Alliance. It was approved February 25, 1907. The act provides, in section 6, that the purpose of said corporation is educational and patriotic——

Senator STERLING. But prior to that time and between 1901 and 1907 when that act was passed, there was a National German-American Alliance?

Mr. OHLINGER. Oh, yes; there was a National German-American Alliance from 1901 on, but it was a voluntary, unincorporated association until this act of Congress was passed and approved February 25, 1907.

Senator KING. Who was the president of the organization prior to its incorporation, if you know?

Mr. OHLINGER. Mr. C. J. Hexamer was president from 1901, the time it was first organized, up until November 29, 1917, when he resigned, and then a Mr. von Bosse became president of the organization. But during this period of 16 years Mr. Hexamer has been constantly the president of the organization.

Senator WOLCOTT. The State alliances and the city alliances, as I understand, are unincorporated?

Mr. OHLINGER. They are unincorporated, but the constitution of the National Alliance—I will read from the constitution of the National Alliance, published in Philadelphia in 1917 [reading]:

The National German-American Alliance is made up of German organizations which federate themselves into State and city alliances in their respective States and cities. Individual societies can become members of the National German-American Alliance when in the city where they exist there is no city alliance, or when in the State there is no State alliance. If there is a State alliance in existence, then the local society must federate itself with the State alliance.

Senator WOLCOTT. Is that an official publication of the constitution?

Mr. OHLINGER. Yes, sir.

Senator WOLCOTT. Is it in German or English?

Mr. OHLINGER. This is in German.

Senator WOLCOTT. Is there an English translation with it, in the same cover with it?

Mr. OHLINGER (after examining pamphlet). No, sir; there is not. I was translating the German in reading that quotation. Now, continuing the quotation from the constitution and by-laws:

In cities where there are more than two societies who announce that they wish to become members of the National Alliance there shall be organized a local or city alliance.

And then it is also provided in the constitution and by-laws that all organizations belonging to the National Alliance shall pay for every one of their members a fee of 1 cent per annum to the National Alliance.

Senator KING. I wish you would make a translation of the constitution and by-laws and hand it to the reporter.

Mr. OHLINGER. I shall do so.

Senator KING. You may proceed.

Mr. OHLINGER. I was about to say that the organization has belied the purpose expressed in its charter. I consider it an unpatriotic organization. The purpose of the founders of our Government was to establish here a more perfect Union. The activities of the Alliance are in direct conflict with that purpose, as stated in the organic law of our country. The more one studies the activities of the Alliance the more there develops the identity of its plans and activities with the plans and activities of the Pan-German Alliance of Germany.

Senator WOLCOTT. What is that Pan-German Alliance of Germany; what is the nature of it?

Mr. OHLINGER. The Pan-German Alliance of Germany is an organization which is made up almost entirely of the junker class, those who stand for the idea of a Germany over everything else, a German empire throughout the whole world. The aim of the Pan-German Alliance as expressed in its organization is to keep the German population in foreign countries in a solid bloc, prevent assimilation, and—not expressed, so far as I have been able to find—to be able in that way to use the solid blocs of population in foreign lands politically in favor of Germany. That plan was carried out to perfection in Austria. German policy in Austria has been to amalgamate and consolidate the German element and the Magyar element and to make them a self-sufficient and closely organized unit in the popu-

lation, and at the same time to prevent the amalgamation and assimilation of all other races in the dual empire. In this way Germany can control Austria, as we have seen during the war, by means of these two solid blocs of the population; and the others being disorganized, their unification having been prevented, it was absolutely impossible for them to offer any opposition to German plans. And, through this scheme, carried out in the Austro-Hungarian Empire by the Pan-German Alliance, Austria-Hungary has practically become a fief of the German Empire.

The activities of the German-American Alliance tended to produce the same effect in the United States. If allowed to continue, if happily the war had not intervened and aroused the people of the United States to the danger of pan-Germanism, the activities of this Alliance, if permitted to continue, would have created a solid German bloc in the population which could be used in favor of German policy, and at the same time it would have resulted in disintegrating the rest of the population, so that there would have been no national spirit in America whatever, and America would have eventually simply fallen into the same position as Austria-Hungary; it would have been a fief of the German Empire. This would inevitably have been the result of the continuance of the activities of this organization, and for that reason I say that it has grossly violated the purposes of its charter, which set out that it is a patriotic organization.

Now, this is what it has done.

First. Its activities have been for the consolidation of all those of German descent into one economic, political, and social bloc in the United States, and as instruments for this purpose it has used the German press, the German parochial schools, the German stage, the societies of Germans, and a continual propaganda for the compulsory teaching of German in the public schools.

Second. It has aroused racial antagonism and has caused opposition to processes of assimilation.

Third. Since the beginning of the world war it has apparently automatically, and without any consideration of the causes of that war or the issues, violently become a partisan of the German cause. I mean the cause of Imperial Germany.

Fourth. It has consistently, during the last three years and until the entry of the United States upon the war, opposed the foreign policies of this Government as laid down by the responsible executives of our Nation.

Fifth. It has furthered the aims of organizations which have since been absolutely convicted of disloyalty.

Sixth. Along with these other aims it has developed a rabid and violent opposition to prohibition or any interference with the liquor traffic.

Seventh. A subject which I submit that your honors can possibly throw some light upon is the financial support of this organization.

Senator WOLCOTT. What do you mean by that? You are enumerating the things that the German-American Alliance has done?

Mr. OHLINGER. Yes, sir.

Senator WOLCOTT. And you say, seventh, that we can throw some light on its financial support. Well, that is not indicating anything at all that it has done. So just what do you mean by that seventh paragraph?

Mr. OHLINGER. I will explain that. I have read to you a part of the constitution, which provides that the funds of the Alliance shall be obtained through a tax of 1 cent per annum upon each member of its constituent societies. The Alliance not long ago claimed to have consolidated under its leadership 10,000 local German societies, with a membership of 3,000,000. With a membership as large as that and a tax of only 1 cent per member, the Alliance could easily have raised $30,000 a year. As a matter of fact, however, the Alliance has always had a great deal of difficulty in collecting even this contribution. From September 30, 1909, to September 15, 1911, the entire income of the National German-American Alliance, as reported in their published statements, was $4,693. Of this amount $715 was from miscellaneous sources; the balance, $3,977, was from these dues that I have spoken of. I am referring now to the minutes of the Sixth Convention, on pages 44 and 243.

At the Sixth Convention, held in 1911, these dues were raised to 2 cents for each member, and a committee of five was appointed to make an estimate of income and to prepare a budget of expenses. It will be found at page 243.

This committee reported at the Seventh Convention, held in 1913, that it had met with no success in collecting the dues and had been obliged to turn to wealthy German-Americans for financial support. You will find that stated in the fifth volume of the Official Bulletin of the Alliance, No. 11, at page 27. The committee's efforts in raising this money are reflected in the following statement, in which it was also stated that the sources of the receipts were confidential.

January 30, 1912	$2,500	March 3, 1913	$2,500
May 15, 1912	2,500	April 22, 1913	2,500
July 19, 1912	2,500	July 19, 1913	2,500
November 22, 1912	2,500		

See Official Bulletin, fifth volume, No. 11, page 33.

And then, continuing:

October 1, 1913	$2,500	October 2, 1914	$2,500
January 13, 1914	2,500	February 26, 1915	2,500
April 7, 1914	2,500	April 6, 1915	2,500
July 3, 1914	2,500		

The sources of this revenue are stated in the Official Bulletin to be confidential, and the committee may be able to get more information on that subject.

Senator WOLCOTT. Still I do not see what you have had in mind in connection with that seventh specification of Alliance activities.

Mr. OHLINGER. I have in mind simply that that is a matter on which this committee can obtain information.

Senator WOLCOTT. Is it your idea that if we could ascertain the sources of those contributions that would give information to indicate that the German-American Alliance was being assisted by unpatriotic and hostile American people?

Mr. OHLINGER. Yes, sir.

Senator WOLCOTT. That is your idea?

Mr. OHLINGER. Yes, sir; that you might be able to get that information.

Senator KING. Do your investigations show a larger expenditure than the amount derived from the annual dues?

Mr. OHLINGER. Oh, yes; very much larger expenditure. The dues provided in the constitution have never come to more than $4,000 or $5,000 a year so far as I have been able to discover from the official reports in their documents, and, on the other hand, their budgets of expenses have been between $15,000 and $20,000 for their general expenses. Of course, outside of their general expenses they have raised money for various other purposes. There was a fund to combat prohibitory laws, of which a statement is made in the official record, and they are also raising an endowment fund, which is called the iron fund. The endowment fund is being raised by life membership for the purpose of creating a fund the interest of which shall be used for what they call the German work in the United States.

Senator STERLING. What would be your inference, Mr. Ohlinger, from the failure of the Alliance to receive more than those few thousand dollars, four or five thousand dollars, from these annual dues of 1 cent per member? Would it be that their claim to a membership of 3,000,000 was exaggerated, or would it mean that the members were simply neglecting to pay those small dues?

Mr. OHLINGER. Well, my inference is that their claim is grossly exaggerated. I recall that Mr. Hexamer, in an address he made to the President of the United States, stated that he was representing the National German-American Alliance, consisting of some 2,000,000 members; but I do not think the Alliance has that many members, or anywhere near that many.

Senator KING. Have you made sufficient investigation to enable you to form any opinion that you think would be entitled to any weight?

Mr. OHLINGER. As to the membership?

Senator KING. As to the membership; yes.

Mr. OHLINGER. My opinion would be simply this: That repeated and vigorous efforts have been made by the Alliance to raise this per capita fee on its members. In 1911, at the national convention of the Alliance, this committee was appointed to use every effort to get these dues in, and these efforts have of course been made; and the fact that even this trifling sum, which is certainly not a hardship upon any member and certainly not a hardship upon any society—certainly any society that had 100 members should be able to pay $1 or $2 into the general fund of the Alliance without any hardship upon itself—the fact that they have not in spite of their efforts succeeded in doing this leads me to the belief that the membership of the Alliance is grossly exaggerated and probably it is not more than two or three hundred thousand. But they have always made the claim that the membership was over 2,000,000; and not long ago the claim was made that they represented 10,000 local societies in every State in the Union, in every Territory in the United States, and with 3,000,000 members.

Senator KING. Would not your statement as to the small contributions made and the difficulty of securing those contributions tend to negative your deductions, and indeed your statement that except for the intervention of the war the German propaganda here would have led to serious consequences; indeed, as I recall your statement, the demoralization or disintegration of national unity and the formation of a bloc or party here the same as there was in Austria?

Mr. OHLINGER. I can not quite agree with the chairman on that. The fact remains that this work of organization was continuing and was continually going forward, and they began in 1901, I think, with six States organized. In 1915, when they held their national convention in San Francisco, they had representatives there from every State in the Union. To substantiate my difference of opinion with the chairman's, I beg to call your attention also to the fact that during these years the propaganda of these societies has actually resulted in the passage of laws in a great many of the States for the introduction of the German language into the public schools.

In my own State, in Ohio, they finally got the law that they wanted, after a great deal of agitation, and after the State Alliance of Ohio had sent to every candidate for the legislature a questionnaire asking him whether he was in favor of the introduction of the German language in the public schools. They finally put through that law, making the teaching of the German language compulsory upon the petition of a certain number of the parents in the grade schools. Of course in other States the progress of that has been very marked.

In the city of Milwaukee Mr. Leo Stern has been for a good many years the assistant superintendent of schools, and he has also been president of the Wisconsin branch of the Alliance. As you know, he was the author of what is known as the "Wisconsin idea," just preceding the last national conventions of the political parties. In Milwaukee the German language has been introduced in the public schools, from the first grade up. That, as the leaders of the Alliance expressed, is their object for the entire country—to make the German language a language along with English, from the very beginning of the public school education.

Senator KING. I did not mean to divert you from the orderly way in which you wanted to present the matter, and you may deviate from that point, if you wish to, to resume the presentation of such testimony as you care to present in its orderly way, if you had arranged it in any particular way.

Senator WOLCOTT. Permit me to interject a question here. Have you any knowledge or information of activity by the German-American Alliance of a nature that is designed to array sentiment against some nation other than the German nation going on contemporaneously with their attempts to spread the German language and spread German opinion in this country?

Mr. OHLINGER. Yes, sir.

Senator WOLCOTT. That would be of some significance, it seems to me.

Mr. OHLINGER. They have in connection with their propaganda against prohibition repeatedly stated that their war against prohibition was a war against the same British element that had brought about the world war in Europe. They have made this statement in their Official Bulletin in connection with the point that your honor mentioned. This is in the Official Bulletin, volume 7, No. 9, page 4:

> The National Alliance leads the battle against Anglo-Saxonism, against the fanatical slaves of political and personal liberty. It battles against narrow hearted, dark know-nothingism, against the British influence, against the zealotism which sprang from England, and against the slavery of puritanism.

Senator WOLCOTT. What is the date of that?

Mr. OHLINGER. That is an editorial in the Official Bulletin for September, 1915.

Senator KING. You say the "Official Bulletin". Does that organization have a paper?

Mr. OHLINGER. Oh, yes; I have copies of the paper here.

Senator KING. Is it called the "Bulletin"?

Mr. OHLINGER. That is the English translation of it. The German name is "Mitteilungen des Deutschamerikanischen Nationalbundes."

Senator KING. How long has it had an official organ?

Mr. OHLINGER. It has had an official organ for nine years.

Senator WOLCOTT. The date of that article was September, 1915?

Mr. OHLINGER. Yes, sir.

Senator WOLCOTT. Have you any information or knowledge of similar doctrine put out by this Alliance prior to the outbreak of the European war?

Mr. OHLINGER. Yes; I will refer to that in a minute.

Senator WOLCOTT. All right; proceed, then.

Mr. OHLINGER. Before I leave the question that you have asked me let me refer to another reference. I refer now to an article by Max Heinrici, for many years the press agent and editor of the Official Bulletin. This article appears in the number of the Official Bulletin for February, 1917, on page 7:

Also in the field of political activity we must learn to obtain for ourselves elbow room. To the courageous and to the confident the world belongs, not to the doubtful and to the modest. The American is in many respects like a spoiled and mistrained child. If one does not accede to his wants he makes a big mouth and becomes unpleasant. But if you approach him with calm assurance which the conviction of the righteousness of your cause gives you then he becomes gradually tractable and reasonable, and allows you to talk to him.

Senator STERLING. Does that complete the article?

Mr. OHLINGER. That does not complete the article. There is some more of it. Would you like some more?

Senator STERLING. If you would read the first two or three sentences again I would be obliged.

Mr. OHLINGER. Very well:

Also in the field of political activity we must eventually learn to assure ourselves of elbow room.

Senator STERLING. Now, whom does he mean when he uses the term "ourselves"? Is he referring to the German people generally?

Mr. OHLINGER. To the German element.

Senator STERLING. To the German element?

Mr. OHLINGER. To the German element in the United States; yes. The article is headed "The bulwark of Germanism."

Senator WOLCOTT. That is February, 1917?

Mr. OHLINGER. February, 1917; yes.

Senator KING. And that article is in German?

Mr. OHLINGER. Yes; that is in German.

Senator KING. And you are giving your translation?

Mr. OHLINGER. Yes; and it is an accurate translation, I think.

Senator KING. Does the editorial——

Mr. OHLINGER (interposing). This is not an editorial; it is an article.

Senator KING. Does the article seem to be an address to the Germans to constitute themselves a bulwark for Deutschland?

Mr. OHLINGER. Well, the article is a summons to them to greater unity. Let me read another extract from it:

[NOTE BY THE CLERK.—Mr. Ohlinger was permitted to revise his testimony. Wherever there is a difference between it as delivered and as revised which appears conflicting in any wise, whether at the time or on being quoted later on, it is indicated herein by printing in type struck through the matter desired by Mr. Ohlinger to be omitted and by printing in italic the matter desired by Mr. Ohlinger to be inserted.]

Only in vigorous unity does the welfare of American Germanism rest. Every division of our powers is a betrayal ~~to~~ *of* the cause of German kultur.

Let me read another extract from that article, which will enlighten your honors on the reference made in what I first read:

For the first time the gigantic strides which the National German-American Alliance *has* made in the few years of its existence and the fact that it has united with itself no fewer than 2,000,000 votes have given to Germanism in actuality a political significance, in spite of the fact that the Alliance as such has no politics.

Senator STERLING. Who was the editor at the time that article appeared?

Mr. OHLINGER. At the time the article appeared Mr. Joseph Keller was editor, a member of the Board of Education of Indianapolis, and president, I believe, of the Indiana branch of the National German-American Alliance.

Senator STERLING. You say the article is not an editorial? Is it a contribution?

Mr. OHLINGER. It is a contribution by this Max Heinrici. He is one of the officers of the Alliance and was himself for many years the editor of and the press agent of the Alliance.

Senator KING. Do you know whether he has held any high position n the Alliance other than as press agent?

Mr. OHLINGER. The pamphlet to which I have already referred, "Pro Bono Publico", lists him with the other officers as editor of the Bulletin and press agent.

Senator WOLCOTT. At all events, that paper from which you have been reading is the official publication of this organization that enjoys the national charter?

Mr. OHLINGER. It is, sir; it is the official publication.

Senator KING. I am not sure that you made it plain that the pamphlet, "Pro Bono Publico", from which you have been reading, was published by the authority of the organization?

Mr. OHLINGER. Yes, sir; the pamphlet entitled "Pro Bono Publico, National German-American Alliance of the United States of America, incorporated by act of Congress," is a pamphlet which was published by the Alliance in very large editions for the purposes of propaganda.

Senator STERLING. What is the date of the pamphlet "Pro Bono Publico"?

Mr. OHLINGER. The imprint is 1915.

Senator WOLCOTT. I do not know whether you have finished answering the question I asked you a while ago or not. Are you going to proceed to select more matter?

Mr. OHLINGER. In accordance with the chairman's suggestion I was coming back to my first point.

Senator WOLCOTT. Well, let me recur a moment, then, to the question I asked you. I had this thought in mind: That a German-American might defend the propaganda to introduce the German language into the public school, to cultivate the love of Germany among the Germans, upon the ground that it is quite consistent with human nature to retain affection for the land of one's birth. However, if you take that in connection with the fact that that same organization, that Alliance, was engaged in the propaganda in this country to incite people in this country against other rival nations, then that evidence would be quite material as throwing upon the propaganda in favor of Germany a sort of mala fides. Hence, I was asking if you had any information that indicated a line of propaganda hostile to Great Britain or France in this country. Have you any such information as that?

Mr. OHLINGER. Yes, sir.

Senator WOLCOTT. Particularly prior to the outbreak of the European war?

Mr. OHLINGER. Yes; I will come to that.

Senator WOLCOTT. If you will develop that as you go along, very well.

Mr. OHLINGER. Yes. I have already read extracts in regard to their opposition to Anglo-Saxonism and the Anglo-Saxon race.

Senator WOLCOTT. But that was subsequent to the outbreak of the war?

Mr. OHLINGER. Yes; it was subsequent to the outbreak of the war. And I also read an extract in regard to the character of Americans and how Germans must treat Americans in this country. I may say that there are a great many other references that could be found in these official publications as to their attitude toward other peoples. I think I can possibly cover that point as I go through some of the other material.

Senator WOLCOTT. Very well.

Mr. OHLINGER. Now, one would naturally expect that if this organization is formed for patriotic purposes one would find expressed in its publications and official documents, occasionally at least, an expression in favor of Americanism and in favor of the cause of America. I have searched the documents, particularly the proceedings of the Alliance at its national convention in the year 1911, and the numbers of the Official Bulletin for July, 1913, and the numbers of the Official Bulletin from July, 1914, to the present time, and I must say that in spite of a careful search I have not found the expression "Americanism" used as an appeal. If it has been used it escaped me. Nor have I found any appeal to the German people, the German element of the United States, to aid in the development of purely American spirit. The constant slogan, the constant emphasis, all the way through has been either the German cause, or Germanism, or German-Americanism, or the cause of German-America, or the cause of German-Americanism, making it very clear that the purpose of the organization is a separatist purpose for this one bloc of the population.

Senator STERLING. I find this among the purposes for which a charter is obtained, namely, "the study of American institutions and the publication of American history".

Mr. OHLINGER. Yes.

Senator STERLING. Do you find anything relative to the study of American institutions or any advice or suggestions in their publications in regard to the study of American institutions?

Mr. OHLINGER. Yes; I do find this: They have been very urgent in getting all Germans when they come to this country to acquire the right to vote as quickly as possible and at the same time to join the National German-American Alliance. They have circulated a pamphlet on how to acquire the right to vote. They have done that. The second object that you mention, through the publication of American history, has been along this line. They have continually made the claim that the textbooks of American history used in our schools and institutions are falsified; that they are impregnated with lies; that they do not give the German element the credit and the dignity which is due to it, and they have a committee which they call the committee for historical study and for the purpose of eliminating historical falsehoods. That, of course, is in line with their object in putting the German element into a solid bloc; instead of encouraging them to look to the common heroes of American history they pick out the German heroes. For instance, they were active in having a monument erected to the memory of Gen. von Steuben at Valley Forge, which of course was an exceedingly laudable thing; but the purpose behind it, the real purpose, was a little different. In the Official Bulletin (7 Official Bulletin, No. 10, p. 5) there is this statement:

> It is absolutely necessary to make the unveiling of the Steuben monument an imposing demonstration of German-Americanism.

And at the conclusion of the ceremonies they said it was an imposing demonstration of German-Americanism.

That has been their attitude on historical study that you have mentioned there. It has not been the general study of the institutions of the United States or of heroes that are recognized by all races, but it has been confined to what they claim are the German heroes and the merits of those of German descent, and what they have done.

Senator KING. Can you say that you are familiar with the publications of this organization and of the unincorporated organization that preceded it?

Mr. OHLINGER. I am somewhat familiar with the publications of the unincorporated organization that preceded this one, but I have not devoted to those publications nearly the amount of attention that I have devoted to the publications of this incorporated organization.

Senator KING. Well, as to the latter, are you familiar with those publications and generally familiar with its organ?

Mr. OHLINGER. Yes. I will modify that. I have studied the proceedings of the convention of the year 1911 and the proceedings of the convention of 1913, and the propaganda documents that they have issued during the interval, and I am familiar with and have studied quite carefully the Official Bulletin beginning with July, 1914, down to the present time, except the numbers for June, 1917, and January, 1918.

Senator KING. Have you found in any of those publications any statement that indicates that our Republic and our institutions are superior to the form of government which Germany has and to her

institutions, and urging the Germans, especially those who come to this country, to assimilate as rapidly as possible the spirit of Americanism, the spirit of our institutions, and to comprehend as quickly as possible the character and nature of this Government?

Mr. OHLINGER. No; I have found nothing of that kind. The only things that might be said to tend in that direction are the pamphlets they have issued giving instructions as to acquiring the right to vote and becoming citizens, which contain copies of the Constitution and questions and answers.

Senator WOLCOTT. Right there, there is something I was going to ask you. Senator Sterling read to you a while ago the clause from the charter stating the purposes of the corporation to be, among others, "the study of American institutions and the publication of American history". You stated as evidence of their study of American institutions their industry in assisting Germans to be naturalized?

Mr. OHLINGER. Yes, sir.

Senator WOLCOTT. I call your attention to the fact that another purpose of the organization, as set forth in the charter, is to assist in their naturalization.

Mr. OHLINGER. Yes, sir.

Senator WOLCOTT. So that that activity of helping the German born to be naturalized would fall under the purposes specifically set forth in the charter to assist them in their naturalization; so that that piece of evidence can not sustain the purpose of the charter, namely, to assist them in the study of American institutions. Now, is there anything that you are aware of, as disclosed in these documents, that shows an organized plan to promote the study of American institutions?

Mr. OHLINGER. No, sir; nothing at all. The chairman asked whether there was any indication that they took the position that German institutions were better than American or whether German institutions should be introduced into this country in preference to American. I beg to refer you to a number of the Official Bulletin which has a review of Prof. Münsterberg's book entitled "The German-American." In this book Prof. Münsterberg contrasts the spirit of the German government, its methods, with those of the American Government, and if you will be patient just a moment I would like to get this reference.

I refer to a review of Prof. Münsterberg's book which is contained in the October (1915) number of the Bulletin, on page 11, in which this statement appears, "Here the remark must be interwoven with it that the assertions of Dr. Münsterberg have for a long time been a matter of faith with the Germans in this country" (referring to the author's statement that German-Americans must preserve their ideals and impregnate American life with the best from Germany).

And then Dr. Münsterberg's book is reviewed as follows:

The Anglo-Saxon system is governed by the belief in the individual as such. The Teutonic idea, on the contrary, is governed by the belief in a soul which is superior to the individual. On the one side the greatest happiness of the individual, and upon the other the increasing cultural work, independent of the happiness of the individual. Those are the great world contrasts, and everything else is only a result therefrom. The emphasis upon the state, in the German view, as the leader in all cultural movements, and in the Anglo-Saxon view the subordination of the state to the individual in his efforts at most complete development. This distinction one must always bear in mind in judging institutions of the two countries. Are the German-Americans less

loyal citizens when they declare that they earnestly strive to spread this belief in German ideals in their adopted fatherland?

And then he goes on to show that such is not the case.

I was going to go back to this first point, and that is the effort of the Alliance to consolidate the German element in one bloc, and I refer now to a pamphlet issued by the Alliance in December, 1911, and entitled "The Chronological History of the National German-American Alliance of the United States, by Albert Godsho, secretary of the National German-American Alliance."

I quote from that history:

The National German-American Alliance aims to awaken and strengthen the sense of unity among the German people in America, to check nativistic encroachments.

I may say that there has been complaint through all these documents of the Alliance of nativistic encroachment. I am at a loss to know what that means. So far as I know there has never been in this country of ours a particle of discrimination against the Germans, socially, politically, or for any other reason. In my own city of Toledo four years ago we elected a man as mayor who is of German descent and nobody mentioned the fact that he was of German descent.

Senator KING. I would mention that in my State we elected a governor two years ago—no; one year ago—he was a German, and we elected him by an overwhelming majority; and he is loved and respected by all the people.

Mr. OHLINGER. Yes, sir; everyone can name those instances. The last election in Toledo, in 1917, we elected as mayor a man who was a Jew, a Hungarian, a man who was born in Hungary. His opponent was an American, an American-born citizen. So far as that election was concerned nobody ever thought of mentioning the fact that one of the candidates happened to be born in America and one in Austria-Hungary, or the fact that one was an Anglo-Saxon and the other happened to be of Hebrew descent. The Hebrew happened to be the best American and was elected by the largest majority ever given to a mayor in our city.

Senator KING. Is there anything in the publications which you have referred to defining nativistic encroachment, or is it a bald unsupported statement?

Mr. OHLINGER. There is not a particle of evidence throughout any of their documents of a single case where a German has been discriminated against as a citizen, as a member of society, or in business in any way. In fact they have tried to discriminate against Americans, because they have continually urged, in the last three years, the German element to boycott American papers if they did not correct what were claimed to be statements prejudicial to Germany, to read only German papers, and to give their advertisements to German papers in preference to papers published in the English language.

Now, I am at a loss to know what that nativistic encroachment means, but you will find that in all these documents there is in nearly every one of them some mention of nativistic encroachment.

Senator KING. Is there any controversy as to the idea sought to be conveyed by the words nativistic encroachment?

Mr. OHLINGER. No; no controversy on what the idea means, but it does not exist.

Senator KING. Well, is it used in connection with the publication the tendency of which would be or the apparent purpose of which is to inflame Germans against the Americans or to render the Germans more solid in their social and in their political activities?

Mr. OHLINGER. Yes, sir; it is used in that connection. It is used continually in connection with the prohibition movement; that is nativistic encroachment, and, as the official documents have said again and again, prohibition is an idea that sprang from England and is preeminently Anglo-Saxon and is something that they must make headway against and fight with all their unity and with all their strength.

Senator WOLCOTT. Do you find anything in these documents that is designed to incite German-born to fight prohibition simply because it is as they claim of Anglo-Saxon root or origin?

Mr. OHLINGER. I find a great deal in these documents to show that they incite the German element to fight prohibition because it is a result of puritanism which had its origin in England and it is essentially Anglo-Saxon in character. That is one argument they have put forth. It is not the only argument. The other argument is that it is an abridgment of personal liberty and that no section of our population is more jealous of its personal liberty and has a better understanding of it than the German element.

Senator STERLING. In a broad and in what I should think a practical sense, it would seem to me that the term "nativistic encroachment" means the right to be wholly German in America and yet be free to share in all the benefits of American institutions.

Mr. OHLINGER. I think that is an excellent definition of it.

Senator STERLING. They want no encroachments against that.

Mr. OHLINGER. They want no encroachment against that; no, sir.

Senator STERLING. On the part of America?

Mr. OHLINGER. No. They want their people to acquire the ballot and acquire the right of citizenship as soon as possible, but they oppose vigorously any linguistic requirement so far as the ballot or citizenship is concerned. That has been one of the propaganda they have put forth. They were vigorous in denouncing the Young amendment to the New York constitution and all other laws that would make a linguistic requirement a test for voting. They want to have their people vote as soon as possible and become citizens as soon as possible, but they do not want them to have to learn the English language in order to do that.

Senator STERLING. From what you have read it would seem that the one American institution the study of which they advise is that pertaining to the right of suffrage, by which they can vote as soon as possible, and that is the reason for their wishing to acquire citizenship?

Mr. OHLINGER. Yes, sir.

Senator KING. You were reading from that magazine. Did you finish?

Mr. OHLINGER. No; but I will cease if you have a question.

Senator KING. No; you may proceed.

Mr. OHLINGER. Well, another object that they mention in this chronological history is:

The Alliance has no exclusive interests in view, nor the founding of a state within a state, but sees in the centralization of the inhabitants of German origin the shortest road to and the surest guaranty for the attainment of the aims set forth in this constitution.

Now, the State alliances, as set forth in this chronological history, devote themselves to the agitation for German newspapers and schools, to personal-liberty principles, and to German-Americans controlling schools; to maintaining the study of German in the schools; to taking a firm stand in advocating the introduction of German into schools; to the education of leaders for a united German-American citizenship, for the maintenance of the German language, for the support of German schools and theaters; the favoring of the German-American press everywhere; to appealing to German women and their societies to maintain and introduce the German language; to the compulsory study of German; to urging parents to help their children retain the German language; to the establishment of German departments in public libraries; to advocating laws which make opposition to the study of German in public schools and restriction of personal liberty more difficult; and to agitation for the introduction of German as a study for the language next to English, from the third grade up.

~~Furthermore, the~~ *The* National German-American Alliance aims to bring about this unity of feeling among the population of German origin in America, and if it only approximates its aim, the centralization of the German-American element, it will, nevertheless, have accomplished as great a work as was performed in 1871 by Bismarck.

That is a quotation from page 34 of this chronological history, which was published in 1911. You asked me for some publications prior to the war.

Senator STERLING. All these publications were in German, were they?

Mr. OHLINGER. Some in German and some have been translated. This from which I am now reading is translated into English.

Senator KING. Was it circulated in German?

Mr. OHLINGER. It was circulated also in German, I believe, though I am not sure.

Senator STERLING. The proceedings of their conventions were printed entirely in German, or was there a translation into English of their proceedings?

Mr. OHLINGER. They are printed entirely in German with the exception of communications that have been addressed to American officials; for instance, their appeals to President Wilson and to Members of Congress have been printed in English, but everything except such communications as that is printed in the German language.

Now, this pamphlet further states—and I now read from the pamphlet entitled "Pro Bono Publico":

The National German-American Alliance has succeeded in consolidating the German element in the United States * * *. For years, quietly but steadfastly, German-American ideals have thus been brought to the foreground by the unification of the German-American efforts in American public life, and in securing a proper regard for German-Americans throughout the United States.

They have always claimed that German-Americans did not receive the proper regard in this country. Again, I know of no incidents that have occurred that could substantiate such a position as that. I know of no single instance in my own State where any man who

happened to be of German descent did not have absolutely the same regard and respect and consideration as every one else. I happen to be of German descent myself, and I am the president of the Chamber of Commerce at Toledo, and I can say that no one has discriminated against me in any respect on account of my German ancestry, so far as I can observe.

Senator WOLCOTT. I understand from what you have said that the German-American Alliance is claiming that German-born citizens have not received the same treatment in this country that native-born citizens have received?

Mr. OHLINGER. Yes; that is their claim.

Senator WOLCOTT. And the question arises in my mind, What do you deduce from that touching the patriotism of this organization? Do you argue from that in any way to the conclusion that the organization is not faithful to American principles or institutions?

Mr. OHLINGER. No; I draw this inference, that this organization is more interested in itself and in the unity and solidarity of the German element than in the United States as a nation.

Senator WOLCOTT. Of course, if I were to permit myself to become a partisan in a dispute about this organization I might, before a jury for instance, argue like this: It being unfounded, as you say it is unfounded, let us assume that being unfounded as the claim is it shows a purpose on the part of the German-American Alliance to instill in the minds of the Germans that they are wronged, and thereby drive them closer together.

Mr. OHLINGER. That is it exactly. That is the sole reason for that statement. They have put up before them in the 17 years of the existence of this Alliance this bugbear of nativistic encroachment, that they were not getting their share of recognition in the public life of this country, that they were being discriminated against, that the members of their race did not receive sufficient recognition in American history. In other words, as they said, "It is necessary for us to get together, to unify, to protect ourselves, mutual protection." Absolutely no basis for it! That was simply a false slogan put out to accomplish this ulterior purpose.

To read again from this pamphlet "Pro Bono Publico", it goes on to say:

> We German-Americans demand a proper respect for the land of our forefathers and a fair regard for the ideals of Americans of German birth and extraction, about twenty-one millions in number. * * * The terrible struggle in Europe and the concomitant excitement largely caused by distorted pro-English news service in our land has put us under an immense mental strain, which must have made us all feel that the National German-American Alliance, the protagonist of Americans of German birth and extraction, is a necessity. * * * The least any German-American or German sympathizer can do is to join some German-American society, association, or club, which is affiliated directly or indirectly with a State branch of the National German-American Alliance.

I now quote from the speech of President Hexamer delivered at the proceedings of the sixth convention, contained on the second page of the minutes of the convention.

Senator KING. What date is that?

Mr. OHLINGER. That was delivered October 6, 1911. I will read this:

> Every attempt to diminish the feeling of unity among those of German origin, or to diminish the respect due them, has never been so vigorously fought as within the last two years.

Then, further on in the same speech, at the same time he said:

We have just begun our unification and consolidation for the campaign against folly and indifference and to induce all that can and should to receive and to maintain the German language in their speech and in their reading.

That is at page 6.

Then, to read further from the same speech:

What the root is to the tree, that the German language is to Germans.

That is from his speech at page 7.

To read further from the same speech:

We hope to introduce the teaching of German in all elementary schools. The more the teaching in German increases, the greater will be the number of boys and girls who will be brought to us and who will receive the keys to the treasure-house of our kultur.

As German-Americans, we are *a* people who can look back upon a glorious past and who can look forward confidently to *a* no less glorious future; as Americans, on the other hand, we are nothing but an unknown quantity in a *the* great racial scramble of this land. Let us, therefore, with united strength and with all means that are at hand, battle for the preservation *and maintenance* of our racial individuality [*unseres Volkstums*] and its cultural achievements.

Senator WOLCOTT. That was Dr. Hexamer?

Mr. OHLINGER. C. J. Hexamer, the president.

Senator WOLCOTT. To your knowledge has he received any marks of particular regard from Germany?

Mr. OHLINGER. Yes; he received in 1904 from the Kaiser the Fourth Order of the Red Eagle for his activity on behalf of German kultur.

Senator WOLCOTT. I am not acquainted with the orders over there. Is that a high order?

Mr. OHLINGER. I understand it is not a very high order and that when he got it there was a good deal of remark on the part of Germans in this country that the order he got was not commensurate with what he had done.

Senator KING. It is not a mark of degradation, however; it is a mark of distinction?

Mr. OHLINGER. Oh, it is a mark of distinction; there is no question about that.

That speech was made, as I have pointed out, in the year 1911. In November, 1915, the attitude of the Alliance as expressed by its president had not changed. In a speech which was made before a meeting in Milwaukee, Dr. Hexamer said [the italicized phrases in this quotation and the next were so indicated by Mr. Ohlinger in his revision of his testimony as having been italicized in the original report]:

We have before us a bitter struggle, and we can wage it successfully only if we are united—*a united race of brothers. The period of misunderstanding and jealousies in our societies and organizations must cease. Every disturbing influence must be set aside, and every one of us must enter upon the battle for our ideals with his whole heart and soul.* Whoever casts aside his Germanism from him like an old glove, *is not worthy to be spit upon.* Such a rascal is a deserter, but I would prefer to use in place of this French expression a good German word which the great Blücher used, "such a rascal is a contemptible hound." We have long suffered the preachment that "you Germans must allow yourselves to be assimilated, you must merge *more* in the American people;" but no one will ever find us prepared to ~~descend~~ *step down* to ~~an inferior~~ *a lesser* culture.

Senator KING. An inferior what?

Mr. OHLINGER. ~~An inferior~~ *A lesser* kultur or civilization. [Continuing reading:]

No, *we have made it our aim to elevate the others to* ~~our level~~ *us*. We have in this land experienced different historical epochs, epochs which I may compare with the days of the week. There was first the Spanish day, which in reality was no day at all, but an impenetrable night, darkly illumined by the tragic fires of the auto-de-fés. Then came the French day; a day of manly struggle and excited activity. But this activity was feverish, carried out as if under the influence of a champagne intoxication, and like all intoxications it was followed by a characteristic inaction. Then there came upon our people the day of severe labor, the day that rose in gray from the fog, and in which everything received a somber cast. That day, the English day, taught us much, but it also cost us immeasurable suffering. And now there comes a day in which the birds sing, where the blue heavens smile, in which labor and joy unite, the German day. . . .

We will not allow our ~~thousand~~ *two-thousand* year culture to be trodden down in this land. Many are giving our German culture to this land of their children, but that is possible only if we stand together and conquer that dark spirit of muckerdom and prohibition, just as Siegfried slew the dragon. Let us stand up for our good right and hold together. Every society is as strong as the weakest member in the chain. Who would be weak? Be strong! Let every one be strong who stands forth for German ~~culture~~ *kultur*. Be strong, and German. Remember, you German pioneers, that we are giving to this people the best the earth affords, the benefits of *Germanic kultur*.

That speech, as I say, was delivered in Milwaukee in 1915, and what I have read is a translation of the report of the speech which appeared on pages 3 and 4 of the Official Bulletin of the Alliance for December, 1915.

Senator KING. That is, the speech appeared then?

Mr. OHLINGER. The speech appeared in December.

Senator KING. That is your translation of it?

Mr. OHLINGER. That is my translation of it. The speech was delivered in November.

Senator KING. Mr. Ohlinger, the committee will take a recess for luncheon until 2 o'clock. Can you return then?

Mr. OHLINGER. Yes, sir.

(Thereupon, at 1.25 o'clock p. m., the subcommittee took a recess until 2 o'clock p. m.)

Mr. Ohlinger subsequently sent by mail the following memorandum:

The following is a translation of the report of the speech of President C. J. Hexamer in Milwaukee on November 22, 1915, as reported in the Official Bulletin for December, 1915, on page 3. The report itself is the reprint of a report which appeared in the Germania Herold. It is as follows, the parts here italicized having been italicized in the original:

After a few introductory words in which Dr. C. J. Hexamer expressed his thanks for the reception which he had received from the local Germanism in beautiful Milwaukee, he, the President of the National German-American Alliance, addressed the banqueters who were assembled in his honor last evening again most important words, which contained a repeated battle cry to our Germanism:

"My dear friends: We have before us a great and severe battle and we can go through this battle with success only if we are united—*a united race of brothers! The time of small misunderstandings in our societies and alliances must cease. Everything that appears in a disturbing manner must be laid aside and every one of us with his whole manhood and with his entire heart must step forward and battle for our ideals.* Whoever throws off his Germanism like an old glove and throws it from him, *he is not worthy to be spat upon!* Such a rascal is a deserter, but this French expression I would like to replace by a good German word, which the great Blücher used, 'such a rascal is a low-down hound!' For a long time we have suffered the preachment: 'You Germans must allow yourselves to be assimilated, you must be merged into the American people'; but no one will find us prepared to step down to a lesser kultur; no, *we have*

made it our aim to draw the others up to us. We have here in this land gone through different historical epochs, epochs which I might compare with the days of the week. There was first the Spanish day, which really was no day, but an uncanny, pitch-black night, that was gloomily illuminated by the fires of the auto-de-fés. Then came the French day; a day full of manly effort and spirited activity. But this activity was feverish, as if carried on under a champagne intoxication, and it was followed like such an intoxication by the usual 'hangover'. Then there came over our people the day of severe labor, the day that rose gray from the fog and in which everything took on a somber hue. It taught us much but it also cost us much, infinitely much, this gray, this English day. And then comes the day in which the birds sing loud, in which the blue heaven smiles, in which joy and enthusiasm mingle most beautifully with labor—the German day.

THE GREAT GERMAN IDEALS.

"What now are the great factors which we are prepared to give to our people and which Germanism has always respected, honored and protected as its noblest treasures? There is first that noblest of creatures, the German housefrau, the German mother! Without her there is no German feeling. Happy is he who had a German mother, who could pass his childhood in a German home. What depth of feeling, what innate love are embodied in a German home! How sacred is the German family! There is the severe, but just father, who cares for all and who brings up the growing youth to thorough manhood. There is the dear old grandmother, who has often prevented the wild youngsters getting a spanking; there is the faithful, loving, always busy mother, who placed the seed of what is good and noble in the soul of the child, who cares for it in body as well as in feeling and spirit and who is also true to it in the later days.—That is the German family, the holy place, where love and honor are united, where the children do not heartlessly nickname the father as "old man" and the mother as "old woman". The German children look with respect and also with heartfelt love to their parents, who live for them as a model. And what glorious festivals are celebrated in the German family, when the Christmas tree throws its light into the hearts or when a birthday is gladly celebrated. Yes, there may be lacking in such a home money, but you can see that everyone is engaged in preparing happiness for the other. The mother has saved for her darlings and the father has put privations upon himself in order to produce a surprise; yes, the little girl has secretly worked out a gay slipper, in which even the flaring colors do not disturb because it is worked out with a heart. So much love you can not find again where there is money, not by the Rockefellers, the Morgans and their consorts.

OUR HIGHEST DUTY.

"But the German delight in living is also one of the greatest factors of German success. Look upon our brothers in the trenches, with death thundering around, surrounded by somberness and night, still they keep up their humor, they sing German songs and with a word of jest upon the lips they offer their breasts to the enemy. Such a people can not be beaten down, it can never be conquered; it must be victorious, and work out its way!

"Just as our brothers over there so here must we fight the enemies of Germanism. We stand far above the muckerdom which lets the head hang and sees only the mote in his brother's eye. Our duty it is to transmit to the American people the depth of German feeling, that seeking after all that is good, beautiful and true. The investigation of our most inward feelings, just as the investigation of the nature around us makes us strong in character and in feeling. We German-Americans now that we are being slandered in hateful manner stand before a great problem. It is our duty to remain firm, just as our ancestors stood firm as the Tories called them a dirty mob, those Tories who even slandered and insulted Washington, so that the father of the country said he would rather be in his grave than the President of such States. Remember how the English press has thrown mud at the noblest men of this land, in what a despicable manner they attacked Lincoln, and then be proud of the fact that you are being attacked in the same manner by such spirits. Just as surely as to-morrow morning the sun rises, so surely will later history praise and prize the Germans because they have saved the land from the claws of English tyranny.

BUGLE CALL IN SERIOUS DAYS.

"No people is so modest and no people is so ready to recognize the good in others and to adopt it as the Germans, and that has been the mainspring of German progress. But we will not permit that our kultur of two thousand years be trodden down in

this land. Many were born here and many are giving our German kultur to the land of their children. But that is possible only if we stand together and conquer that dark spirit of muckerdom and prohibition just as Siegfried once slew the dragon. Let us stand together for our good right and hold together! Every alliance is as strong as the weakest member in the chain. Who will be weak! Be strong!! Let everyone be strong who steps forward and battles for German kultur! Let him be strong and German! Consider, you German pioneers, that we are giving this people here the best thing that there is on earth—Germanic kultur—and therefore, my dear friends, be of good heart!!"

AFTER RECESS.

The recess having expired, the subcommittee resumed its sitting and the witness returned to the stand.

Senator KING. You may proceed, Mr. Ohlinger.

Mr. OHLINGER. When the adjournment was taken I was going through the first proposition, namely, the efforts at the solidarity of the German element.

At the seventh convention of the National Alliance, held in 1913, the president of the New York branch, who at that time I think was Theodore Sutro, reported that——

The importance of the preservation and maintenance of the German language increases as immigration from German-speaking countries declines. To meet this problem it becomes constantly more important that the younger generation be held to German instruction in the schools and the use of the German language in family circles. * * * From our point of view the preservation of the German language in our own circles is a matter of life for our Germanism. * * * The dying out of the German language is synonymous with the dissolution of the bond that holds us together and makes possible the continuance of our German-American Alliance. * * * For that reason alone we should take part in the elections, and secure the election of those only who are definitely pledged to favor the teaching of German.

That is in the fifth volume of the Official Bulletin, No. 11, on page 19.

At the election which took place in the fall of 1912 in Ohio, the Ohio branch of the Alliance recommended its subsidiary alliances to put to every candidate for the State legislature this question:

Are you in favor of teaching the German language as a cultural language, along with English, in the public schools?

That is in the Official Bulletin, in the fifth volume, No. 11, page 20.

Senator WOLCOTT. How did that appear in the Bulletin; as a news item?

Mr. OHLINGER. It appeared in the Bulletin as a report from the president of the Ohio branch to the executive committee of the national organization. Every number of these bulletins contains the reports from nearly all the States in the Union. It begins with Alabama and goes right on through, and publishes whatever reports the presidents of the State alliances have. Since the United States entered the war there have not been so many reports from States.

Senator WOLCOTT. How often is that Bulletin issued?

Mr. OHLINGER. Every month.

In the New Year's greeting which President Hexamer sent to the members of the Alliance through the January number of the Official Bulletin, 1915, he said this:

Never before has the call for unity been presented to us with such insistent power as in the last few months of the last year. It has produced great things, and even more glorious fruits will spring from the *enflaming* example which the German people in arms in its unity and in the solidarity of its interests has shown to the Germanism

of the entire world. The greatest curse of the German race has for hundreds of years been its internal dissension and disunion. The German people has ~~advanced~~ *freed* itself from that and proves daily by its sacrifices of blood and money that German unity is no longer a hollow mockery, but has become an accomplished fact, and has driven ~~the~~ *all* strata of the population of our old home to the union of all ~~other~~ *their* powers for the defense of the honor of the German name and of the national existence of our fatherland. This brilliant example ~~of~~ *from* the home ~~land~~ should be a mighty incentive to us German-Americans to cast aside all separate interests *and separate cliques* and to show ourselves worthy of our fatherland by showing to our fellow citizens of other races that for us also unity is not a hollow mockery. * * *

The National German-American Alliance has also in this critical time in which Germany and *her ally by treaty and race*, Austria-Hungary, are warring against a world of enemies, given proof that its founders ~~sought~~ *strove for* the proper aims, and that they performed a tremendous service to the Germanism of this entire land when they sent forth the slogan ~~of unity~~ *for unification* through all German-America.

I may say that in their references to their population in this country they refer to it usually as German-America ("Deutsch-Amerika"), or German-American ("Deutsch-Amerikanisch"), or simply Germanism ("Deutschthum").

In the collections for the relief of war sufferers in the home land, in the protest against the continued violations of the neutrality of the United States which sprang out of pure lust of profit, in the battle for the preservation of personal liberty, in the efforts for the preservation of the German language, of German art and German kultur, it has been plainly proved that only a united and powerful Germanism strengthened from within, such as is presented in the National German-American Alliance, can attain the many objects whose accomplishment is our ideal and most honorable task. * * * In conclusion let me bring to your hearts a warning which should serve as a guide line for the conduct of every German-American. It is this: Read your German newspapers. * * * Only in the mutual support and the mutual advancement of the ~~interests of the~~ German press and of the different branches *and alliances* of the National ~~German-American~~ Alliance can there be the assurance of the great and permanent results, *as also the clear vision and attainment of aims*, which the German task prescribes, namely: To provide in our new home a secure support for German kultur and German life for the greater glory of our race, for the accomplishment of friendly relations between our home and our new fatherland, and the preservation of their achievements in science and art.

I have previously called your attention to the fact that Americanism, the cause of America, the unity of America, the solidarity of America, are hardly ever mentioned in these publications. But you will find again and again emphasized these ideas, "the birth and spirit of the German movement in America," "the German task in America," "the incentive in the German movement to the awakening of a historical consciousness among the German element," "the feeling of unity among German-Americans."

The editors of the Official Bulletin—

So they announce—

wish to make it a chronicle of German life in all its parts, * * * to record the accomplishments of the German task in its different fields of activity and all new movements designed to further the German cause. * * * Everything which interests Germanism in America interests the editors.

And so on.

Everything which aids in the spread of the German language is of the greatest importance for the American Germanism.

And the officers of the society speak again and again of those who think and feel in German terms or in German-American terms.

Mr. Hexamer, in the Official Bulletin, volume 9, No. 9, on page 3, speaks of the National German-American Alliance idea as being a

part of the German idea throughout the entire world, and the Official Bulletin emphasizes the importance of the German press in maintaining German customs and German language in the United States. That is in the seventh volume of the Official Bulletin, No. 9, page 12.

In German teaching the foundations of German character are laid.

Here is another quotation from the Official Bulletin, volume 7, No. 9, page 15, referring to the political importance of the consolidation of the German element:

In German-American circles in Pennsylvania, not only are German ideals and customs being faithfully maintained, which have contributed so much to the ethical development of a nation, but, through united cooperation under the ægis of the German-American Alliance, our German-American citizens have become a political factor with which the ruling political powers must deal.

Now that we have mentioned the political side of it, I will go into that briefly.

The members of the committee are, of course, familiar with the idea that was propagated in the early part of 1916 by Henry Weismann, the president of the New York branch of the Alliance; by Leo Stern, president of the Wisconsin branch; by Alphonse Koelble, president of the Brooklyn branch of the society; and by others, having in view the nomination by the two political parties of such candidates as would be favorable to the German cause—namely, candidates that would prohibit the export of munitions, that would prohibit the making of loans in this country by the allies, that would reestablish the means of communication between Germany and this country via Sayville and the wireless apparatus there. That scheme, of course, was attempted to be put into effect principally in Wisconsin, and the slogan went around most of the State alliances that they should line up everybody against Roosevelt and Wilson. The Illinois branch of the Alliance passed the word to all its constituent societies, "Everybody against Roosevelt and Wilson."

Senator WOLCOTT. On what do you base that statement? What evidence is there of it?

Mr. OHLINGER. I base that statement on the report of the society itself. All local societies were urged to take necessary steps to prevent the nomination of these men, who were regarded as the arch-enemies of Germany. My authority for this is the Official Bulletin for April, 1916, page 18.

Senator WOLCOTT. I think it would be well in each instance, if you will remember it, to cite us to the authorities.

Mr. OHLINGER. I see. I will do so.

Senator KING. Have you there a translation of the item in the Bulletin?

Mr. OHLINGER. No; I have not a translation, but I can give it to you. I can prepare these translations later if you so desire.

Senator KING. At this point, if you have the Bulletin there, you might read it as a part of your testimony.

Mr. OHLINGER. I will translate the item. This is contained in the April (1916) Official Bulletin on page 18, under the heading "Illinois: Session of the State Executive Committee in Chicago." The next heading is: "The committee occupied itself with political questions, and sent out the password, 'Everybody against Roosevelt

and Wilson.'" Then there are the formal matters of the minutes—who was present, and so on. I will not take the trouble to translate that.

There was a thorough discussion of the political situation, and the following resolution was adopted unanimously: That the executive committee of the State Alliance of Illinois send this password to all branch alliances: "Everybody against Roosevelt and Wilson"—

In order to prevent the nomination of these gentlemen as candidates for the Presidency.

Senator STERLING. May I ask, Mr. Ohlinger, if that word is "password"?

Mr. OHLINGER. The German word used here is "parole"—"password"; that is the nearest I can come to it.

Senator STERLING. I wondered if "watchword" would not be better.

Mr. OHLINGER. Possibly "watchword" would be better. That would be more apt, I think. The German word is "parole", and I think "watchword" would possibly be better.

Reading on, the balance of the resolution:

That the local organizations and societies are ordered to take all necessary measures in their particular localities to accomplish this result; that all societies shall be notified by the executive committee as quickly as possible of this *their* task; and that copies of the resolution adopted by the Chicago City Alliance and *indorsed* by the executive committee of the National Alliance as well as by the Illinois Alliance ~~are to be indorsed and referred~~ *be transmitted* to all local societies.

It speaks here of the National Alliance adopting a similar resolution and of the same being indorsed and sent to local societies. I do not find that report of the resolution of the National Alliance in this Official Bulletin; but in view of the fact that these minutes of the Illinois association refer to it and indorse it there undoubtedly was such a resolution passed.

Senator STERLING. Those are the proceedings of the executive committee of the Illinois association, as I understand?

Mr. OHLINGER. Of the Illinois Alliance of the National German-American Alliance.

Senator STERLING. Did they maintain regular offices there in Chicago at that time?

Mr. OHLINGER. I believe they maintained regular offices. The Illinois Alliance is the federation, of course, of all the alliances of every city; Peoria, Evanston, Chicago, Springfield, Cairo, every one of those cities has its federation, binding up all the local societies in that particular locality; and then this federation has its representative in the State Alliance, and they hold a convention every year of all these representatives. There are usually between two and three hundred representatives present.

Senator STERLING. At these State conventions?

Mr. OHLINGER. At these State conventions; and they have their State president and their State executive committee, and then over all of these is the national president and the national executive committee.

Senator KING. The State organizations are similar, are they?

Mr. OHLINGER. The State organizations are similar all the way through. There is an organization like that for every State in the Union.

Senator KING. Do they maintain headquarters in many of the States?

Mr. OHLINGER. Oh, yes; they maintain headquarters in many of the States. The most powerful of the State alliances is the Pennsylvania State Alliance.

Senator KING. Where is the headquarters of that alliance?

Mr. OHLINGER. The headquarters of that alliance, I believe, is in the same building as the headquarters of the National Alliance, 419 Walnut Street, Philadelphia.

Senator KING. Was that where a newspaper was published which recently—I am not sure whether it was suppressed—but which recently, at any rate, came into public notice by reason of some charges being preferred against the editors or managers of the paper?

Mr. OHLINGER. I do not know about that, Mr. Chairman.

Senator KING. I have only an indistinct recollection that some newspaper——

Mr. OHLINGER. There have been a good many of those papers that have been suppressed—papers that have been published here in favor of Germany—and others that ought to be suppressed, but have not yet been.

Senator KING. Do you purpose in your testimony alluding to the results of those meetings; that is, whether orders were sent out and copies of those resolutions disseminated to the various local organizations in the States?

Mr. OHLINGER. I simply have the record of the Official Bulletin alone. I do not know anything outside of that about what was done. I did not take the trouble to go beyond that, because I thought that was pretty nearly a conclusive admission when action of that kind is recorded in the Official Bulletin.

Senator KING. Do you know whether any other State organizations officially took similar action?

Mr. OHLINGER. Yes; now I will come to some of those, if you will indulge me a few minutes.

Senator KING. Yes; all right. I will not interrupt you.

Mr. OHLINGER. I will refer, now, to another organization.

The delegates of the German-American central organization of Essex County, N. J., have received the watchword, "Everybody against Roosevelt, Root, and Wilson."

That is recorded in the April (1916) Bulletin, on page 21. Henry Weismann, the president of the New York society, however, was a little more careful. He warned his compatriots against arraying themselves definitely against Wilson and Roosevelt, because they might get some one that was worse than either of those gentlemen. That advice appears on page 22 of this same number of the Official Bulletin.

Senator KING. Then he discouraged the Germans from getting together in mass?

Mr. OHLINGER. No; he has not discouraged them from getting together in mass, but simply advised them to go slow because, after all, they might get somebody else worse than either Wilson or Roosevelt.

Senator WOLCOTT. Worse than Wilson or worse than Roosevelt and Wilson?

Mr. OHLINGER. They were classed together as equally bad.

Senator WOLCOTT. Does he indicate in what respect somebody else might be worse?

Mr. OHLINGER. More pro-ally; that is what he means.

Senator WOLCOTT. Well, is that what he says?

Mr. OHLINGER. I will just refer you to that, so that you can get it exactly. This is the heading of the article: "What Mr. Weismann says." Then it proceeds:

The president of the New York State Alliance warns against precipitate taking of resolutions. Let us wait and see what presidential candidates will be put forth before we take a position.

Then he says——

Senator KING. Just read it.

Mr. OHLINGER. It states:

It is plain that the newest change in the President's position after it was assumed that the differences with Germany had been settled was due to the extreme anti-German jingo talk on the part of the Republican leader, Senator Root, and the position of the English language Republican Party press which adopted the position of Senator Root. Although I am under normal political conditions a Republican, I must admit that the Republicans in and outside of Congress, especially those of the eastern States, have the appearance of being under an even greater servility to the munition and finance kings, and that they have proved this in the past and also prove it at the present time, that they take this extreme position, even more than the Democrats, including the President.

Upon this party—

Namely, the Republican Party—

as it is constituted to-day, and its leaders, there can be no reliance whatever for the cause of true American neutrality, and for what concerns the threat to our peace and our national jingoism, this is to be feared more from the element that holds the whip hand in the Republican Party than in the Democratic. * * * The German-American element, in its political activity, which, thank God, it has now entered upon, should not on account of this opposition to the unneutrality of President Wilson be misled and obtain for itself the impression that under all circumstances it is against Mr. Wilson as a presidential candidate. * * * All the signs indicate that if there is no change we would come out of the rain into the shower by going into the Republican Party.

Do you wish me to read more of this?

Senator WOLCOTT. I was looking particularly for the language that makes clear what he means by "somebody worse than Roosevelt and Wilson," and you have not read that as yet.

Mr. OHLINGER. Yes. He says:

That this attitude (of taking a definite position now) injures not only the present situation of affairs in Washington, but on the contrary is injurious to a better control of political conditions for our Germanism in the future.

I suppose that is what he really had reference to, and also to the fact that both gentlemen—both President Wilson and Mr. Roosevelt—were supposed to be against the embargo on munitions. I have read this very hurriedly, and if you will permit me I will make a translation of the entire article. It is rather hard to translate off hand. I will make a translation of the entire article and then you can get a better connection in that way.

Senator KING. Very well; when you have it, hand it to the reporter.

Mr. OHLINGER. The chairman has asked me what evidence there was that this attitude in politics was dictated by the National German-American Alliance and that it affected other branches. The Sacramento (Cal.) organization addressed itself to the National German-American Alliance headquarters in Philadelphia to know

what presidential candidate they should support. That appears on page 17 of this number of April, 1916, of the Official Bulletin; and in that same number the purpose of the political agitation is expressed in these words:

In these hours that are so dark for Germanism we must use our votes to the best of our ability. We must, without regard to previous intimations and desires, vote only for those who are the friends of Germanism.

That is on page 16.

Ex-Congressman Bartholdt has in this number of the Official Bulletin a ~~letter~~ *speech* to the German-Americans as follows:

Just as Europe has fallen upon Germany, so America is now falling upon the German-Americans, or attacking them; but we have a weapon which we can use to good effect, namely, our ballots; and in these days, so dark for Germanism, we must use our ballots for our Germanism.

Senator STERLING. What is the date of that?

Mr. OHLINGER. The date of that is March, 1916.

Senator WOLCOTT. That is in the letter from ex-Congressman Bartholdt?

Mr. OHLINGER. Ex-Congressman Bartholdt, addressed to the German ~~societies~~ *Bundeschor* of *North* St. Louis.

Senator WOLCOTT. Now, was Mr. Bartholdt an officer of the German-American Alliance?

Mr. OHLINGER. Bartholdt was not an officer of the National German-American Alliance, but he has always been active in the German-American Alliance. He was active in getting this charter for the National German-American Alliance, and he has been in the councils of the Alliance for a great many years.

Senator WOLCOTT. Did these words of his appear in the Official Bulletin?

Mr. OHLINGER. They appeared in the Official Bulletin, on page 16——

Senator WOLCOTT. That is the material thing.

Mr. OHLINGER. On page 16 of the number for April, 1916. This is what he says:

We must now forget our party and, without consideration for our previous inclinations and wishes, vote only for those who are the friends of Germanism. We must remind ourselves of our political rights, and exercise them. I give this warning to all who are assembled here to-day with the hope that they will take this warning to heart.

Senator WOLCOTT. I did not catch your language back there. Did he say friends of Germany or friends of Germanism?

Mr. OHLINGER. Of Germanism; the word is "Deutschthum."

Senator STERLING. That was at the convention of German societies?

Mr. OHLINGER. Yes; that was at a ~~convention of German societies~~ *meeting of the Bundeschor* in *North* St. Louis.

Senator STERLING. Other societies than the Alliance, I suppose, were represented there?

Mr. OHLINGER. Oh, yes.

Senator STERLING. Or was that a convention of allied societies?

Mr. OHLINGER. A convention of allied societies?

Senator STERLING. Yes.

Mr. OHLINGER. A meeting of ~~allied societies in~~ *the Bundeschor of North* St. Louis.

Senator KING. Did the National German-American Alliance organizations participate in that?

Mr. OHLINGER. Let me read what it says:

The leaders of Germanism were present. Among the speakers was the former Congressman Richard Bartholdt and the president of the German-American City Alliance, Mr. Henry A. Kersting.

Senator KING. From whom does that report come to the official organ? Is it signed by any person, or does it come as a news item?

Mr. OHLINGER. It does not indicate here. It indicates no source whatever. It simply appears in the columns as though the Official Bulletin itself were responsible for the item.

Now, going on with the question that the chairman asked, on the political use of the ballot:

The president of the Indiana Alliance, Joseph Keller, urged the members of the alliance to united procedure politically on questions affecting the welfare of the land or Germanism [deutschthum].

The Michigan State Alliance in September last year——

Senator KING. Where do you find evidence of that?

Mr. OHLINGER. That is in the Official Bulletin, on page 15 of this same number.

The Michigan Alliance sent word to all German-American voters and urgently requested them at the coming election to lay more importance than ever before that absolutely liberal men for Congress, legislature, and administrative offices, and if possible, that only Germans, be elected.

That is contained in the Official Bulletin for October, 1915, on page 31; and at the convention of the Michigan Alliance the secretary urged that they be on their guard so that only liberal candidates, and if possible Germans, be nominated and elected. Of course the measures that were introduced in Congress on the embargo were all subject to investigation by the officers of the alliance. They urged, and the National Alliance urged, their members to look up carefully the record of every Congressman on the embargo resolution, and the warning resolution, on the Webb-Kenyon bill, and to keep track of those Congressmen and to find out their attitude, and either by means of protest to get them to change their attitude on those questions or else to threaten them with adverse votes in the coming election.

I come now to another branch of this subject.

Senator KING. Let me ask you one question. Is that all you care to say about the political activity of this organization in American politics?

Mr. OHLINGER. I am glad you called my attention to this. There is something else I would like to say. The Pennsylvania branch of the National German-American Alliance has been especially active in politics, and they have a legislative committee which has kept track of the records of members in the legislature. John B. Mayer has been the chairman of this committee. This committee was especially active in opposing candidates for the Pennsylvania Legislature who were in favor of the club-licensing bill which was introduced by Mr. Samuel B. Scott.

Senator KING. You understand that the action of individual Germans, or of German organizations not connected with the

German-American Alliance, personally I feel we ought not to inquire into. It is none of our concern.

Mr. OHLINGER. This is not connected with individuals; this is an activity of the National German-American Alliance, undertaken by its officers.

Senator KING. Yes.

Mr. OHLINGER. And as I say, this committee that conducted this campaign was a committee under the leadership of John B. Mayer, who was president of the Pennsylvania State Alliance.

Senator KING. Proceed.

Mr. OHLINGER. And the campaign manager for that legislative campaign was Mr. Adolph Timm, who is secretary of the National German-American Alliance; and the State Alliance of Pennsylvania went into this fight—this political fight—on these candidates as an organization and not as individuals. This is what they state.

Senator WOLCOTT. Is there anything you have that indicates that that fight was countenanced and approved by the National Alliance, the concern that has this Federal charter?

Mr. OHLINGER. Well, the only way I can prove that is by the fact that the offices of the Alliance were used for the conduct of that campaign and the officers of the Alliance went into the campaign as officers, Mr. Adolph Timm as secretary; and this legislative committee of the Pennsylvania branch that is an integral part of the National German-American Alliance was the committee that directed the campaign and fought it out.

Senator KING. Does the Bulletin, the official organ, contain any reference to the position of these men and what was done in the campaign?

Mr. OHLINGER. Yes; it gives a paragraph. This is what the Bulletin says:

A brilliant victory is won by the National German-American Alliance of Pennsylvania. The secretary of the National Alliance, Mr. A. Timm, was the German campaign manager. The liberal element has won a brilliant victory under the leadership of the legislative committee of the German-American Central Alliance of Pennsylvania.

Senator WOLCOTT. That is in the Official Bulletin?

Mr. OHLINGER. That is in the Official Bulletin.

Senator WOLCOTT. There is a direct adoption, so to speak, of the work of that committee by the national organization?

Mr. OHLINGER. I would say so; yes, sir. That is contained in the sixth volume of the Official Bulletin, No. 12, page 16.

Senator WOLCOTT. How does it indorse it; by an editorial?

Mr. OHLINGER. No, sir; there is no distinction in the Bulletin between editorial matter and other matter. It does not appear under a date line or a correspondence line; except occasionally it is indicated as a report from a State alliance, or there may be an excerpt from a German newspaper; but otherwise it all appears as matter that the Official Bulletin itself is responsible for.

Senator WOLCOTT. Yes.

Mr. OHLINGER. And this is what the Bulletin said in regard to that contest:

The Alliance's secretary, Adolph Timm, acted as campaign manager. * * * Two hundred and seven representatives were up for election to the State legislature. Only 39 who had received the indorsement of the legislative committee failed of

election. It is extremely gratifying that the arch mucker, Samuel B. Scott, the author of the club licensing bill, was defeated. * * * In connection with the victory Mr. John B. Mayer, in his capacity as chairman of the legislative committee, sent the following communication to German-American voters through the German press:

"To the German-American voters: The result of yesterday's election shows in Philadelphia a decisive victory for the candidates of the legislative committee of the National German-American Alliance."

That is quoted from the Bulletin. Now, President Hexamer himself took part in the campaign on behalf of a German candidate for a judicial position in Philadelphia, and in his speech he said this; and this, I may say, is taken from the Official Bulletin of the National German-American Alliance, volume 7, No. 10, page 7:

DR. HEXAMER ON THE NECESSITY FOR POLITICAL ACTIVITY.

Many of the State alliances—that is to say, their officials—have also pointed to the necessity for political action on the part of German-Americans. Recently Dr. Hexamer gave an address in Philadelphia on behalf of a German candidate for police judge in which he said:

"It has been proved by statistics that Americans of German descent own more real estate in the United States than those of any other race. And the possession of land means power. And now the time has come to prove that the German-American has power. We do not have to permit the English and their friends prescribe for us what they want. We are real Americans, different indeed from Dr. White and his associates, for these are Englishmen. We know what we owe our new home, the United States, namely, that we protect it from British tyranny. The influence of these hirelings of England must be broken * * * and that means a skillful, widely planned propaganda and the proper voting on election day. And whoever does not perform this duty, whoever does not fulfill his duty to that which is German is a deserter, and unworthy of his German descent. We German-Americans must now be the hammer and strike or be the anvil and succumb.

"The threat to personal liberty, which is becoming more widespread, is the principal weapon of the nativistic element, which is busily engaged in the effort to surrender the liberty of the United States to England. It is a weapon directed against German-Americanism, which will have none of it. We can gain influence, and retain that which we have already won, only by organizing ourselves more closely and by doing our duty at the ballot box. This can not be too often reiterated."

Of course, the National German-American Alliance had always been opposed to woman suffrage, because it was proved in Oregon that the women in Oregon had debased their privilege and proved themselves unworthy of it by voting to make Oregon dry.

Now I come to another phase of this, and that is the opposition to other races.

Senator KING. One other question. During the past year, since the entrance of the United States into the war, have you any evidence of the political activities of this organization?

Mr. OHLINGER. The only evidences of the political activity are the usual appeal to German voters to vote for the continuance of the German language, for candidates that would support the German language, and to vote against the muckers—that is, the prohibition element. I have no evidence in the Official Bulletin since the entry into the war that they intended to put up candidates that would oppose the war. There is no such evidence in the Official Bulletin. But the same propaganda for the unity of the German element and for the necessity of their drawing together, as opposed to the American, has continued after the war just as before. That is not changed, at all.

Senator KING. Have you any reference there to publications since the war in which it is stated the solidarity of the Germans in America should be maintained?

Mr. OHLINGER. Oh, yes. I will refer to the Official Bulletin, and I will read from the number for July, 1917, as follows [italics indicated by witness in revising his testimony]:

Only unity makes strong. A strong bond must surround us all, and this band [or bond] is the *National German-American Alliance* [D. A. N. B.]. Most of Chicago's societies belong to it, but many stand aloof waiting. Now, in this serious time it is the hour to make the decision. *Join, and unite together.* Many individual members have been won for the Alliance, but thousands still stand aloof because, in the first place, they are not aware of the dangers which threaten our Germanism here in the United States, and on the other hand because they are not acquainted with the objects of the National German-American Alliance [D. A. N. B.]. Therefore they are naturally indifferent toward the Alliance. We must appeal to those and shake them out of their indifference and self-satisfaction. Every German in this great land is a *pioneer of kultur*, and he therefore has a great problem to fulfill which he should not deny out of love to the country of his choice. *One loves only when he gives of his best;* and that, finally, is the object of the National German-American Alliance. To work together for the accomplishment of this object is the duty of every man and every woman in whose veins there is German blood. Therefore we demand that you become members of our National German-American Alliance, Chicago branch.

Then there was something against taking part in the war against Germany, which I might read. This is a poem published in the Official Bulletin for September, 1917, and the purport of the poem is that the fact of allegiance to America does not demand of a German that he fight against his own country.

Senator WOLCOTT. Now, can you translate that? Not, of course, in rythm, but can you translate it? Is it a lengthy poem?

Mr. OHLINGER. Yes; there are seven stanzas of it.

Senator WOLCOTT. That is a rather startling suggestion, and I want to know what language there is in that which justifies that statement.

Mr. OHLINGER. I will give you a verbal translation. I will translate the fifth stanza:

With wounded soul I hold to-day my oath to my new fatherland, while flesh of my flesh is being destroyed by a rabble drunk with envy and hatred. A heavier sacrifice has never been placed upon a heart than to deny help when people of one's own blood call to heaven, and nothing can increase the torments of my soul. And let this be enough. The obligation of the oath is holy; therefore must it not demand what is so unholy.

Senator WOLCOTT. The obligation of the oath is holy, and let it not demand something that is unholy?

Mr. OHLINGER. Yes, that is it. [Continuing translating:]

The obligation of the oath is holy; therefore it must not demand what is so unholy. I will not help to dismember the race from which I sprang. If that is treason, then it is inhumanity that speaks shamelessly the verdict in the name of law! Let come what will, I am prepared! I stand here, and can do no other! Amen!

Senator KING. I wish you would make a translation of that entire poem and hand it to the stenographer.

Mr. OHLINGER. Very well, sir.

(The translation referred to was submitted by Mr. Ohlinger at the next hearing.)

Senator WOLCOTT. Would it not be better for you to make a memorandum as you go along of these things that you are asked to do?

Mr. OHLINGER. Yes; I had better do that. I was hoping that I could see the transcript of my testimony so that I might put in these things requested afterwards. If I can see a transcript of the evidence I can go over it and make the translations perfect.

Senator KING. You may do that.

Mr. OHLINGER. The chairman has asked for other expressions of the German element that have occurred since the outbreak of the war.

Senator KING. And anything that would be against the war or against Americans—German-Americans, so called—giving their hearty and loyal support to the Government in the prosecution of this war.

Mr. OHLINGER. Yes. This same number of the Official Bulletin speaks of Prof. Münsterberg, of Harvard, as a pioneer and perhaps a martyr for German ideals in America. Then in the same number it goes on as follows:

> Every secretary should make it his holy task * * * to devote himself to the problem of uniting the Germanism in this land into a great and mighty one. Not into an organization on which one may look with smiling indulgence, not one which one tolerates with a smiling indifference and with political forbearance allows to speak here and there occasionally, but to make of it a firmly-rooted power which everyone will regard as at least of equal dignity, and will treat it so, and whose voice and counsel will be dominating and whose anger everyone will fear and avoid.

Senator STERLING. What is the date of that?

Mr. OHLINGER. That is in the number for September, 1917, of the Official Bulletin, on page 2. Farther on in the same article it says:

> The problem which should be first in the heart of every German-American is the creation of a great united German-Americanism, which is conscious of its power, in this our new and beloved land.

And it speaks again of the centralization of all effort. It continues:

> United, we are strong; divided, we are powerless. * * * Every society must be taught that it is a member in a mighty chain.

Then it speaks of the Official Bulletin as—

> the monthly mouthpiece of the organized German-Americanism, and the one pure source out of which every German-American can obtain the correct information concerning the work and efforts and the successes and, unfortunately, often the failures, of the Alliance.

Senator STERLING. Do you know what the circulation of the Official Bulletin is? Have you any statement of that or of its claim as to circulation?

Mr. OHLINGER. The claim is that the Bulletin goes to every constituent society, and the last claim as to the number of societies that I have seen is that there are 20,000 of them. I do not know whether that has ever been verified. I think it is too big. I do not think it is anything like that.

Senator STERLING. Is it open to individual subscriptions?

Mr. OHLINGER. Oh, yes.

Senator STERLING. Besides being sent to the societies?

Mr. OHLINGER. Yes. If individuals care to subscribe, they are at liberty to subscribe to it.

Senator KING. Are there such subscribers?

Mr. OHLINGER. Yes; there are. I was a subscriber myself.

Senator WOLCOTT. Are you still a subscriber?

Mr. OHLINGER. I am; yes, sir.

Senator WOLCOTT. It comes to you regularly?

Mr. OHLINGER. It comes to me regularly.

Senator WOLCOTT. The testimony may have developed—I do not recall—but the Bulletin shows on its face, does it, that it is the output of the National German-American Alliance organization?

Mr. OHLINGER. That this Bulletin is?

Senator WOLCOTT. Yes.

Mr. OHLINGER. Oh, absolutely. There is no question about it. The title of it shows that. The name, translated into English, is "Bulletin of the National German-American Alliance."

Senator KING. While I have it in mind, in reading this Bulletin, especially since we have entered into the war, have you found anything there approving our country entering into the war with Germany, or justifying it, and urging the German-Americans to loyally support the Government in the great enterprise?

Mr. OHLINGER. There is nothing in these bulletins approving of the entering into the war. There is nothing approving the causes of the war. There has been nothing whatever justifying the course of the United States in entering the war; not one word on that line, so far as I have been able to find. There has, however, been this, that as long as we are in the war, we Germans must submit to the verdict of the Government. There has been that, but there has been nothing whatever justifying the war or attempting to arouse any enthusiasm for it whatever.

Senator WOLCOTT. Has the statement that inasmuch as the verdict has been cast the German-Americans should abide by it been made in a casual kind of way, or has it been stressed?

Mr. OHLINGER. It has not been stressed, no; it has not been stressed to anything like the degree that the doctrine of unity is being stressed, right along. For instance, in the message of the new president of the National German-American Alliance he emphasizes again that the Alliance is the only means of uniting our citizens of German race——

Senator WOLCOTT. Who is that?

Mr. OHLINGER. That is Mr. S. G. von Bosse; and it appears in the Bulletin of December, 1917. But I do not find in it anything urging the German-Americans to participate in the efforts for the war. That is not mentioned at all, so far as I can see.

Senator STERLING. Has there been any criticism of any of the acts of Congress in the prosecution of the war, or enactments for the purposes of the war, that you recall?

Mr. OHLINGER. No; there has simply been silence on all of that. I do not think the draft was mentioned. The draft was not mentioned at all.

Senator KING. Has there been any urging of the German-Americans to buy Liberty Bonds, to subscribe to the Red Cross, to have their sons enlist or to enlist themselves, and earnestly and enthusiastically support the Government in this great crisis?

Mr. OHLINGER. There was nothing urging the German-Americans to subscribe or to contribute to the Red Cross. If there was anything urging the sons of German-Americans to enter the service of the country as volunteers I have not found it. But I do not want to make that an absolute statement without going over it again.

As I have read these quite carefully, I found nothing of that character, but I want to have the privilege of correcting myself if I am wrong.

Senator KING. Yes. Have you read carefully the issues since the war as well as those before?

Mr. OHLINGER. Yes.

Senator KING. Since you have been a subscriber?

Mr. OHLINGER. Yes.

Senator KING. While I am on this point, was there any reason which prompted you to become a student of this question?

Mr. OHLINGER. Just let me answer the previous question.

Senator KING. Yes.

Mr. OHLINGER. There was a notice in one of the numbers of the Official Bulletin, on the last page, in favor of Liberty Bonds.

Before I make an answer to that comprehensive question, I realize that it is a very important one, and I would not want to do any injustice to this organization, and I want to read them all over—the publications all over—before I give a positive answer.

Now, the question has been asked why I took an interest in this organization. My interest in German world politics began during my residence in China. I was in Shanghai, engaged in the practice of my profession, in the years 1904 to 1905, and my practice took me before the German extraterritorial courts in Shanghai, quite frequently, and I also had occasion to go to the German colony in China, at that time in Kiao-chau Bay, which is now a Japanese possession, and I was also very much impressed with the cultural effort that the German government was fostering in that country. They were fostering even missionary effort, because it was a kind of carrier of kultur. They were fostering the efforts of Catholic societies that were barred from Germany. One Catholic society, for instance, that was driven out of Germany and had to go across the Belgian frontier and establish itself across the frontier in Belgium from Germany, undertook work in the Shan-tung province in China and was supported very vigorously by the German government.

Senator WOLCOTT. Let me understand. You say that society had been driven out of Germany?

Mr. OHLINGER. Yes; driven out of Germany.

Senator WOLCOTT. Into Belgium?

Mr. OHLINGER. Into Belgium.

Senator WOLCOTT. And yet in its activities in China the government, which threw it out of Germany, there supported it?

Mr. OHLINGER. Supported it very vigorously.

Senator WOLCOTT. How do you explain that?

Mr. OHLINGER. There are a great many things about the German Imperial Government that can not be explained. But the fact is that this society was under the leadership of Bishop Anzer, of the Roman Catholic Church, and was driven out of Germany and had to establish its missionary home in Belgium just across the border, and from there it undertook the propagation of the Gospel in Shan-tung province in China, in 1897; and two missionaries of this society, which was driven out of Germany, happened to have been murdered by a Chinese mob in Shan-tung province, and within four days after that, Admiral Diedrichs appeared in Kiao-chau Bay and took possession of the whole

country as an act of reparation, and that entire part of China that Germany hoped to annex and which she had already made tributary to herself at the time that the war broke out was all taken over on the pretense of this injury that had been done to this missionary organization which had been banished from the German Empire itself. Of course, that was simply a pretense, but it served its purpose; and the efforts of this German cultural movement throughout the world were so apparent in China while I was there that it attracted my attention very strongly, and I found when I got back to my country that it was here also and that the evidences of German military preparation against the United States had been plain for the past 20 years. You can see them all around you in this country, just as plainly as you can see the gun emplacements in Belgium and northern France. They had been preparing for this war for at least 20 years.

Senator STERLING. You say that Germany has been making military preparations against the United States. Do you quite mean that? Was there primarily a reason for military preparation on the part of Germany?

Mr. OHLINGER. I say advisedly, German military preparation against the United States. I believe that German military preparation against the United States began 20 years ago, and the same process was followed with the United States as was followed in so many other countries; that is, the policy of infiltration, of propaganda for the purpose of destroying the national spirit of a country. That is the plan of the German general staff, and that is the thing, I believe, which this country will have to guard against more than anything else. You can not have an army fighting valiantly for a country that has not a red hot, flaming national spirit. No soldier is going to go into the trenches and sacrifice himself to all the miseries of warfare for a country that has not got a red hot, flaming national spirit. You can not expect it; and the object of the German general staff was to destroy the national spirit of America, so that the organization of any national spirit back of the Army would be absolutely impossible; and they very nearly succeeded. A few years more and there would not have been enough national spirit in the United States to count for anything against the idea of "Deutschland über Alles"; and that is the real meaning of this National German-American Alliance.

Now, I do not mean to say that every one in that organization knew what it was doing and that it was a part of the plan of the German general staff; but that does not detract from the fact that it was operating in favor of the German general staff as a matter of the larger strategy. Münsterberg himself, in one of the places that is quoted in this Bulletin, says:

> Your Plattsburg camps and your cantonments can not produce an army. An army must begin in the nursery and in the schoolroom.

The effect of this activity in the United States was to destroy the creation of an army at its very source. Now I think I am going into a matter there that military men could of course enlighten this committee on. I get my information, of course, simply from German military text-books and American military text-books; and that is one of the problems of greater strategy, and we have seen it illus-

trated in the infiltration and penetration that has taken place in Russia and Italy and Northern France and England.

Senator KING. Upon your return to the United States did you discover that the same method of—using your expression—infiltration, the same propaganda that you had found in other nations, was being carried on here by Germany?

Mr. OHLINGER. Well, I could not here, any more than I say I could in China, directly connect the German government with it: but there are the evidences of it. For instance, why is it that the German-language press of this country is in existence to-day? There is no reason whatever for it. There was some reason for the German-language press at a time when there was a large immigration from Germany. It was necessary, of course, as a medium between the immigrant and his new environment, but that immigration reached its flood in 1882. In 1900 it practically ceased. From that time on there was no call for a German press in these United States; but ever since Prince Henry made his famous visit to the United States and paid such particular attention to German societies the German press has been increasing in its circulation. There is absolutely no reason why the citizens of German origin should not get their news from the English-speaking press; and if they love the literature of their own country, they have all the sources of Goethe and Schiller and Lessing to appeal to; and the German press of the United States is a disgrace to the German language. It is not American; it is not German. So far as the language is concerned, it is about as near to German as the Pidjin-English of the laundryman is to good English.

Senator WOLCOTT. If your logic is correct, then, if the presence in this country of a German press indicates a scheme on the part of the German government to extend to this country German kultur, if that logic is correct, would you not also have to argue in the same way that the presence in this country of a Hebrew press argued a design on the part of the Hebrew government—if there was one somewhere—to inculcate Hebrew sentiment; and also would you not have to argue that the existence of an Italian press in this country and of a Greek press in this country indicated an activity on the part of the Italian and the Greek governments to express their particular propaganda here? If your statement that these activities are a part of the plan of the German general staff is bottomed solely on the presence of a German press here, I do not quite follow you in your argument.

Mr. OHLINGER. It is not based solely on that, Senator. I am aware of the fact that there is a Greek press in this country and that there is an Italian press in this country; but none of those have behind them the cultural ambitions and the world dominating ambitions that we know exist in Germany. We know that there is no ambition on the part of the Greek government to dominate the United States. We know that there is no ambition on the part of the Italian government to dominate the United States. We know definitely, on the other hand, that Germany is pledged definitely to this proposition of world power or downfall. That has been the cry of the junker class in Germany for many years.

Furthermore, I just want to give one instance of this. The German press has been encouraging the idea of the solidarity and the unity

of the German element. The presses of the other nations do not do that, so far as I am aware. I have not found it, at any rate, among the Greek press.

Senator WOLCOTT. Pardon me right there. You are arguing now from the contents of this German press?

Mr. OHLINGER. Yes.

Senator WOLCOTT. But your process of reasoning from the fact of the existence of a German press back to the idea that the German government fostered it as part of its strategy——

Mr. OHLINGER. Yes.

Senator WOLCOTT (continuing). That is an entirely different argument.

Mr. OHLINGER. Let me follow this argument. Greek immigration is on the increase in this country. Italian immigration is also on the increase—tremendously increasing—and it is absolutely necessary that there be an Italian press and a Greek press in the United States in order to mediate between these immigrants and their new environment. On the other hand, there is no German immigration into the United States, and there has not been, to speak of, for the last 20 years. In 20 years certainly every German in this country must have had the opportunity to learn English, yet with the diminishing immigration of Germans to the United States the German press has nevertheless increased in its circulation. The New York Staats Zeitung last year claimed that its circulation had increased more rapidly in the last two years than that of any other paper in the United States. What is the reason for that? We as Americans, I think, can raise no objection whatever to an element coming into the United States demanding literature that will mediate between itself and its new environment; but we can have no patience whatever with a press that persists after the reason for its existence has disappeared; and when we find that situation you have got to look for other motives.

Senator KING. I am afraid my question led rather far afield. I asked you the reasons that led you to an investigation of this subject, and you mentioned your work in China. When you came to this country you continued your investigation of this subject?

Mr. OHLINGER. Yes.

Now, I have already taken up the second point, and that is the arising of antagonism to other elements of the population.

I shall now pass to the third point, and that is——

Senator WOLCOTT. When you speak of "points," are you referring to the seven points referred to by you in the beginning?

Mr. OHLINGER. Yes. If you do not wish me to, I will drop that.

Senator WOLCOTT. No; I was going to ask you to do that when you laid down those seven points.

Mr. OHLINGER. The third point is the vigorous propaganda which the Alliance has conducted for the benefit of the German government. Bernhardi's book, "Germany and the Next War", refers to the necessity of establishing in foreign countries blocs of population which by their solidarity can be used in favor of German policies, and he specifically refers in this book, which was published in 1911, I think, to the National German-American Alliance, and refers to the fact that this Alliance had opposed the arbitration treaties with

England which came up in 1910 and by its efforts had defeated them; and he refers to that as one of the justifications of the policy of consolidation in foreign countries.

Senator KING. Can you give us the exact reference to that?

Mr. OHLINGER. To Bernhardi's book?

Senator KING. Yes; in Bernhardi's book.

Mr. OHLINGER. I can later on. I can give you the page of that, very quickly.

Senator KING. I wish you would.

Senator WOLCOTT. You had better indicate it by the chapter, too, I guess, because there are several editions of that book.

Senator KING. Do you know whether the Bulletin ever alluded to the reference by Bernhardi to its activities here?

Mr. OHLINGER. No; I do not recall any reference to that; but the Bulletin, or the National German-American Alliance, did take some action in regard to a book here which is entitled "Germany as a World Power".

Senator KING. By whom and when published, if you have that here?

Mr. OHLINGER. It is entitled "Germany as a World Power; Forty Years of German Empire." It was published in Berlin in the year 1910.

Senator WOLCOTT. That 40 years ran since the Franco-Prussian War?

Mr. OHLINGER. Yes. That book was discussed by the National German-American Alliance at its sixth convention. The propaganda committee of the German-American Alliance at its sixth convention, upon page 227 of these proceedings——

Senator STERLING. Is that called the "propaganda committee"?

Mr. OHLINGER. Yes; the "propaganda committee"; chairman, John Schwaab, of Cincinnati.

Senator STERLING. Are the duties of that propaganda committee set forth anywhere in the proceedings?

Mr. OHLINGER. I think that is set forth in the constitution and by-laws. They recommended the study of this particular book, "Germany as a World Power".

Senator WOLCOTT. Have you read that book?

Mr. OHLINGER. I have read parts of it; yes. It is quite a lengthy book, and it is in the German type, which is very hard to read.

Senator KING. Is it a deification of German military power?

Mr. OHLINGER. It is a deification—a glorification—of Germany's material and political growth and of its future.

Senator KING. Does it indorse its methods of development?

Mr. OHLINGER. This report of the committee did not.

Senator KING. No; I mean the book.

Mr. OHLINGER. Oh, yes.

Senator KING. Does it support the military policies of the Germans?

Mr. OHLINGER. Yes.

Senator KING. Does the propaganda committee recommend the study of that book?

Mr. OHLINGER. The propaganda committee of the National German-American Alliance, at its sixth convention, held on the 6th of October, 1911, recommended this book.

Senator KING. For schools, or for the Germans in America to read it?

Mr. OHLINGER. Just the Germans in America; it was recommended for every city and private library.

Senator WOLCOTT. Mr. Ohlinger, can you refer to the place in the constitution and by-laws where the duties of this propaganda committee are defined, and let us have just the language of the constitution or the by-law affecting that?

Mr. OHLINGER (after a search). No; I am sorry I can not do that at present. I will find somewhere the duties of that committee. I will say that I think that from the beginning they have always had what they called a propaganda committee.

In this connection, on the political benefit of the organization to Germany, I would like to call the subcommittee's attention to the book of Ambassador Gerard, in which he makes the statement that the heads of the German government decried the possibility of any vigorous action being taken by the United States in its dispute with Germany, for the reason that the German-Americans in this country would put such obstacles in the way of it that it would be impossible.

Senator WOLCOTT. Is that the point where Ambassador Gerard responded that we had a lamp-post to hang every one of them on?

Mr. OHLINGER. Yes; I think that is the particular clause.

Prof. Kuehnemann, who traveled in this country as the agent of the German government spreading the propaganda for Germany, was a speaker who was used by the National German-American Alliance on a great many occasions. He addressed a mass meeting in Milwaukee at the same time—on the same occasion—that Mr. Hexamer did, and he was boosted by the Alliance on a great many occasions; that is, local societies were urged to get him there as a speaker. His message to the Germans was substantially that the German-Americans of the United States could wish their fatherland no greater benefit than by so controlling the policies of this country as to keep this country away from England.

As I have said, the Alliance in 1910 opposed the adoption of the arbitration treaties with England and France. Very soon after that the president and the executive committee of the Alliance took action protesting against the use of any public money for the celebration of the centenary of peace between the United States and England.

Senator WOLCOTT. Now, are you going to cite anything in substantiation of that statement which you have just made?

Mr. OHLINGER. About——

Senator WOLCOTT. About this position that they took.

Mr. OHLINGER. Yes.

Senator WOLCOTT. I understood you to say that this Prof. Kuehnemann was over here and was boosted by the National German-American Alliance.

Mr. OHLINGER. Yes.

Senator WOLCOTT. Now, then, is there anything in the Official Bulletin to substantiate that statement?

Mr. OHLINGER. Yes; his speeches are reported in the Official Bulletin.

Senator WOLCOTT. He preached the doctrine that the German-Americans here could render service best to their fatherland by en-

couraging the people of this country to look with disfavor in some way upon England? That was the substance of it?

Mr. OHLINGER. That was exactly what he said. He said that they could show no greater benefit to the fatherland than by so directing the policies of this country as to keep the United States aloof from England. That is a close translation of what he said.

Senator WOLCOTT. Are you going to quote from his speeches?

Mr. OHLINGER. Yes; I am, in a minute.

Senator WOLCOTT. All right.

Senator KING. As found in the Bulletin?

Mr. OHLINGER. Yes; as found in the Bulletin. This is from a speech made by Prof. Kuehnemann in Milwaukee on the same occasion on which Mr. Hexamer talked, and it is reported in the December (1915) Official Bulletin on page 9. I translate as follows:

Introducing his subject, Mr. Kuehnemann said that he was present in Detroit at a meeting called by Germans, Irish, and Hungarians at which the Irish speakers were so inciting in their utterances that he was astounded that the Government did not take action.

Then he goes on to say:

The local Germanism in the United States is a fettered giant which is in a position to use its power, but up to the present time it has not done so, in politics. What the Germans in this country have done has been good, but there must be a new effort if they are to arrive at the great objects which they have in view. Two questions are of great importance, namely, How is it possible that up to the present time the German-Americans have taken so little part in political life? and, second, What is German-America?

Then he goes on to discuss the development of democratic instutions in Germany. Then he says:

The new German spirit will inspire the Germans of this country. It is necessary that the spirit of German ~~statesmanship~~ *state work* be transplanted by German-Americans to this land of their adoption.

Senator STERLING. What does he mean there by "German statesmanship"?

Mr. OHLINGER. I will read that. I left that out. He is in this speech comparing the previous attitude of the Germans in this country to the attitude of the Germans in the old country prior to 1870. He says, as to the first question, namely, why do Germans in the United States take so little part in politics, that that rests upon the political habits which they obtained in Germany before they came here. He says:

At that time—

Namely, in 1870—

the German was accustomed to leave the entire business of the state to the officials. At that time the citizen took the position that he had no part in the administration, and Dr. Kuehnemann reminded them of that old saying in Germany, "We have a Bismarck, and he will take care of everything."

Then he says:

German-America is a German cultural colony to which, however, the mother country has, up to the present time, not given sufficient attention, because the mother country has in the meantime been in the process of a development of its own; but these days are now past. Germany is no longer a continental world power. In place of her officials will come the German race, and a new German world is in process of creation. With their old customs the Germans came to this country and have lived in their old customs up until the present day; but the new German spirit will inspire

them anew. It is necessary that the spirit of the new German ~~statesmanship~~ *state work* be transplanted by the German-Americans to this their adopted country.

There is another address of this same gentleman I wish to call attention to.

I will furnish the reference to those other speeches of Prof. Kuehnemann later, if the committee will allow me.

(Mr. Ohlinger subsequently sent by mail the following:)

[7 Official Bulletin [No.] 10, page 10.]

"To these words of Prof. Kuehnemann in regard to Fichte and his great work little can be added. It would be desirable if Fichte's 'Speeches to the German Nation' could in these stormy days also be read and taken to heart here. Fichte is, like Schiller, a great speaker of warning advice to all Germans of the world. Spiritual German unity can be preserved independently of political boundaries. The unity of the language binds us in common sentiments as a race of brothers. It should also bring this condition about in this land. It should also here make the unity of Germanism a practical fact, of which there could be no doubt and which could not be destroyed. Only in unity do we also show that we are genuine Germans. To that purpose we must work with all our might. We dare not pause and rest in unceasing agitation for the binding together of the entire American-Germanism in the National German-American Alliance.

"To be German means also to be free. To that end must we strive and must set ourselves against all the attempts of a hostile tendency with all our energy. The dark zealots and haters of foreigners who would restrict our personal liberty must be fought and conquered, but only a united Germanism can take up the battle with success and with the prospect of carrying it through. The love of freedom is one of the characteristic properties of the German race. We must not in our new home allow that freedom to wither away and be robbed from us. On the highway of success there is no room for sleepyheads. It has been asserted that the battle and the need of the old fatherland has brought the great awakening for the German-Americanism. Let us hope that this has really happened. Whoever is filled with that awakening, let him not stand aside but let him join the National Alliance, the great battle organization for personal liberty and the realization of the world empire of the German spirit."

Prof. Eugene Kuehnemann toured the country under the auspices of the National German-American Alliance. The Alliance arranged with subsidiary alliances for dates for this speaker. (7 Official Bulletin 12, p. 31.) In a speech before the general meeting of the National German-American Alliance of Louisiana, held in New Orleans, the speaker said (8 Official Bulletin 1, p. 19):

"Before long German-Americans will be able to welcome a new epoch in their relation to Germany.

"Soon the German, as the Englishman has done for a long time past, will think of the world when his country is mentioned. There will arise a world Germanism, and to preserve this world Germanism will be the affair of all Germans throughout the world. In the year 1870 Germans began to come to consciousness, but in the great year 1914 and in 1915 this feeling of greatness has grown. I would not say by this that it is the duty of German-Americans to become Germans. No one in Germany so understands it. It is the duty of German-Americans to be first Americans and then to be Germans. But the question arises, 'Is it not better for America if the German-Americans to the best of their ability transplant their German ideals to their adopted fatherland in order to support America through the German spirit and German virtues?'

"Naturally, it is the first duty of every German-American to be true to the country of which he is a citizen. This fidelity he can prove best by remaining true to German ideals. The idea which generally prevailed for some years past that the western part of the earth should be left to the Anglo-Saxon element has been upset by the war. The Germans in America can show their fatherland no greater evidence of faithfulness than to work to the end that America remain independent of England. The German should work to the end of preserving America."

Examine 7 Official Bulletin, 12, page 2, for a statement of Prof. Kuehnemann made at the same meeting at which Hexamer talked in Milwaukee, to the following effect:

"The inevitable ultimate victory of Germany will find the Germans the world over a united race of brothers."

Mr. OHLINGER. As I say, the German-American Alliance, upon the outbreak of the war, and while Americans were in doubt as to the causes of the war and the merits of the controversy, immediately stepped into the breach and became a violent partisan of the German government. They had their minds, apparently, made up. Immediately after the outbreak of the war, in the early part of August, I think on the 3d of August, the president of the National German-American Alliance sent out a notice through the German press to all German-Americans urging them to organize press bureaus in order to combat what they claimed was the antagonistic attitude of the English-language press, and they were urged to influence the press of the country by calling their attention to unfair articles, by trying to enlighten them on what the real facts were.

Senator WOLCOTT. When was that?

Mr. OHLINGER. That was done in August, 1914, immediately after the outbreak of the war.

Senator STERLING. What evidence have you on that point? Have you any record of that?

Mr. OHLINGER. The evidence of that is the Official Bulletin for September, 1914, page 1. This is the heading:

Dr. Hexamer's appeal in the interests of the old fatherland.

Subheading:

All Germans should stand firmly together and oppose unfriendly attacks in a vigorous manner.

Dr. Hexamer on the 3d of August issued the following appeal to the German press, and he says in this appeal this:

"In every city there should be a literary bureau established, with a thoroughly competent press agent, who could immediately make reply to the virulent attacks and statements due to the ignorance of the irresponsible reporters of the English-language press. Furthermore, there should be established in every branch society funds for the benefit of the sufferers from the war in the old country."

Another appeal which follows this one on the same page says:

To all German teachers, to all who have studied in German universities, and to every man or woman of German race with literary ability:

The National Alliance is in need in many places of people who can undertake a vigorous literary polemic against the English newspapers. I therefore call upon all who are in a position in their home towns to read the English press and the English newspapers to send articles correcting the misstatements to the owners and editors thereof, and also, by means of original articles offered to the Anglo-American press, to work for the German cause. Those, however, who have difficulty in expressing their thoughts in good English should write down their thoughts in German and make use of a translator.

Senator STERLING. That is the literal translation, is it, "to work for the German cause"?

Mr. OHLINGER. Yes, sir; "to work for the German cause."

Senator WOLCOTT. That is in the September (1914) issue?

Mr. OHLINGER. In the September (1914) issue, on page 1.

Senator WOLCOTT. Contained in the address of Dr. Hexamer?

Mr. OHLINGER. In a written appeal sent to these people.

Senator WOLCOTT. To the German-American Alliance members?

Mr. OHLINGER. To all German teachers, to all who have studied in German universities, and to every German man or woman with literary ability.

Senator WOLCOTT. Is that the date of Dr. Hexamer's appeal? That is to say, did he put it out then for the first time, or does this Bulletin contain a copy of an appeal that he made at a prior time?

Mr. OHLINGER. It is a copy of an appeal that he had made at a prior time.

Senator WOLCOTT. When did he make that appeal?

Mr. OHLINGER. On the 3d of August.

Senator WOLCOTT. The war broke out, we generally say, on the 4th, I believe.

Mr. OHLINGER. The 4th of August.

Senator KING. Well, Germany mobilized a little before and advanced on the 1st of August.

Senator WOLCOTT. But there had not been much time, of course, for the English press, in this country at least, to circulate any stories prejudicial to the German cause when Dr. Hexamer was putting that out.

Senator STERLING. It must have been on the theory that Dr. Hexamer was thoroughly advised as to what was coming.

Mr. OHLINGER. This appeal was given over on the 3d of August, as appears in the headline.

Senator STERLING. Just a question there in regard to Dr. Hexamer, Mr. Ohlinger. I do not know that you have stated very fully what you may know in regard to his antecedents or his German connections. What was his position in Germany? How long had he been in this country?

Mr. OHLINGER. Dr. Hexamer is a native American. I think both his parents came from Germany in 1848 or 1850 and settled in Baltimore. He is an architect by profession. I think he is a man about 45 or 50 years of age. As has been indicated, he has been the organizer of this Alliance, and he has been at the head of it from the very beginning.

Senator KING. Do you know the cause of his resignation?

Mr. OHLINGER. The cause that is stated in the Official Bulletin was the harassing character of the labors of the presidency and the nervous condition that the attacks upon him had brought him to and the necessity for a recuperation. That is so stated in his letter of resignation.

I was taking up the matter of the propaganda for the benefit of Germany that the Alliance has conducted. Now, just another instance of that propaganda for the benefit of Germany; and that was illustrated when the *Lusitania* crime occurred.

Immediately after the news of that was communicated, the president of the Alliance, Mr. Hexamer, toward the end of May, sent a telegram to the presidents of the 45 State alliances in the following terms:

Telegraph to President Wilson that your members and an overwhelming majority of the citizens of your States do not approve of any drastic measures against Germany, since they are unjustified, and cause all your branch societies likewise to send in telegraphic protests.

Of course the statement in that was a lie outright, as there was no substantiation for the statement that he wanted every president of these 45 State alliances to telegraph President Wilson, namely, than an overwhelming majority of the citizens of that State were against drastic measures or severe measures against Germany; but

that was the form telegram that they were expected to send, and of course the stream of telegrams immediately followed.

Senator WOLCOTT. Mr. Ohlinger, on what authority do you base this statement that that telegram was sent by Dr. Hexamer?

Mr. OHLINGER. I base that upon the Official Bulletin for July, 1915, on page 1.

Senator KING. Aside from that, do you know of activities in the various organizations, local and State, along the lines indicated by the telegram of Dr. Hexamer?

Mr. OHLINGER. I have here the telegrams that were sent.

Senator KING. That is, all of them, or some?

Mr. OHLINGER. Some of them; not all of them. Of course, there were thousands sent; but the telegrams appear here and are spread out in this number of the Official Bulletin.

Senator KING. Give us the form of one or two of them. We do not want to burden the record with them all.

Mr. OHLINGER. Here is a telegram from Portland, Oreg., June 1, 1915:

PRESIDENT WOODROW WILSON,
Washington, D. C.

We, citizens of the United States who have the real welfare of our country loyally at heart, and who believe in justice and fairness to other nations to which we have declared our neutrality, hereby protest solemnly against what we deem unwarranted action against Germany.

That, of course, had reference to the diplomatic exchange that was being undertaken at that time with reference to the *Lusitania*; and that is signed by the German Veterans' Society, the German Aid Society, the Oregon Red Cross Society, the German Military Society.

Senator STERLING. But the telegram professes to speak in behalf of citizens generally, does it not?

Mr. OHLINGER. Well, no; it simply says: "We, citizens of the United States".

Senator STERLING. But the direction of Dr. Hexamer in regard to the telegrams that should be sent referred to citizens generally, did it not?

Mr. OHLINGER. Generally, yes; that they were to telegraph that an overwhelming majority of the citizens of their respective States were against drastic measures against Germany.

Senator KING. Is that telegram and others which you have there placed in such juxtaposition to Dr. Hexamer's telegram as that they are clearly the product of his wire?

Mr. OHLINGER. Yes; they appear on the second page; and of course there were a great many mass meetings held to protest against any drastic diplomatic measures.

Senator KING. If it will not interrupt you, Mr. Ohlinger, have you made any investigation to determine to what extent this Alliance organization dominated, controlled, or influenced any other German organizations in the United States? Apparently the organizations responding to that wire of Dr. Hexamer, and indicated in the telegram which you have just read, were not German Alliance organizations.

Mr. OHLINGER. Oh, yes, they were.

Senator KING. I did not so understand.

Mr. OHLINGER. Perhaps I have not made myself clear. You see, the Alliance made use of the societies which were already in existence—

such a society, for instance, as the Union of German Veterans, the Society of German Reservists, and the German Military Society, and a great many others that were already in existence. What the Alliance did was to get hold of all these societies in Toledo, for instance, and make out of all of them what they called a city federation, in which each society had its representatives; and then all these federations throughout the State had their representatives, two or three hundred of them, in the State federation and then each of these State federations in the 45 States had their representative in the National Alliance; so that in that way the National Alliance reaches these individual societies that are already in existence and gets down to the members. It is like the organization of an army through divisions and regiments and companies.

Senator KING. Then those societies to which you have just referred trace their connection right up to the parent organization of which Dr. Hexamer was the head?

Mr. OHLINGER. Yes, sir. Dr. Hexamer sent his telegram to the presidents of the State alliances with the request that they send the request to the local federations, the city federations, and of course they in turn spread the word along the line to the individual societies, and then they responded.

Senator KING. Then to the biennial convention of the National German-American Alliance these local subdivisions, bearing the names in part at least which you have just read in that telegram, would send representatives?

Mr. OHLINGER. No; that was not the way it was done. The representatives would be selected by the State alliance.

Senator KING. But these smaller organizations or units would trace their connection to the State alliance?

Mr. OHLINGER. To the State alliance.

Senator KING. And send delegates to the State alliance?

Mr. OHLINGER. Yes, sir.

Senator KING. And the State alliance would send delegates to the national convention?

Mr. OHLINGER. To the national convention, every two years.

Senator KING. Of which Dr. Hexamer was the president?

Mr. OHLINGER. Yes.

Senator KING. I see. Are there any German organizations in the United States that are not dominated by and connected with this National Alliance?

Mr. OHLINGER. Yes, sir; there are. A great many of the churches are not connected with the Alliance, although some of the churches are connected with the Alliance.

Senator STERLING. Can you mention any denomination which, more than another, belongs to the Alliance, or whose members belong to the Alliance?

Mr. OHLINGER. Some church organization—I am not sure whether it is the Evangelical Synod—has sent delegates to the conventions of the Alliance. A number of Evangelical pastors are members of the different societies.

Senator KING. Were they not members of this Alliance as Germans, or as members of some local organization, rather than as members of a church?

Mr. OHLINGER. Some of the church organizations come in as church organizations. For instance, organizations in a church, of the young men in a certain church, have come in.

Senator KING. This Alliance does not attempt to influence the churches, does it?

Mr. OHLINGER. Oh, yes—yes; churches of all denominations. Some of their most strenuous supporters have been the pastors of the churches and of both the Catholic and the Protestant denominations. Mr. Frey, the head of the German Catholic Union, has been active, I believe, in the National German-American Alliance.

Senator WOLCOTT. As a matter of fact, the present president of the National German-American Alliance, Mr. von Bosse, is a Lutheran minister.

Mr. OHLINGER. Yes, sir.

Senator KING. Have you any feeling whatever against the German-American Alliance as an organization?

Mr. OHLINGER. No.

Senator KING. What prompted you to write the book and make the investigations concerning which you have testified?

Mr. OHLINGER. Nothing but the need, as it seemed to me, of emphasizing the absolute necessity from a military and a political standpoint that we have in this country a united nationalism instead of a scramble of disjointed nationalities.

Senator King. You have not been attacked by them or been the object of their opposition?

Mr. OHLINGER. I have been attacked by them after writing it.

Senator King. But I mean before.

Mr. OHLINGER. Oh, no- -no. They never attacked me before.

Senator King. You never came in contact with them?

Mr. OHLINGER. No; but since the writing, of course, there have been some complimentary editorials on myself in the Official Bulletin.

Senator KING. What positions, if any, have you held in your State?

Mr. OHLINGER. I have never held a political office of any kind.

Senator KING. You have been a practicing lawyer for many years?

Mr. OHLINGER. I have been a practicing lawyer for 15 years.

Senator KING. And you are president of the Chamber of Commerce of Toledo?

Mr. OHLINGER. I am president of the Chamber of Commerce of Toledo; and I may say here that the Chamber of Commerce of Toledo is one of the most active organizations in the United States, and Toledo is one of the best cities in the country.

Senator KING. And you have Germans who are members of the Chamber of Commerce?

Mr. OHLINGER. Yes; any number of them.

The purpose of that book was, as you will notice in the last few pages of it, to convert the German-Americans of this country from a false ideal which was bound eventually to bring discredit upon them and great harm to the country.

(Thereupon, at 4.40 o'clock p. m., the subcommittee adjourned until Monday, February 25, 1918, at 2.30 o'clock p. m.)

Mr. Ohlinger subsequently sent by mail the following memorandum:

UNITY OF GERMAN-AMERICANS.

Under the heading, "The strength of Germanism is upon the land", in 8[th volume] Official Bulletin [No.] 3, page 22, there are the following statements:

For years the National German-American Alliance has summoned the Germanism of the land to assemble and to ward off the enemies of German cultural efforts, but now more than ever this warning comes with convincing insistence to the individual. Only by a strong organization embracing the entire German-American citizenship can the future of the German-American citizenship be secured and its rights protected.

The National German-American Alliance sent out cards for the purpose of bringing in new members. These cards contained this statement (8 Official Bulletin 3, page 23):

While the National German-American Alliance is putting these cards for the winning of new members in circulation it demands that energetic use be made of them in the country and in the city. In this time it is the holy duty of everyone who stands for right, freedom, and truth, and who is against the oppression of a corrupt and ignorant Anglo-American press, to become an individual member of the National Alliance and to keep himself, through the Official Bulletin, currently informed as to all happenings in German-American life. Both cost only $2 a year.

The National Alliance turns to its subsidiary alliances and individual societies throughout the land for a mighty agitation and demands that you bring in individual members! Show what German thoroughness and organization can accomplish also in this land. Who would not help? In a very noteworthy essay, Mr. F. F. Matenaers of Chicago thanks God that it will not be possible to our enemies to disrupt the indeed powerful but unfortunately not organized Germanism. He writes: "For with the assured victory of Germanism in Europe there is certain not only the preservation but also a strengthening of the Germanism in the United States. The Germanism even in this land, however, should be aware of the danger in which it lies, and should take measures to make secure its position through its own powers for all future times."

And therefore onto the work in every State and every city.

The speeches of Dr. Hexamer in the fall of 1915 produced such enthusiasm that he was hailed by the Peoria (Ill.) "Sonne" as a new kind of American, namely, a "Hexamerican". This designation was, of course, made up partly of his own name and partly of the designation American. The article proceeds (8 Official Bulletin 1, page 3):

And therefore we German-Americans must regard it as peculiarly a duty of honor to distinguish this Hexamerican through honoring him and to stand by him in his battle against hypocrisy, lies, and deceit. Hail to the apostle of peace, the missionary for the ennoblement of the American character, and the creator of a pure Americanism! At present his head is crowned with the crown of the martyr, but it will some day carry the crown of triumph, just as the leaders of the German army of heroes after the European war. Hail our honored guest, the Hexamerican.

See 7 Official Bulletin 12, page 1, for the following statement by President Hexamer in Milwaukee in November, 1915:

Now is the time for us to stand firmly together. Great problems await us in this land. Every petty jealousy must be forgotten. We must be united, united, united. Either we remain or we go under. We are either the hammer or the anvil.

At the annual convention of the Nebraska State Alliance held in Omaha, Nebr., on October 5, 1915, as reported in 7 Official Bulletin 11, page 17, the President of the State Alliance said:

Germanism in the whole world stands to-day in a grim, implacable battle for its existence, there on the Old Continent with the sword and with the thunder of the giant artillery, here with moral weapons. The enemy, however, is here and there the same: *the perfidious Albion*. On the other side it has forced the sword into the hands of almost all the peoples of Europe against Germany. Here it has had the cunning to put a servile press in its service, which with all dishonorable means is stirring up hatred against what is German and is poisoning public opinion.

Volume 7, Official Bulletin, No. 12, page 3, contains the following speech made by Leo Stern, president of the Wisconsin Alliance, on the occasion of the welcoming of Mr. Hexamer to Milwaukee in 1915:

Our battle is a battle of truth against lies and deception and ignorance. We will openly to-day as on every occasion admit that our hearts are for Germany and Austria and that we to-day, as on the first day of the war, wish for these two countries the victory and early and honorable peace. If we German-Americans in this terrible war stand on the side of the countries from which we and our fathers sprang, that is not only because we are proud of our descent but because above all things we are convinced that the interests of America are identical with Germany and her allies.

Are we therefore less good citizens if we attempt to bring about the spread of German ideals in this land? Does it imply that one is a less good citizen when one believes that it would serve the advantage of our fatherland to mingle into the entire Americanization German life? Is the German-American for that reason a less good citizen because under the pressure of circumstances he will now at last cease to allow himself to be used as a tool of selfish politicians and by enemies of the German cause and finally understands that he can only assert his position by entering upon public life for the realization of his life and his ideals? We want to show that we have for this both the moral power and the intellectual ability.

We are in these latter days frequently attacked on account of the hyphen. Much that is hostile and foolish has been uttered, but we never speak of an American-Germanism, but of a German-Americanism, and with that both the meaning and the implication of the word are given and all this hostile attack falls of itself. We are proud to call ourselves citizens of this Republic, but we are still prouder to be German-Americans. The hyphen is for us an honor and we carry it as a distinction. And we at once make the confession that we preserve the ideals which we took from our old home as sacred and that we are actively engaged in realizing those ideals to the best of our strength for the welfare of our fatherland. This confession we want to make again to-night. May German spirit in its purest fire be active here also in its greatest power in order that these ideals may make possible the creation of a united, mighty, and hearty people.

Just as the German national hero, Siegfried, had to go through the fire in order to get into the world and there accomplish his wonders; just as Germany must first go through this terrible period in order that with increasing strength she may work on the development of her future; so hope I that we German-Americans may go forth from this battle which has been forced upon us enlightened and unified for the good of the German life and of our fatherland.

Honorary President H. C. Bloedel, of the Pennsylvania Alliance, made this speech (7 Official Bulletin 11, p. 27):

It is our sacred duty not to falter in active self-sacrifice and not to allow ourselves to be deterred by hostile elements and by a press which stands in the service of England from preserving our understanding, our love, and our attachment to the efforts of our racial brothers, and from proving that we know how to appreciate the tremendous deeds of the German and the Austro-Hungarian people who have in this war excelled themselves. We know that their victory means the progress of kultur in all departments and an infinite influence upon the position of those who have immigrated to this land.

In his annual report as president of the Oregon Alliance Dr. F. H. Dammasch said (7 Official Bulletin 7, p. 13):

Consider, I appeal to you, most earnestly this thought: "What might befall us in the future, in the event that Germany were beaten and our fellow citizens were to take as genuine the endless, horrible, and slanderous falsehoods which are dished up to them by the powerful press, which is anti-German-American?"

I make mention of these facts in this my annual report in order to lay to your hearts all the more forcefully the necessity of a stronger and firmer union of our powers, both for offense and defense. The report of our secretary and treasurer will show that we have some successes to report and that during the past year we have organized four new societies. Gratifying as this is, still it is not enough, and so I must warn you during the ensuing year to organize our fellow citizens of Teutonic descent of every part of the State of Oregon.

OPPOSITION TO POLICIES OF THE GOVERNMENT.

The National German-American Alliance frequently protested against the negotiation of an allied loan in the United States as a breach of neutrality. It summoned all patriotic American citizens to withdraw their deposits from banks participating in such loan. It withdrew its own funds from banks that did not give satisfactory replies to its questions as to whether they held any of the bonds of these governments (7 Official Bulletin 10, page 2). The president of the National German-American Alliance sent out a letter warning against the dangers of the allied loan. The letter recommended that Germans take the necessary precautions in the selection of banks in which they deposited their money. The letter further recommended the German war loan as a safe investment of capital (7 Official Bulletin 10, page 38).

NATIONAL GERMAN-AMERICAN ALLIANCE.

MONDAY, FEBRUARY 25, 1918.

UNITED STATES SENATE,
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY,
Washington, D. C.

The subcommittee met, pursuant to the call of the chairman, at 2.30 o'clock p. m. in the room of the Committee on the Judiciary in the Capitol.

Present: Senators King (chairman), Wolcott, and Sterling.

Senator KING. The committee will be in order.

You may proceed, Mr. Ohlinger.

TESTIMONY OF MR. OHLINGER—Resumed and concluded.

Mr. OHLINGER. Before going further, I wish to make some corrections in the testimony. I have not gone through the transcript, but from the notices in the press it is possible that I was misunderstood.

In the testimony last Saturday, in translating the German word "Deutschtum," which is used repeatedly in the Official Bulletin of the Alliance, I used the word "Germanism." I have here a dictionary published in Berlin, Muret-Sanders Encyklopädisches Wörterbuch, and the equivalent of "Deutschtum" is given in this dictionary as "German nationality or patriotism". Possibly that would be a better translation of the word than my translation of Saturday.

Senator KING. Has not the word "Deutschtum" been used by the Pan-Germanic League of Germany, particularly in the propaganda in Austria, to mean more than that?

Mr. OHLINGER. It does mean more than that. It has acquired a greater meaning than that, and this larger meaning is the sum of German racial, national, political, and cultural aspirations. I think I can fairly say that is the present meaning of Deutschtum; but lest I go too far, I have brought this dictionary here, which is an authority, published in 1903, in which the word is translated "German nationality or patriotism". That word occurs repeatedly in the Official Bulletin of the National German-American Alliance and was the word used in the report of the speech of ex-Congressman Bartholdt which I read last Saturday.

Mr. E. L. SCHARF. Mr. Chairman, will you allow me to make an explanation——

Senator KING. No.

Mr. SCHARF. With regard to the word "Deutschtum"?

Senator KING. No; you may be heard later.

Mr. SCHARF. I just wanted to explain on that point about that word.

Senator KING. This gentleman is on the stand; after he has completed his statement you may testify if you wish to do so.

Mr. SCHARF. This is not a matter of testifying; it is a matter with regard to the final syllable "tum", Mr. Chairman.

Senator KING. If you wish to be heard we will hear you in your turn.

Proceed, Mr. Ohlinger.

Mr. OHLINGER. The chairman asked me on Saturday if the telegram addressed by Mr. Hexamer to all the State alliances after the *Lusitania* affair had been responded to or not. I was unable to give a definite answer to that. I wish to correct that statement by this statement from the Official Bulletin for July, 1915, on page 1:

> The telegraphic demand on the part of Dr. Hexamer was responded to by all State and branch societies of the National German-American Alliance, as well as by numerous German societies, ecclesiastical or church societies, lodges, scientific and other organizations. Individuals, also, in their capacity as American citizens, addressed the President and begged him to maintain friendly relations with Germany.

I said something last Saturday in regard to——

Senator WOLCOTT. Just a moment, please; "was responded to" is the language of the book? Does the article go on to show how responded to?

Mr. OHLINGER. The phrase that is used here is "wurde entsprochen", which I think, if properly translated, means "was responded to", or "was complied with"; and the Bulletin goes on to say that "subjoined the Official Bulletin publishes a few of them", and then follow the telegrams, quite a number of them.

Senator STERLING. Those are in the record?

Mr. OHLINGER. A few of them.

Senator KING. Is the verbiage the same in each?

Mr. OHLINGER. No.

Senator WOLCOTT. Those samples you have are addressed to the President?

Mr. OHLINGER. Yes; they are all addressed to the President, and they are contained on pages 2 and 3 of the Official Bulletin for July, 1915.

Senator KING. Is there any great variation in the telegrams?

Mr. OHLINGER. Yes; in these that are reported here there is considerable variation in the telegrams. Some of them are quite long and some are short.

Senator STERLING. The Official Bulletin is published monthly?

Mr. OHLINGER. It is published monthly; yes, sir. Last Saturday in my statement I said that the budget of the Alliance was something like, I think I said, from $20,000 to $25,000 a year. That was not based upon any statements that I saw of the finances of the Alliance for those years. It was simply an estimate that I made. My opinion is that the budget of the Alliance and the funds that it received for its purposes were vastly in excess of that amount.

My ground for that statement is this statement contained on page 6 of the Official Bulletin for January, 1916:

> Dr. Hexamer in his propaganda trip in Wisconsin had material results. Mr. Joseph Uihlein of Milwaukee contributed $5,000 and Col. Gustav Pabst contributed $2,500. Many citizens subscribed respectable amounts. Above all, many citizens announced themselves as life members of the Alliance. This membership can be obtained by a single payment of $50. Of course no one is compelled to pay more than this, but he can if he wishes to. The entire sum which was subscribed in Wisconsin for the pur-

poses of the National German-American Alliance Dr. Hexamer reported as more than $25,000.

Senator KING. What is the date of that?

Mr. OHLINGER. That is January, 1916, on page 6.

Senator STERLING. And that is with reference to a trip made by Dr. Hexamer when?

Mr. OHLINGER. It relates to a trip made by Dr. Hexamer in November, 1915, in the course of which he gave the speech at Milwaukee which I have already translated for this committee.

Substantially the same speech was given in a number of other cities; for instance, in Warsaw, Wis., and Chicago and Peoria, Ill., as I recall at present. Of course, my information is simply from the records of the Official Bulletin. I have no personal information of it.

I also made the statement last Saturday that in view of the fact that the sums that I gave as contributed from confidential sources were not expressed, this committee could possibly discover what those sources were by the necessary subpœnas. In view of the fact that the sources were described as confidential, and in view of the other sources of the Alliance, I had my own impression and my own inference as to those sources, but they would have to be verified.

Now, before I go further, if the committee will permit me, I would like to take up the impression that the creation of this organization made in Germany and what was hoped for from it in Germany.

Senator KING. Would it inconvenience you if I were to ask some questions here?

Mr. OHLINGER. No, sir.

Senator KING. Do you not differentiate between members of this organization and the vast mass of the German people——

Mr. OHLINGER. Absolutely.

Senator KING (continuing). In this country?

Mr. OHLINGER. Absolutely. I would not have this committee understand that the mass of the German people in the United States by any means approve of this organization. That is not my impression at all.

Senator KING. It is a fact, is it not, that the overwhelming mass of the German people of the United States are just as loyal and just as devoted to our institutions and our institutional life as anybody else?

Mr. OHLINGER. Absolutely. There is no question about that; and, in fact, I stated that a long time ago, and it is for the very reason that the majority of them are so loyal that the existence of this or ganization is so undesirable.

Senator KING. Do you find that it is undesirable to the loyal Germans of this country?

Mr. OHLINGER. That it is what?

Senator KING. That this organization is undesirable to the loyal Germans of this country? Do you find that to be the case?

Mr. OHLINGER. I could not state. I could not state for the great mass of Germans in this country as to whether they wanted it abolished or wanted it kept. I have no personal and intimate knowledge. In other words, I have not asked them, so that I do not know. Of course, the great mass of the German population of this country is American, and they would pay no attention to this. They express themselves and express their life through the English newspapers. It is only a very small minority that expresses itself through this

Official Bulletin and through the activities of the Alliance; but I would not for one moment cast the slur upon the German population of this country of disloyalty or as approving the propaganda of this Alliance. As I said two years ago—

> In estimating the activity of the Germans during the last eighteen months allowance must be made for the high tension of feeling produced by the war. Nor must it be imagined for one moment that the majority of Germans in this country subscribe to the opinions put forth by the noisy propagandists. This group, though compact and well organized, forms but a small fraction of the thirty millions of citizens of German birth or descent in this country.

Senator KING. You are reading now from your book?

Mr. OHLINGER. I was reading from my book [Their True Faith and Allegiance] on page 122.

Senator KING. You may proceed from the point where I interrupted you.

Mr. OHLINGER. I was going to take up some of the questions that were asked last Saturday, and I will do so just as soon as the books I have asked for come from the Congressional Library.

First, I want to take up the reaction that this organization produced in the German Empire and what was expected from it.

I refer to a statement by Herman Oncken, which is contained in his volume of "Historical and Political Essays and Speeches," on page 119.

Senator WOLCOTT. Published where?

Mr. OHLINGER. It does not state where it was published. I could not state where it was published without getting the book.

Senator WOLCOTT. Who is the man from whom you are going to quote?

Mr. OHLINGER. Herman Oncken is a historian.

Senator WOLCOTT. In Germany?

Mr. OHLINGER. In Germany.

Senator WOLCOTT. Is that publication issued in Germany or in this country?

Mr. OHLINGER. It is issued in Germany. There is a copy of it in the Congressional Library. He comments on the German-American Alliance, and then he quotes:

> We should clearly understand that yonder German-Americanism is a part of our national body. * * * We should learn the great lesson that the German nation extends beyond and will extend beyond the German state in which we live.

Senator STERLING. Do you understand what is meant there by the "national body"? To what does the writer or speaker refer in saying "our national body"? Does he refer to a Pan-German alliance in Germany?

Mr. OHLINGER. That refers, in my mind, to the great general concept of a world-wide Germanism bound together by affiliations of race, common language, and common kultur.

Senator STERLING. The natural inference of those words "national body" would be that they had a national organization in Germany itself.

Mr. OHLINGER. Yes.

Senator STERLING. To which this German American Alliance was in a way allied.

Mr. OHLINGER. If you will permit me, Senator, I prefer to get the German book and let you see that and get the precise language; that may give a more accurate definition of it.

Now, the hope that people in Germany entertained as to the Germans in this country is expressed in another book called "Das Grössere Deutschland" (The Greater Germany), published in Germany in 1915.

Senator WOLCOTT. Written by whom?

Mr. OHLINGER. I have not the name of the author here. He states in this article in this book:

The reproach often brought against the German-American that as soon as he goes to America he becomes a citizen is unjustified. For if the German who intends to remain there does not become a citizen, he has no vote at the elections, no influence of any kind on the conduct of the nation's political affairs. He must become an American; he is permitted, however, and can and ought in heart, thought, nature, and act to remain a German.

Senator STERLING. Do you find anything which relates to the German legislation—the legislation of January, 1914—in regard to Germans immigrating from Germany retaining their German citizenship, although becoming citizens of the country to which they have removed?

Mr. OHLINGER. You are referring now to the well-known Delbrück law?

Senator STERLING. Yes; I think so.

Mr. OHLINGER. This law provides that if an immigrant from Germany who is about to be naturalized makes application to a German consul he may retain his German citizenship, even after he is invested with that of his adopted government. Now, that is the substance of that law.

Senator STERLING. Do you know of any comment that has been made by the organ of the German-American Alliance upon that law?

Mr. OHLINGER. I have not seen anything on that law in the minutes of the Alliance.

Then I want to refer to this book called "Germany as a World Power" (Deutschland als Weltmacht), to which I referred last Saturday. I refer to pages 837 and 838, from which I translate as follows:

We can assume that in the United States at the present time there are 3,000,000 persons born in Germany; that the number of all those of German families—that is, of those both of whose parents, or whose father or whose mother, were born in Germany—is not less than 8,000,000. That makes, altogether, one-tenth of the entire population. On the occasion of the war between the United States and Spain attempts were made on the part of England to throw differences between the United States and Germany, and with the object of injuring Germany's trade, which in the year 1909 exported $166,000,000 to the United States. But these antics had only this result, that the Deutschtum—

There you have that same word again—

in the United States was more mindful of its position and its power, and that the German societies bound themselves together more closely, in fact, more than had been the case theretofore, that they might cultivate German ideals and life, and also enter upon political campaigns with a fixed purpose. This movement has in a most pleasing manner made progress, which appears also in the founding of the National German-American Alliance, which includes within itself many hundred German societies from the Atlantic to the Pacific. With great enthusiasm every year there is celebrated in the United States, where the German language is eard, the German Day, and with great enthusiasm they celebrate the great national feast of the mother country. So, recently, the memory of the great battle in the Teutoburg Forest was celebrated. The Hermann anniversary in St. Louis was visited by thousands upon thousands of German fellow countrymen, whose number far exceeded the visitors to the actual scene of the battle in the Teutoburg wood.

Senator STERLING. That statement is to the effect that they celebrated with great enthusiasm the "German Day," as I understood you?

Mr. OHLINGER. Well, I said "the German Day". I do not mean to imply by that "the day" that they drink to on the German battleships. I mean by that the German day which is known in this country among the Germans, which is October 6—German Day.

Senator STERLING. Oh, that is it?

Mr. OHLINGER. Yes; that is obscure here, but that is the meaning I would prefer to put upon it.

Senator STERLING. Yes.

Senator KING. Do you find in the official organ of this organization more than one reference to this book?

Mr. OHLINGER. No; I just found that one reference in the book.

Senator KING. As I recall your statement the other day, it was recommended to the——

Mr. OHLINGER. It was recommended by, I think it was, Mr. Bloedel, to the propaganda committee, and the recommendation was accepted.

Senator KING. Have you read sufficient from the book there, which you have just quoted, to state that it is an advocacy of a separatist movement in this country, or in all countries rather, where the Germans are.

Mr. OHLINGER. The advocacy in this book is for the drawing together by common race and common kultur, common language, of all the Germans in the world, and possibly the purpose of the book is properly expressed by the motto with which it closes, "Germany, Germany over everything; over everything in the world."

Senator KING. Does that book refer to the propaganda which has been carried on in Austria by the Pan-Germanic League for a number of years and which has received more or less subsidies from the Pan-Germanic League?

Mr. OHLINGER. This book does not deal with what the Pan-Germanic Alliance did as I remember. It does not take up that. It does take up, however, the German population of every part of the world and what can be expected from it.

Now, there is a statement in Bernhardi's book, "Germany and the Next War," that I wanted to refer the committee to. The statement I refer to in Bernhardi's book is in substance as follows:

> Measures must be taken, at least to the extent of providing that the German element is not split up in the world, but remains united in compact blocs, and thus forms, even in foreign countries, political centers of gravity in our favor.

Then he says, on page 78 of the edition in English:

> The further duty of supporting the Germans in foreign countries in their struggle for existence and of thus keeping them loyal to their nationality, is one from which, in our direct interests, we cannot withdraw. The isolated groups of Germans abroad greatly benefit our trade, since by preference they obtain their goods from Germany; but they may also be useful to us politically, as we discover in America. The American-Germans have formed a political alliance with the Irish, and thus united, constitute a power in the State, with which the Government must reckon.

Now, the reference there is to the alliance which was entered into between the National German-American Alliance and the Ancient Order of Hibernians on January 29, 1907. For authority for that alliance or agreement between the two organizations I refer to the

Chronological History, which I cited the other day, on page 14, and again on page 23, in which it is stated that on June 15, 1911—

German-Irish agreement strengthened by supplementary agreement; mutual unfurling of flags on historical occasions, on anniversaries, and laying of wreaths on the tombs of the heroes of both nationalities, etc.

Then I refer to the Chronological History again, on page 26:

Amicable and cordial relations established between the Germans and the Hibernians by the agreement of January 29, 1907, are strengthened and progressing with happy results.

The importance that attaches to that is, of course, in connection with the dependence that Germany had upon a revolution in Ireland to support her warfare for world power. It is a significant coincidence that from the alliance which the German government undertook with the Irish, and which led to the establishment in Ireland two years ago of a revolutionary government for a few days, an effort should be reflected in this country to combine these two races; and I may say, further, that in all the activities of the National German-American Alliance in opposing the policy of the United States Government upon questions of neutrality and embargo it has united with the Irish societies in the various localities. I do not say that there was a direct governmental impulse to this rapprochement between the Irish and German elements in the United States, but I refer to it simply as significant.

Now, until those books come I shall have to take up another subject, although it breaks into the orderly presentation that I had hoped for.

The question was discussed last Saturday in regard to the process of consolidation for political purposes and the extent to which this had been carried out, the extent to which the National German-American Alliance entered into politics. I refer to the Official Bulletin for May, 1916, on page 6, which contains this statement:

Appeal and invitation. For the formation of a National German-American Conference Committee. Philadelphia, the 1st of May, 1916.

To the executive committees of the State Alliances of the National German-American Alliance, to the societies of Germans from similar districts in Germany; to German orders; to veterans and soldiers; to alliances of singers, of turners, of gun societies; to societies of men of all confessions, and to the representatives of the German-American press:

German-Americans: In the firm conviction that a united and common forward march is necessary in order to give expression to the united opinion of the American citizens of German descent and birth with reference to certain presidential candidates, and in order to give that opinion expression and weight, the executive committee of the German-American Central Bund of Pennsylvania herewith issues an appeal and an invitation for the formation of a national German-American Conference Committee in order that through representatives chosen by this committee the wishes of German-Americanism can be expressed clearly and unmistakably to the powers that be, either before or on the day of meetings of the conventions of both political parties, so that they may understand that they have to deal with a united German-American vote, which will not permit itself in the various States to be disintegrated by political tricks and schemes.

For the purpose of organizing a conference committee there will be held on Sunday, the 28th of May, and on Monday, the 29th of May, 1916, in the Kaiserhof Hotel near Jackson Boulevard, a meeting. The above-named committees of the above-named societies are heartily invited to send representatives to this meeting. Alliances which do not find it possible to be represented are requested to give their concurrence with the intended action, in writing.

As the 30th of May is Decoration Day, and a holiday, it seemed that that would be a good day, and also that the city of Chicago would be a good place on account of its central location.

The idea of the formation of a conference committee of all German-American alliances is not new.

Senator KING. You are still reading and translating?

Mr. OHLINGER. Yes; I am still reading and translating.

For years prominent German-Americans have regarded the creation of such a neutral ground as the only possibility. Never was this working together so necessary as in this very serious time. Those men who have for a long time had the idea of a conference committee are requested to give their cooperation and their presence. Come, all of you, you presidents of the many great alliances; you mighty warriors of the pulpit and of the pen, in order that that thing which glows in the heart of every German-American can finally be brought to expression in united action and in a manner which will impress the political powers that be, who have respect only for a firm, closely locked organization. Let us take an example from the German people. Let the barriers fall, and come.

If we are united, the victory is ours.

For the executive committee of the German-American Central Bund of Pennsylvania.

Respectfully,

JOHN B. MAYER, *President.*
ADOLPH TIMM, *Secretary.*

There was that meeting at the Kaiserhof Hotel on May 30, 1916, and it was mentioned in the press, but, as I understand, the proceedings were not made public.

Now, the same unity of political action was followed by a great many other organizations. The Chicago Alliance, for instance, in February took action, and this is what they said:

German ideals can be realized only when we have become a political power, and has there ever been a time when there has been more need for us to be united politically than at the present time? Are we not surrounded everywhere by enemies?

Then further on:

We must, above all things, tear ourselves away from every party yoke so that we may be in a position to give our votes in the next election wholly without reference to the past.

Senator WOLCOTT. Mr. Ohlinger, that action or resolution you say was by the Chicago German-American Alliance?

Mr. OHLINGER. That is the Chicago Stadtverband, the city alliance of the National German-American Alliance.

Senator WOLCOTT. You did not state for the record, which I think should be stated, whether or not that action appears in the Official Bulletin of this national corporation.

Mr. OHLINGER. It appears in the Official Bulletin, on page 22 of the number for March, 1916.

Senator WOLCOTT. Is there or not any word of disapproval on the part of the official organ——

Mr. OHLINGER. Absolutely none.

Senator WOLCOTT (continuing). Disapproval of that sort of conduct on the part of the Chicago Alliance?

Mr. OHLINGER. Absolutely none, sir.

That was the action for the city alliance of Chicago. I will now take up the action of the State Alliance of the State of Illinois, and this is taken from the Official Bulletin of May, 1916.

Senator STERLING. Have you any data as to the membership of that city alliance of Chicago?

Mr. OHLINGER. I have not any at hand, immediately. I could find it, though, in here.

Senator STERLING. Or of the State alliance?

Mr. OHLINGER. Yes; I could find it in here somewhere. But I am not in a position to give it offhand.

Senator STERLING. I think it might be important to find the membership of the Alliance in the several States.

Mr. OHLINGER. The figures are given as to some of the alliances, not all of them. The Alliance is strongest, of course, in Pennsylvania, and in Ohio I believe they say they have 70,000 and in Illinois a great many more than that; and of course they claim that throughout the country they have 2,500,000 votes, but I think that is simply an exaggeration.

I now call attention to the appeal that was sent out by the State Alliance of Illinois. That is taken from the Official Bulletin for May, 1916, on page 15. It is headed thus:

Our duties in this election year.

The State Alliance of Illinois has under the above title sent out the following summons:

To the branch alliances and vereins of the State Alliance of Illinois.

* * * * * * *

The State Alliance of Illinois in the National German-American Alliance resolved at its annual convention in Peru to take part in the future in national politics also. But the chief and most important part of this political activity consists above all else in this; that under all circumstances, with the exertion of all our strength, we shall aim to prevent the nomination at the national conventions in June of the candidates mentioned. Our slogan must be:

"Against Wilson and Roosevelt!"

To enumerate all the reasons why we German-Americans must take our stand against Wilson and Roosevelt is unnecessary. Only the chief reason shall be expressly stated here: We are against Wilson and Roosevelt, *because in their whole conduct they have proved themselves to be so un-American. We wish an American President, no tool of perfidious English politics.*

* * * * * * *

The task to-day as in the past is to free America from the English yoke! And so the cry resounds again: "*Germans to the front.*"

* * * * * * *

We must act. As is well known the German vote is divided almost equally between the two great parties. It forms in a sense the tongue of the wagon. If the German vote swings to one side the other is lost beyond hope, as has been proved in earlier elections.

* * * * * * *

Now is the time. The parties will nominate their candidates in June—

If the German-Americans now begin a powerful agitation, it may be expected that at least one of the parties will see the handwriting on the wall and nominate a truly American candidate. The other party would then have to take the consequences. Therefore, you German-Americans: Away with all party wrangling at this grave hour! *The fatherland above party.* Let us German-Americans show that we are worthy of our fathers.

* * * * * * *

The important question now is: "How can this work be successfully accomplished?"

1. *Should a new verein or league be founded for this purpose?* (No, we have the National Alliance.)

2. *Can the German-American vote be controlled?* (Lists should be made and workers in every district selected.)

* * * * * * *

4. *How shall we inform the national conventions of the sentiment among the German-Americans?* (By mass meetings, by working on the local party leaders, by summoning all German-American leagues and alliances to cooperate.)

That was the summons sent out by the Illinois State Alliance. That is taken from the Bulletin of May, 1916, page 15.

A similar action was taken by a great many of the other State alliances as reported in the Official Bulletin. For instance, the State of New Jersey, as appeared in the Official Bulletin for May, 1916, on page 11, took this action. Does the committee care to have me go into this?

Senator KING. I think if you have a few other instances, you might give them.

Mr. OHLINGER. This is simply to bear on the united action of the State alliances.

Senator KING. You might give one or two other States, then, and if you can give references to other pages of the Bulletin, do so.

Mr. OHLINGER. I will give just one more, then, and leave all the rest.

The New Jersey State Alliance—and this is contained in the Official Bulletin for May, 1916, on page 11—took this action:

Certainly the most important convention which the New Jersey State Alliance has had since it existed was the one which took place in the Turn Halle of the Vorwaerts Club in Elizabeth, N. J., on April 2. The climax was reached through the adoption by an overwhelming majority of the resolution of the Central Alliance of Essex County. This reads as follows:

"Against Wilson, Roosevelt and Root. The Central Alliance of Essex County recommends the following resolution:

"The German-American State Alliance of New Jersey decides in this its annual meeting to direct the attention of its members as well as of German-Americans in general to the approaching elections and therein to take action against the nomination or election of such candidates with all the resources that are at their command; that is, against candidates who are against the interests and the ideals of our National Alliance, and who also do not represent the true interests of the United States according to our views but represent rather the interests of foreign governments who are at the present time at war against our old fatherland."

Senator STERLING. Read that last statement again.

Mr. OHLINGER (reading): "Who represent rather the interests of foreign governments who are at war with our old fatherland at the present time; namely, against the candidates Wilson, Roosevelt, and Root."

I shall say nothing further, then, of the political activities of the Alliance or the efforts of the State or city branches.

Senator WOLCOTT. Mr. Ohlinger, without reading the various announcements in the various State alliances, would you indicate to us what State action along the line of the Illinois and New Jersey action was taken, as disclosed by the Official Bulletin, in the States?

Mr. OHLINGER. Well, I have noticed here the State of Iowa. The alliance of that State took that action. The alliance of Pennsylvania took that action; I do not mean identically adopted the Chicago resolution, but I mean generally united action against candidates that they thought were opposed to the interest of German-Americanism.

Senator KING. Have you the Pennsylvania State action?

Mr. OHLINGER. Yes; I have that.

Senator KING. Will you turn to that?

Mr. OHLINGER. They took action on a great many occasions. There are a great many references to Pennsylvania political activities. There is a statement coming from the German-American Alliance of Tacoma, Wash., in which they state that it is apparent or that it is beginning to appear to the Germans that only by united political

action can they achieve that to which they are entitled. Now the Pennsylvania Alliance: there are a great many references to that.

Senator KING. Mr. Ohlinger, I will not take the time now, but could you furnish the committee with a translation of those actions?

Mr. OHLINGER. I could, yes, sir, if you will give me sufficient time. I have to go into the trial of a case as soon as I get through with this.

Senator KING. If you will just furnish the reporter with the pages of those minutes and the actions of those various organizations then you can supplement that later by filing a translation of the articles with the reporter.

Mr. OHLINGER. Now, the third point, and that was the propaganda which was in the interests of the German government. I mean by that the propaganda that was undertaken by these organizations in favor of the embargo on munitions and for what they called strict neutrality and to favor the unlimited export of foodstuffs to Germany. There was organized in Washington on January 30, 1915, what is known as the American Independence Conference. Mr. Hexamer was one of the organizers of it, and Mr. Bartholdt—ex-Congressman Bartholdt—was the president of it. This organization conducted an agitation against the export of munitions throughout the country, and the National German-American Alliance urged the State alliances and all societies to assist in organizing local neutrality societies but advised them to be careful, in having officers elected to the control of these societies, to select American names, so that it would not appear as a German propaganda; and demonstrations were held in a great many cities on this subject.

There is one reference that I wish to make on that subject, and that is to the activity of the Louisiana branch—the Louisiana State Alliance—at their annual convention in December, 1914. The report, as contained in the January (1915) number of the Official Bulletin, is as follows:

By Horace L. Brand, the editor of the Illinois Staats Zeitung in Chicago, a letter had been sent to the president, in which he was requested, with the help of the Irish organizations, to hold a demonstration here on January 10, in which, by resolutions sent in, the Congress of the United States would be begged to pass laws which would give the President of the United States the power to forbid the export of all contraband with the exception of foodstuffs. In connection therewith there was sent a copy of the resolutions adopted in Chicago and Philadelphia. The German consul in New Orleans, Dr. Paul Roh, was asked by the presiding officer of the convention his opinion with regard to the desirability of these resolutions. In a speech in which the consul dealt with the conditions of the warring states at sea, and the impossibility arising therefrom of sending warlike material and munitions to Germany, the consul further pointed out how in former years the Government of the United States had regarded the export of munitions to warring states in a different light than at the present time. A meeting, the consul said, through which pressure would be brought upon the law-giving bodies, was a matter which should be controlled entirely by the citizens of the country; the representatives of foreign governments should not in such circumstances interfere, and he was therefore compelled to declare that he could not take an active part in the proposed mass meeting. But as a member of the State Alliance he wished to point out to the gentlemen that the principal matter was the following: "Is the general opinion for the holding of such a mass meeting favorable? Is there a hall that can be rented; and who are the best public speakers?" Upon the motion of Mr. Adolph Flasdick it was then decided that a mass meeting should be held.

Senator KING. As I understand you this consul was a member of the State Alliance?

Mr. OHLINGER. Of the State Alliance of Louisiana; and, as the committee knows, these protest mass meetings were held all over the

country, in Chicago, Milwaukee, St. Louis, Wilmington, New Orleans, Los Angeles——

Senator WOLCOTT. Wilmington, Del.?

Mr. OHLINGER. Wilmington, Del., and in Indianapolis; and in almost all these cases the meetings were held under the auspices of the joint committee of either the State alliance or of the local city alliance; and speakers who appeared at several of these meetings were Jeremiah O'Leary and also John Devoy, an editor of the Gaelic-American, and Henry Weismann and Alphonse G. Koelble.

Senator WOLCOTT. Have you any record of what was said at these meetings by these speakers?

Mr. OHLINGER. There were resolutions adopted at these meetings and they were sent in, of course, to Members of Congress, and so I did not take the trouble to copy them out of the Official Bulletin. They all appear here in the Official Bulletin, just what the resolutions were, but in view of the fact that I thought the committee had received them I did not consider it worth while to copy them.

Senator WOLCOTT. I can tell you the substance of what occurred at the Wilmington meeting, because I heard most of it. There is no need of inserting it in the record.

Senator KING. I think it will be well when you file those translations to file a translation of a number of those resolutions. File those with the stenographer.

Mr. OHLINGER. Yes.

Senator KING. I suppose that the general purport of those resolutions was that there should be legislation by Congress preventing the exportation of munitions to the belligerents?

Mr. OHLINGER. Yes, sir.

Senator KING. That is, to France, England, Russia, and Italy?

Mr. OHLINGER. Yes. The action or the position of the National German-American Alliance was distinctly unfriendly to the policy of the administration, and I wish to refer the committee to the May (1915) number of the Official Bulletin.

Senator KING. Now, while of course I am a supporter of the administration, if it is merely a difference in the general statements of political questions by the Democratic administration, personally I would not feel that that ought to receive any attention at the hands of this committee.

Mr. OHLINGER. No; I do not think it should, either.

Senator KING. Because any man has a perfect right, whether he is an American or whether he is a German, to differ from any political policy that does not involve the integrity of the Nation or the ideals and principles for which the Nation stands; and if what you are about to allude to was a mere political policy in contradistinction to those questions that involve the integrity and life of the Nation we do not care to hear about it.

Mr. OHLINGER. At that time there was a controversy between this Government and the German government on this subject, and this is what I was going to submit to the committee, namely, the editorial of the Official Bulletin on President Wilson's answer to Bernstorff's note.

Senator KING. Proceed.

Mr. OHLINGER. I will not read it if you do not want it.

Senator KING. Proceed. It may be relevant.

Mr. OHLINGER. It simply refers to the answer as being loaded with sophistries, and says that—

It has not touched in any way the kernel of the note of the German ambassador, namely, the reopening of the trade with Germany. The answer is framed in a disgustingly bombastic style and does not present a single sentence which is logical or worthy of consideration as proof.

In that connection, because of its political bearing, I will read this part of it, and I will read no more.

Senator KING. Yes.

Mr. OHLINGER (reading):

Prof. Wilson will again be a candidate for the Presidency. All friends of true neutrality would be guilty of a capital folly if they again intrusted the fate of the United States to him. The only answer which they can give to the weapon peddling firm of Wilson & Bryan will be given at the ballot box. This writing on the wall should be apparent to President Wilson himself.

Senator KING. Does that paper in its editorials and in its columns condemn the action of our Government in maintaining the uniform course of nations, to wit, in supplying to belligerents of either side whatever supplies they desire to purchase in the country?

Mr. OHLINGER. Well, it does not do it in that way. It condemns the course of the administration with reference to Germany and says that it is a violation of the previous course that we had adopted, namely, toward Mexico, in which it is said we prohibited the export of arms to Mexico, and that it is in violation of the policy that was adopted by Germany toward us in the Spanish-American War, under the impression, apparently, that Germany prohibited the export of arms to Spain.

I will not take up any further time with that, then. The committee asked me whether this propaganda for the German language and the German press had been called forth since the war or whether it had existed before that time. The propaganda for the German language had existed for quite a time prior to the war. I call attention to the Deutsch-Amerikanische Annalen, the volume for 1904. The name is "German-American Annals." I refer to page 446.

Senator KING. Is that book put out by the German-American Alliance, the national organization?

Mr. OHLINGER. I infer that it is, because it expressly states that it is an organ of the National German-American Alliance; and as a matter of fact its proceedings and notices and its business are all published in here. This was the publication that they used previous to the publication that they now have, the Official Bulletin; and I will just read a couple of extracts.

Senator KING. What year is that, you say?

Mr. OHLINGER. This is for 1904.

Senator WOLCOTT. That was published, then, by the unincorporated association?

Mr. OHLINGER. Yes.

Senator WOLCOTT. Which afterwards became an incorporated body?

Mr. OHLINGER. Yes. Now I read from page 446 as follows:

Only through the preservation of the German language can our race in this land be preserved from entire disappearance.

Then on page 449:

The principal matter would be the foundation of independent German schools, society and congregational schools, in which the language of instruction would be the the German, and with English as the foreign language——

Senator KING. With the English as the foreign language?

Mr. OHLINGER. Yes; with the English as the foreign language. [Continuing reading:]

in which latter language the children never come short.

Senator KING. What is that?

Mr. OHLINGER. It says they never come short in learning the English language. [Continuing reading:]

That will take care of itself, so it may be said. Most church societies would welcome such an activity on the part of the central bund, and would cooperate with it to all their power. These German schools could, under the leadership of German-American teachers, easily create as much or more than the public schools. In the church schools the religious instruction could be given independently from the school itself.

Also, evangelical church societies, not as such but as German societies, which they are in fact, could be operated. And when these schools have once proven that they can offer as much as the public schools, and that they are under the leadership of trained, thorough teachers, then activity could be taken in the direction that they, like the public schools of the country, receive state aid; only then, of course, when they are not subject to any foreign spiritual authority—

Or—

not influenced by foreign spiritual authority.

Senator KING. Was that reference, do you think, to the Roman Catholic Church?

Mr. OHLINGER. Your guess would be as good as mine on the subject, Senator.

Senator KING. If there is nothing in the context——

Mr. OHLINGER. It simply says "an outlandish spiritual authority". That is, spiritual authority outside of the United States; so that I imagine that that must be the Roman Catholic Church, because I know of no other spiritual authority outside of the United States that exercises jurisdiction here.

This is an article by J. Barandun, of Pittsburg, and it appears without comment under the heading that I have read.

Senator KING. Was that the official organ of the unincorporated society?

Mr. OHLINGER. That was the official organ of the unincorporated society which was the predecessor of the present society.

Senator KING. For how many years was that publication continued?

Mr. OHLINGER. That publication is in existence at the present time, I think, but it ceased to be the official organ of the National German-American Alliance about in 1908. Then they began publishing the Official Bulletin.

Senator KING. Do you know the reason why the paper from which you have just read ceased to be the official organ of the Alliance?

Mr. OHLINGER. No; I could not tell you that at all.

Senator KING. Was Dr. Hexamer connected with the publication of the German-American Annals?

Mr. OHLINGER (after examination of volume). No; his name does not appear on the list of contributing editors.

Senator KING. Is there anything to indicate who the officers of the unincorporated society were at that time?

Mr. OHLINGER. They appear in the minutes that are here, and if you wish me to find it I can find it here where they had their national convention and elected their officers. Possibly I can find it in the volume for 1903.

Senator KING. From your examination can you say that the officers of the incorporation were substantially the same at its inception as the officers of the unincorporated organization which was merged into it at the time of merger?

Mr. OHLINGER. I can say only so far as the president and the secretary are concerned. The president, C. J. Hexamer, and the secretary, Adolph Timm, were the same. The others I could not say about without reference to the minutes.

In the German-American Annals for the year 1903, on page 623, are the minutes of the second convention of the National German-American Alliance of the United States, in which Dr. Hexamer is referred to as president, but of course this contains the election of officers and all the proceedings at that time.

The Official Bulletin emphasizes at a number of places the fact that the dignity and position of the national German-American element in the United States will depend upon the fate of Germany in this war. I do not mean to say by that that the Alliance by formal resolution expressed that opinion. I mean to say that the opinion is expressed as that of different individuals and officers of the Alliance, without contradiction and without criticism or remark.

Senator WOLCOTT. And published in the official organ?

Mr. OHLINGER. And published in the official organ.

Senator WOLCOTT. Just what is that again? You say the state of what is dependent upon the war?

Mr. OHLINGER. That the dignity and the position of the German element in the United States is dependent upon the outcome of Germany in the war.

Senator WOLCOTT. Well, does this Bulletin amplify that any? Does it say, for instance, that the dignity of the German-American Alliance depends upon the success of Germany in this war? "The outcome of the war" was the expression used.

Mr. OHLINGER. The outcome.

Senator WOLCOTT. What sort of outcome; does it indicate?

Mr. OHLINGER. I would rather read the statements themselves, if you will listen to them.

Senator WOLCOTT. I would like to hear them.

Mr. OHLINGER. I would prefer that you take a literal translation for that, rather than my impression of the statements. I refer to a copy of the Official Bulletin for November, 1915, at page 28.

Senator WOLCOTT. Before you translate that, have you any references subsequent to our entrance into the war?

Mr. OHLINGER. No; no reference at all then. Do you care to hear that?

Senator WOLCOTT. Do you want to hear it, Mr. Chairman, prior to our entrance into the war?

Senator KING. Probably, having made the statement, the witness had better give one translation so as to convey the meaning he had in mind.

Mr. OHLINGER. Yes; I would rather have the Senators take the translation than my impression of it. This begins on page 27. [Translating:]

Mr. H. C. Bloedel, the honorary president of the Pennsylvania Alliance, made this statement:

"Our sacred duty it is not to falter in our willing spirit of sacrifice, and not to allow ourselves to be influenced by the unfriendly element and by the press which stands in the pay of England, from rendering to the efforts of our racial brothers understanding, love, and adherence—

I am using "adherence" as the translation for the word used here, "Anhänglichkeit."

that we show that we are able to appreciate the tremendous deeds of the German and Austro-Hungarian people which in this war have outdone themselves, and that their victory means the progress of kultur in all fields, and an inestimable influence upon the position of those who have come into this land."

If you care to hear another translation I will give it.

Senator KING. You may give another. While you are turning to that, let me ask you a question: In any of the proceedings of any of these organizations, either the parent or a State organization, did you find any condemnation of the invasion of Belgium?

Mr. OHLINGER. Not a word. I can not find any condemnation of the invasion of Belgium.

Senator KING. Any condemnation of that?

Mr. OHLINGER (continuing). Anywhere in these proceedings—and I have examined the proceedings, let me say, from the August (1914) number to the May (1916) number. The Official Bulletin discontinued publication in May, 1916. It began publication again, as I understand it, in January, 1917, and continued publication up until the present time, and in these I have seen all these numbers except the number for June, 1917, and for January, 1918; and I find absolutely nowhere any condemnation of the invasion of Belgium, but on the contrary a vigorous defense of it.

Senator KING. Did you find any condemnation of the sinking of the *Lusitania*?

Mr. OHLINGER. I found no condemnation whatever of the sinking of the *Lusitania*. On the contrary, there is published in the transactions, in the Official Bulletin, the resolution passed by a meeting of German-Americans in St. Louis, in which the sinking was deplored, of course, but it was stated that the loss of life was due to the willfulness of those who were willing to sail on such a ship, and expressed the opinion that Ambassador von Bernstorff should be thanked by the American Nation for having published the advertisement which appeared in a New York paper. Those resolutions were published in the Official Bulletin, without comment—Official Bulletin for June, 1915, page 12.

Senator KING. Do you recall whether there were any resolutions for the *Gulflight*, the *William Frye*, or other vessels that were destroyed?

Mr. OHLINGER. I do not recall any as to the *William Frye* or as to the *Gulflight*; but there are references to the *Wilhelmina*, and, as I recall it, the action of this Government with reference to the *Wilhelmina* was condemned.

Senator KING. When you say "this Government" you mean our own Government?

Mr. OHLINGER. Yes; our own Government.

Senator WOLCOTT. Does the Official Bulletin take any position upon the general issue of the propriety of the submarine warfare as practiced by Germany?

Mr. OHLINGER. Well, as I remember now, it nowhere takes a position against it. Now, I will not testify whether they take a position in favor of it without going through the Official Bulletin again.

Senator WOLCOTT. Does it anywhere incline to apologize for it?

Mr. OHLINGER. For the U-boat warfare?

Senator WOLCOTT. Yes.

Mr. OHLINGER. Do you mean to try to justify it?

Senator WOLCOTT. Yes; or to minimize the enormity of it?

Mr. OHLINGER. Yes; my impression is that there is such evidence, but I would prefer to get the exact citation rather than to have you take my impression of it.

Senator KING. We will be glad to have you read translations of the columns of the paper bearing upon that.

One other question, Mr. Ohlinger: Is there any resolution as to the announcement of the Imperial German Government that beginning with February 1, 1917, all vessels of neutrals would be destroyed ruthlessly which came within certain boundaries which were delimited by Germany?

Mr. OHLINGER. That announcement was on January 31, 1917?

Senator KING. Yes.

Mr. OHLINGER. If any reference was made to it at all it would not be until the March (1917) number.

Senator KING. You need not pause now to find it, but if you will look through the record, please, and see whether there is any condemnation of that policy so announced by the Imperial German Government, that is, the policy of marking out a portion of the high seas and forbidding neutral nations to have their ships come within those boundaries—that is to say, if they did they would run the risk of being sunk—we would like to have that.

Mr. OHLINGER. I would say that there is no such condemnation at all; but I will look through the March (1917) number and be sure whether there is any such condemnation. But from a cursory examination of this number at the present time I would say there is none, but rather a criticism of our position and a justification of Germany's. This appears in the reprint of an article by Prof. Walz.

Senator KING. Do you recall what the attitude of this paper was when the President of the United States submitted what has been called his war message, in April of last year?

Mr. OHLINGER. The war message was submitted on April 2, and any reference to it would be contained in the number of May, 1917. I see that in the May (1917) number of the Bulletin, on page 4, there is this editorial:

QUIET AND PATIENCE.

Let us in this serious time more than ever stand shoulder to shoulder; the present watchword for Americanism of German descent.

And in the article it says again:

Let us be united. Let us stand shoulder to shoulder in this serious time.

There are some comments upon the message. I read this paragraph:

And only through such an honorable and conscientious course can we, in the land of our adoption, break a lance for the race from which we sprung, and stand up for and vindicate in an unmistakable manner the honor, integrity, and love for everything that is noble and beautiful and humane in that race even in this serious time, without derogating one jot from the allegiance to our new country.

Senator KING. How did they expect to "break a lance" for Germany? What did they mean by that?

Mr. OHLINGER. If the committee will permit me, I think this should be translated in full in order to get the meaning.

Senator KING. I think that should be done. I wish you would look through all of those numbers since the declaration of war, so that you may testify as to the attitude of the organization upon the war.

Mr. OHLINGER. Yes.

Senator KING. Whether there is any support of our Government, whether their attitude is affirmative or negative, whether there is commendation of Germany or condemnation of Germany.

Mr. OHLINGER. I think I can say in a general way that since the declaration of war the Official Bulletin has not expressed itself definitely in favor of Germany. On the contrary, it does contain expressions in favor of the United States. I refer to a statement that appears in the November (1917) copy of the Bulletin, on page 5, in the English language, as follows:

We are citizens of a Republic, and know no other allegiance. America is our country, and any disaster to America would be our disaster. Whatever our language, we have the same flag. Whatever blood runs in our veins there is but one loyalty in our hearts. The victory of American ideals in this war means for the German people the realization of the hopes and dreams of the revolution of 1848. America, now and forever!

The same statement identically is printed in the December (1917) number. Statements expressing the duty of German-Americans to support the United States appear several times.

Senator WOLCOTT. That is in the English language?

Mr. OHLINGER. That statement I have read is in the English language, not in the German. In the German language, however, there appeared this poem, which I submitted to the committee on Saturday, and of which I have now prepared a translation.

Senator WOLCOTT. That poem is in German?

Mr. OHLINGER. Yes, in German; and that appears in the September (1917) number, on page 2, and the title is "Enough."

Senator WOLCOTT. The number for September, 1917?

Mr. OHLINGER. September, 1917.

Senator WOLCOTT. The article in English which you just read appears in the November number?

Mr. OHLINGER. It appears in the November number; yes.

Senator KING. Just read the translation of that poem.

Mr. OHLINGER. This is a complete translation of the poem.

ENOUGH.

[By Victor C. Wicke, Bellaire, Ohio.]

Long ago I swore an oath!
I kept it faithfully and will do so,
Even now, when yearning and bitter sorrow
Are breaking my heart without mercy.

I am loyal to you, my own fatherland!
We contracted the most sensible of marriages;
As a reward or my hard labor
I found in your arms prosperity.

I had indeed a charming youthful love,
But that I left in my far native home
When aspiration drove me to a foreign land,
From the still harbor to the storm's confusion.

And if I often too have seen in dreams
What once was the delight of my youthful heart,
Duty has controlled my wishes
And I have faithfully kept my oath.

But now my new fatherland? Even now!
I keep it with wounded soul,
Now that flesh of my flesh is slashed to tatters,
By a mob drunken with envy and hatred.

A greater sacrifice was never made
By any heart than to refuse help
When its nation's blood called to heaven,
And nothing can further increase my anguish.

And let this be enough! The oath is sacred,
Therefore it should not demand
What is so unholy! I will not help
To cut to pieces the nation from which I sprung.

If that be treason, it is inhumanity
Which so pronounces it, without shame, in the name of the law!
Let come what will! I am prepared!
Here stand I and can do no other!—Amen!

The attitude, I would say, in a general way, of the Official Bulletin can be best expressed by proportion. I have looked over the numbers of the Official Bulletin from January, 1917, up until February, 1918, with the exception of the June (1917) number and the January (1918) number, which I did not receive, and I can say nothing about what was contained in those numbers; but, taking the general proportion, I would say that this is certainly true, that the enthusiasm that appears in the pages of this Bulletin since the outbreak of the war, the enthusiasm for the United States, is not commensurate in any degree with the enthusiasm that was manifested on behalf of Germany when the war broke out against Germany in 1914.

As I pointed out, on August 3, 1914, the president of the Alliance sent a message asking for the organization of press bureaus throughout the country in order to take up Germany's side of the controversy and prevent any unfriendly criticism. This is what it says, and I would like to take it right from the Bulletin for September, 1914, on page 1:

> There should be established in every city a literary bureau with a thorough press agent in charge who would immediately make answer in the English language upon all hateful attacks and assertions of ignorance upon the part of irresponsible reporters of English newspapers.

There was no such summons sent out at the time that the war broke out between the United States and Germany on behalf of the formation of press agencies or bureaus to vindicate the cause of America or the cause for which she was in the war.

Immediately upon the outbreak of the war with Germany the Alliance, through its organizations, undertook at once the collection of large funds for the benefit of the war sufferers in the home land, and the Alliance within five months after the outbreak of the European war had raised something like $319,000 through its branches and had turned it over to Bernstorff. By June it had turned over a total of $400,000; by June, 1915, $500,000; by March, 1916, $600,000; by November, 1916, $800,000. This was turned over to Bernstorff for the benefit of war sufferers of Germany. I do not find that any similar sum has been raised through the Alliance or its branches for American war relief.

Now, I want it to be understood that I have not seen the June number of 1917. If any call was issued there, I can not testify on that. But in these other numbers I have seen no call issued with the same emphasis and prominence for war relief purposes in that connection, though there was a call issued in the September (1917) number, for collections for the relief of war sufferers at home, for the organization of employment bureaus, and for aid to Germans. They encouraged the German people in the various cities to hold great bazaars and to raise money for the German war sufferers. As you know, the New York bazaar raised $468,000, and Chicago $160,000, and Cleveland $63,000, and so on; but there have been no efforts of this kind, in fact, in the numbers that I have seen, since the war broke out. I have seen nothing whatever calling for the raising of funds for the American Red Cross, no appeal for that purpose. On the contrary, I find very prominently displayed on page 8 of the October (1917) number a call sent out by the Philadelphia branch of the National German-American Alliance, signed by Adolph Timm, secretary, and addressed to the organization of the National Alliance and to the individual alliances, including the church societies. It is a call to raise funds to provide means for the defense of the editors of the Philadelphia Tageblatt, who were indicted in Philadelphia and who, I understand, are to be tried there. There is that call. But I find no such call so prominently dislayed for any Red Cross purpose or for any war relief purposes.

Senator KING. Is there any call at all for war relief or for Red Cross for our own country?

Mr. OHLINGER. No, sir; not in these numbers that I have seen, since the war broke out, except as already stated. There was a call for the Red Cross of Germany, and as the committee knows the Red Cross of Germany did raise considerable money here. Dernberg raised, according to the Official Bulletin, about $2,000,000.

Senator WOLCOTT. That was before our entrance into the war?

Mr. OHLINGER. Yes; that was before our entrance into the war. There is no reference since our entrance into the war to the raising of money for the Red Cross of Germany.

Senator WOLCOTT. As I recall, you testified on Saturday that the Bulletin did in one of its issues contain a sort of an advertisement designed to encourage subscriptions to the Liberty Loan?

Mr. OHLINGER. Yes; it did, that is true; and I find that in the last number of the Official Bulletin, that is, for February, 1918, there is a reference, on page 8, to the resolution introduced by Senator King for the repeal of the charter of the National German-American Alliance, and it publishes in connection with that a letter purporting to come from Oscar A. Price, publicity director, in which he thanks Mr. John Schwaab, of Cincinnati, Ohio, for the assistance of the German papers in Cincinnati and for the assistance of the organizations of persons of German birth in Cincinnati in the matter of the Liberty Loan.

Senator WOLCOTT. Is there any comment indulged in upon the bill introduced by Senator King?

Mr. OHLINGER. There is some comment there. The comment is to the effect—well, here is the comment. This is published in English in the Official Bulletin, on page 5.

Senator WOLCOTT. Before you read this, is the bill published in English or in German?

Mr. OHLINGER. The bill is not published at all; it simply gives the substance of the bill, I believe.

Senator WOLCOTT. Is that in English or in German?

Mr. OHLINGER. There is one in English and one in German. This is the English one, that I referred to here:

During the past month a resolution was introduced in the United States Senate by King of Utah, the object of which is the dissolution of the National German-American Alliance. Members and friends of the Alliance need not worry about this measure. If the Alliance or its officers had been engaged in any disloyal activities, the Department of Justice would certainly have taken action without awaiting instructions from the Utah Senator; but as the Alliance and its officers have done nothing deserving of any reprobation or prosecution, we look upon the present proceedings with perfect equanimity. The Senate surely will do nothing without good cause. It will not order the dissolution of an organization which Congress has previously incorporated merely because the word German happens to be in the name of the association and we are at war with Germany. Why should the organization change its name because of that fact? It would be German-American just the same, no matter what it were called. It could not make itself Scotch-Irish, or Anglo-Saxon, or Spanish-American. As long as societies of people tracing their descent from other races or nationalities are permitted to exist why should umbrage be taken at the Alliance, so long as it has done nothing contrary to the laws of this country? Would we be any better Americans if we called ourselves Chinese-Americans or Afro-Americans? For these reasons the officers of the Alliance are confident that the resolution will not prevail. In fact they feel that if the gentleman from Utah will take the trouble to investigate the facts about the Alliance himself he will be ready to withdraw his own resolution. There is no blot upon our escutcheon and no blemish upon our patriotism.

Pardon me, Mr. Chairman, the bill is published here, I see, in English. It follows this part.

Senator KING. Mr. Ohlinger, is there any reference in any of the issues of the Bulletin to the draft law which was passed by Congress?

Mr. OHLINGER. No. As I say, I have not got the June (1917) issue.

Senator KING. I mean, aside from those which you have not got?

Mr. OHLINGER. I have found no reference to that except in the poem which I have read.

Senator KING. Is it not alluded to?

Mr. OHLINGER. I would want to examine carefully in order to be sure of that.

Senator KING. I wish you would.

Mr. OHLINGER. I think it is not alluded to except in the way I have referred to, in this poem.

Senator KING. I wish you would examine and see, and if there is anything said about the draft law please furnish us a translation of it,

[In revising his testimony, Mr. Ohlinger inserted the following paragraph:]

The only references I find are in the August (1917) number, where at a meeting of the Philadelphia branch it was decided to send a call to all alliances of the National German-American Alliance to storm the members of the Military Affairs Committee of the House with petitions favoring an amendment to the draft law so that drafted men could not be sent out of the United States unless they volunteered. In the November (1917) number there is the statement on page 1 that 25 per centum of the drafted army will be made up of citizens of German ancestry, and on page 5 is the statement that the German section of the population is subject to the draft like every other.]

Senator KING. I interrupted you some time ago. You were about to consider some book there.

Mr. OHLINGER. Yes. In connection with the statement which I read on Saturday from the Official Bulletin in which it was stated that certain statements of Dr. Münsterberg are a matter of creed with the German-American, I wish to read this statement by Dr. Münsterberg, from his book "The War and America," published in 1914. This was prior to the statement contained in the Official Bulletin which I read. I read from page 55 of this book:

The policy of this country which they love with their whole hearts must be one of sincere friendship not only with England but also with Germany. They will break down this anti-German agitation; they will punish every effort to inject hatred of Germany into the veins of the American political body. Their National German-American Alliance with two and a half million voters as members, their intellectual leaders and their economic captains of commerce and industry, their farmers and their workingmen, old and young, men and women, first generation and second and third, every religious sect, North Germans and South Germans, Austrians and Swiss—they will be united and will show a crushing power of which the reckless torchbearers of German hatred did not dream.

Senator KING. You referred to this bill, and you gave the English reference to it in the Bulletin. Is there any German reference to the bill for the dissolution of this corporation which differs?

Mr. OHLINGER. Yes; there is, on page 8.

Senator KING. Does that differ from the English reference to it?

Mr. OHLINGER. Yes; that is a different article entirely. It is not a translation of the English article at all.

Senator KING. Generally, is it condemnatory of the bill?

Mr. OHLINGER. Well, I will just translate it.

After Senator King of Utah had passed in his resolution for the repeal of the charter of the National German-American Alliance, Judge John Schwaab, one of the vice presidents of the Alliance, appeared before Publicity Director Price on the matter. Mr. Schwaab called attention to the organized campaign which the Alliance and its branches had made in the interests of the various financial measures of the Government, with such happy results, and upon the valuable help which the American papers printed in the German language had rendered to the same. An organized campaign of any kind for these purposes could naturally not take place if the dissolution of the Alliance is brought about by law, for then, also, the individual parts, the State and city alliances, would cease to exist. Thereupon Mr. Schwaab received the following letter from Mr. Price, in which he gave the greatest credit to citizens of German descent.

I was going to speak about the connection of the Alliance with some other organizations, namely, the American Embargo Conference and the American Truth Society, and with the Fatherland.

Senator WOLCOTT. What is the Fatherland; a newspaper?

Mr. OHLINGER. A newspaper; yes, sir. This, however, is all before the declaration of war between the United States and Germany, and possibly the committee does not care to hear that.

Senator KING. Unless there is something in the references to which you were about to testify that would reflect a purpose upon the part of this organization to maintain the Germans "en bloc," to use your expression, to prevent their assimilation, and evincing a purpose to support a German propaganda in this country.

Mr. OHLINGER. Well, so far as the Fatherland is concerned, the subcommittee certainly knows the character of that publication, and of the rabid position that it took from the very beginning on behalf of Germany. This publication, furthermore, was very bitter on this same subject of consolidating the German elements in one bloc in this country; and I read from the Fatherland——

Senator KING. Did the National German-American Alliance support the Fatherland?

Mr. OHLINGER. It supported it in this way, that the editor of the Bulletin of the National German-American Alliance was requested by a German newspaper to make up a list of books on the war which showed in fairness Germany's position, and he made up such a list and recommended the Fatherland as one of those books that should be in public libraries. I may say of the Fatherland myself that I would not pollute my house with it.

Senator KING. When you call it a book, do you mean——

Mr. OHLINGER. It refers to the bound volumes. Of course it was published weekly.

Senator KING. Yes.

Mr. OHLINGER. And it recommends the purchase of the bound volumes of the Fatherland for public libraries in order to counteract Anglo-American lies. This is in the Bulletin for June, 1915.

Senator KING. Proceed.

Mr. OHLINGER. Of course the Fatherland adopted the same attitude—adopted a very hostile attitude—to the administration in its negotiations with Germany and denounced the President as "a weak-kneed sophist" (The Fatherland for April 21, 1915) and the State Department as criminally incompetent (The Fatherland for April 21, 1915), and in commenting upon the reply to the German Ambassador regarding our attitude upon the shipment of war materials the Fatherland said that "a sillier or more dishonest statement was never issued by an American official. . . . It is the most dishonest document that was ever submitted by one great government to another. . . . Good faith on the part of the United States in its relations with Germany is a thing which does not exist" (The Fatherland for May 5, 1915). The German reply on the *Lusitania* case, on the other hand, was lauded as an "inspiring document", "on a high plane of humanity," "unassailable in logic" (The Fatherland for July 21, 1915).

Of course these expressions may be justified as a difference of opinion on internal politics, but when the country is approaching the crisis of a world war a publication can not be said, in my opinion,

to be patriotic or loyal that says anything of that kind. I want to say, also, that the Fatherland also carried this idea of the organization of the Germans in one political bloc in Congress; that they would beat the Anglo-Saxons at their own game; that they would have in Congress 170 Members and in conjunction with the Irish Members they would rule the country; and it is expressions of this kind, and of general opposition to the policy of the Government at a time when the Government was upon the verge of the greatest war in history, that produced my opinion that a publication of that kind is utterly disloyal.

Senator WOLCOTT. Have you any evidence connecting this corporation, whose charter the bill proposes to revoke, with the publication of the Fatherland, other than the fact that the editor included the Fatherland in a list of books that Germans should read or that should be in libraries? What is in my mind is this, that it might be said that he was acting simply in his individual capacity.

Mr. OHLINGER. When he recommended it?

Senator WOLCOTT. Yes; and that he was not speaking for the national organization.

Mr. OHLINGER. I do not think he was acting in his individual capacity; at least I do not think he intended to. Let me get the reference on that. [After examination of Bulletin.] I state the matter as contained on page 7 of the June (1915) number:

There should be care taken everywhere that in the public libraries books that are friendly to Germany in the matter of the world war should have their p'ace. The Free Press of Fort Wayne, a paper edited by one of the most energetic and most valued friends of the National German-American Alliance, namely, Mr. Makewitz, contains this request.

And the request is, in substance, that a list of books be prepared for public libraries, and then the statement proceeds:

In response to the request the editor of the Official Bulletin of the National German-American Alliance has brought together the following list of books friendly to Germany.

Then it is headed:

A list of books friendly to Germany.

Then this follows:

The following list of books friendly to Germany and Austria-Hungary can be ordered from The Fatherland, 1123 Broadway, New York.

Then it gives the list of books, and then follows:

The Fatherland Magazine, $2 per annum. The Fatherland in bound volumes, $2.

Senator KING. What was the date of the article that you just read from?

Mr. OHLINGER. The article I have just read from is contained in the June (1915) Official Bulletin.

Senator KING. And the quotation from the Fatherland; you are not clear, but you gave it——

Mr. OHLINGER. I am not clear, but this statement that the State Department was criminally incompetent is contained in the Fatherland, and in commenting upon the Government reply to the protest of the German Ambassador upon our attitude on the shipment of war materials, it stated:

A sillier or more dishonest statement was never issued by an American official. . . . It is the most dishonest document that was ever submitted by one great government to another. . . . Good faith on the part of the United States in its relations with Germany is a thing which does not exist.

But I want to verify that.

However, pursuing that question of relations with the Fatherland, I want to say this, that in April, 1916, during which time the Fatherland had been running for nearly two years, the Fatherland happened to have been thrown out of the public library at Passaic, N. J., and the Central German-American Alliance for Passaic reported in its annual report, as printed in the Official Bulletin on page 21, as follows——

Senator WOLCOTT. Of what date?

Mr. OHLINGER. This is April, 1916. It contained this statement:

The Central Alliance has to record a brilliant success in the reintroduction of the two papers, the Fatherland and the Gaelic-American, which had been banned from the public library.

Senator WOLCOTT. Was the Fatherland in existence prior to the outbreak of the European war in 1914?

Mr. OHLINGER. No, sir; it was not.

Senator WOLCOTT. Is it in existence to-day?

Mr. OHLINGER. I do not think it is in existence to-day. If it is in existence, it is under a new name—Viereck's Weekly, or something of that kind. I think they stopped the old name shortly after the United States went into the war.

Senator WOLCOTT. Is the editor of the Official Bulletin now the same person who was the editor in 1914?

Mr. OHLINGER. Of the Official Bulletin?

Senator WOLCOTT. Yes. I want to know if the editor has been changed since the outbreak of the European war, or the publisher I believe he is called?

Mr. OHLINGER. In 1914 the responsible editor was Max Heinrici, and he was also named as the responsible editor in May, 1916. In January, 1917, Joseph Keller is named.

Senator WOLCOTT. Is that his first appearance as editor?

Mr. OHLINGER. His first appearance that I know anything about.

Senator WOLCOTT. Yes.

Mr. OHLINGER. And another editor seems to have gotten in there. Of course, Joseph Keller was the first vice president of the National German-American Alliance and has been an officer of the Alliance for a great many years.

Senator KING. I would be glad, Mr. Ohlinger, if you would furnish the committee with the names of the officers of the organization when it was an unincorporated society, if you can, and also the names of the officers since it was incorporated.

Mr. OHLINGER. I think I can get that. There is only one thing that has been continuous throughout and that is that the president and the secretary have been the same from the very beginning; that is, from 1901 up to the present time the president and the secretary have been the same, except that the president was changed in November of 1917.

Senator KING. You mentioned a moment ago about the prosecution of the editor or the proprietor of the Tageblatt.

Mr. OHLINGER. The Tageblatt of Philadelphia?

Senator KING. Of Philadelphia; and this paper, the Bulletin, arranging for subscriptions, as I understood, for the defense of the editor.

Mr. OHLINGER. Yes.

Senator KING. What did they say about the Tageblatt?

Mr. OHLINGER. I do not think they say anything about the Tageblatt, except in this appeal, and I will read it:

Philadelphia branch of the Central Alliance of Pennsylvania. Pressing appeal for help.

To the alliances of the National Alliance, and to the individual societies, including the church societies.

The United German Work Societies of Philadelphia have addressed themselves to the Philadelphia Alliance to help in raising a fund for the legal defense of the editor of the Philadelphia Tageblatt, who is accused of treason. This defense costs much money. The Philadelphia branch has decided to call upon the alliances of the National Alliance and upon the individual societies for help, which occurs herewith.

We pray for immediate help by appropriations from the local alliance treasuries, through private collections, and through agitation among the individual societies. Let every alliance put itself in the position in which the editors of an American paper, printed in the German language, in his city, find themselves; think of the situation which they are in, under the charge of treason, and to which they plead not guilty. Is not every alliance in duty bound to help in the defense of such men? Has not every alliance a right to the assistance of all other alliances when it calls upon them, as occurs in this particular case? We have never been wanting in resolutions of acknowledgment and resolutions of thanks to the newspapers published in the German language, and therefore now we must not be lacking in assistance for the defense of a member of this press. If every alliance puts this situation before itself, then it will act promptly.

All moneys are to be sent to the financial secretary, Hermann Weder, No. 4605 N. 15th Street, Philadelphia, Pa., with the statement that it is for the Tageblatt defense.

Under authority of the Philadelphia branch,

Respectfully,

ADOLPH TIMM, *Secretary.*

Senator KING. Are you familiar with the publications of the Tageblatt, which prompted the prosecution?

Mr. OHLINGER. No; I have never seen that paper at all.

Senator KING. So far as you have discovered, is that the only reference in the Bulletin to the Tageblatt and these publications?

Mr. OHLINGER. So far as I know, that is the only reference, except that there is a reference to the official action of the Philadelphia branch in which it decided to "support the accused, not only morally but financially," and to issue the call I have read. This is in the Bulletin for October, 1917, page 7.

Senator KING. Proceed.

Mr. OHLINGER. The committee is undoubtedly familiar with the American Embargo Conference?

Senator WOLCOTT. Just a moment; which one of your points are you now discussing?

Mr. OHLINGER. I am discussing the connection with disloyal organizations.

Senator WOLCOTT. That is your fifth point?

Mr. OHLINGER. Yes; the fifth point. And I have already discussed the connection of this Alliance with the Fatherland and stated why I considered the Fatherland a disloyal publication.

The committee has asked what other connection there was between the Fatherland and the Alliance. I might go to that before I take up anything further. I should say that George Sylvester Viereck, the editor of the Fatherland, is one of the contributors to the Official Bulletin of the Alliance, as appears in the announcement on page 4 of the January (1917) number; and I may also say that in the spring of 1915, I think it was, there was a movement on foot to unite all the

German press of the country in one press association, and that the editor of the Alliance, Mr. Max Heinrici at that time, and also George Sylvester Viereck were at the conference for the organization of this association of all German newspapers.

Now, I was going to say something about the American Embargo Conference. The American Embargo Conference was responsible for the flood of telegrams that were received by Members of Congress in the spring of 1916. They were all, as you know, form telegrams and read exactly, identically alike, all over the country. The leading spirit in the American Embargo Conference was Gustave H. Jacobson, who was subsequently indicted in Chicago and convicted, and I think is now serving a sentence.

Some of the evidence introduced by the Government in the trial of the Kaltschmidt case in Detroit showed that Gustave H. Jacobson had assisted Kaltschmidt in getting men to Detroit for the purpose of aiding in the bombing operations in Detroit. These operations took place in the spring of the year 1915.

Senator WOLCOTT. In 1915?

Mr. OHLINGER. In 1915. The Walkerville plant of the Peabody Co. was blown up on the 21st of June, I believe, 1915; and attempts were made by these men, under the direction of Kaltschmidt, to blow up the Detroit Screw Works, to blow up the Port Huron Tunnel; and also the plans were made for the blowing up of the bridge of the Canadian Pacific Railroad at Nippigon, Ontario. I simply say this to identify this man Gustave H. Jacobson, who was the moving spirit, as I say, in this American Embargo Conference which sent out this flood of telegrams.

Now, there is nothing in this Official Bulletin to show that the National German-American Alliance knew that Gustave H. Jacobson was in the business that I have described; but the Alliance did officially recognize the American Embargo Conference, and urged all its members to help in this work, and some of the State alliances urged their members to contribute to these funds of the organization.

There is another organization——

Senator WOLCOTT. Just a moment. By what means did the National Alliance undertake to interest its members in this embargo conference?

Mr. OHLINGER. By an address printed in the Official Bulletin.

Senator WOLCOTT. You need not read the address, but just give us the date.

Mr. OHLINGER. I will have to look that up, to assure myself.

Senator WOLCOTT. You might do that later, if you wish.

Mr. OHLINGER. I can do it immediately. I refer particularly to the December (1915) Bulletin, where there is a call on page 6 to help the work of the conference, and on page 34 where there is a report from the executive committee of the Pennsylvania Alliance, in which their attention is called to the movement of the American Embargo Conference, Room 905, 139 Clark Street; and some of their alliances called upon their members to contribute to the funds of the American Embargo Conference.

The Alliance also encouraged the American Truth Society.

Senator KING. Is that the one of which Mr. O'Leary was the president?

Mr. OHLINGER. That is the one of which Mr. Jeremiah O'Leary is the president.

In the Official Bulletin for December, 1915, on page 32, appears a notice to this effect:

The United German Societies of the State of New York have sent to the societies of the Alliance two circulars. In the first they are urgently begged to support the American Truth Society, president, Jeremiah O'Leary, 1133 Broadway, with contributions on account of the activity of the same, which has been so full of blessing and has been so courageous against the pro-British Ananias press, and against their shameless persecution of Germans.

The German Kriegerbund has also set a good example by contributing $25.

At the general meeting and election of officers of the Central Alliance of the District of Columbia a resolution was presented for the establishment of a local branch of the American Truth Society, which should have for its purpose the enlightenment of the public.

I may say that Jeremiah O'Leary was one of the prominent speakers used by the National German-American Alliance on various occasions; I mean by that, by the local branches that had the organization of demonstrations in charge. He is commended in the May (1915) copy of the Official Bulletin as a prominent speaker in the interest of the German cause. A speech of his here is reprinted in German. Jeremiah O'Leary has since, I believe, been indicted. I believe he is out on bail at the present time. But that can easily be verified. Of course there is nothing in the Official Bulletin to show that at the time that they used him as a speaker and boosted him they knew that he was going to be indicted for anything.

In connection with what I said about the reaction that the organization of this Alliance produced in Germany, I call attention to an article in the Current History of the War for February, 1918, on page 327, in which this statement occurs as taken from a German historian:

The relation of the United States to Germany has increased in warmth since the 12,000,000 German citizens of the United States have become more deeply conscious of their Germanism [Deutschtum] and of their connection in spirit with the United Fatherland [Deutscher-Amerikanischer National Bund].

And I offer for what it is worth in connection with that a statement of Le Queux, in his work, "German Spies in England," which purports to contain a speech of the Kaiser in June, 1908, in which the Kaiser said:

If man ever was worthy of a high decoration at my hands it was Herr Dr. Hexamer, the president of the league, who may justly be termed to be, by my grace, the acting ruler of all the Germans in the United States.

In connection with what I said about the military policy of a common language—the military policy involved in having a common language, as producing a common national spirit back of the armies of the nation—I wish to call attention to a text book which is used by the officers in training in the United States armies at the present time. The title is "Psychology of War."

On page 125 I quote as follows:

Can the spirit of good infantry be made by some months or years of drill? Let us say that the spirit of good infantry is *first of all given by the first moral education of the man;* it may depend on an ideal, on a fanaticism; *it is a function of the public spirit of the mass of the population.*

Infantry is nothing but the nation which feeds it; it is its faithful image. The nation is there reflected as in a mirror, showing its qualities, its faults, its passions.

Has it been brought up from infancy with lessons of unity, of discipline in all degrees? Has it been cultivated by the state? Has it an ideal of loyalty and of patriotism?

It is in combat that we will find these qualities masters. Then that our infantry, placed between the instinct of self-preservation and the idea of duty, will go to victory and throw away all the encumbrances which it finds in its way as it strips for the fight.

* * * * * * *

Collective *education given by society is the only means which will assure to the army the cohesion necessary to march to victory.* The task must be assumed by the mass of the people—in the home, the school, the workshop. The spirit of duty and discipline must be cultivated by the mass of the people or it will not exist in the depths of the being.

The persistent propaganda to create a separate bloc of the population, bound together by racial ties, by ties of language and by ideals which they have taken from the old country, is such as to destroy the national spirit without which our armies can not be successful. The situation produced by this National German-American Alliance can be well understood if we suppose every racial group in this country were to adopt the same policy. I am convinced that it was a blunder on the part of Congress to incorporate this organization in the beginning. There was great opposition at the time.

Senator WOLCOTT. Have you made any inquiry as to whether Congress has ever incorporated any other racial organization?

Mr. OHLINGER. I have made no comprehensive inquiry, but I do not think that Congress has.

Senator WOLCOTT. Of course, a study of the statutes would reveal that?

Mr. OHLINGER. A study of the statutes would not reveal that; no. It does not reveal that.

Senator WOLCOTT. No; not of the public statutes. That would be a private statute.

Mr. OHLINGER. Yes; that would be a private statute. There was opposition to it at the time, and I am convinced, from the attitude that the German government has taken and from the reports as we have them, not only from Ambassador Gerard but from newspaper correspondents in Germany, that the very fact that there was this element in the United States, bound together in this unity, was one of the things that encouraged the German government in its persistence in its inhuman course and finally brought about this disaster of the war. If there had not been such a thing or such an idea prevalent in Germany, I believe the result would have been far different. If you are going to have the National German-American Alliance, bound together for Deutschtum, for a German cause or for a German-American cause, and if you are to have them continually harping upon the necessity of unity, "We must stand together as a race of brothers" and "We have got to stand shoulder to shoulder;" if you have that unity reinforced by common race, by common language, by common ideals which they get from the other country, not by ideals which they get here—if you can have an organization of that kind among Germans there is no reason why there should not be a similar organization among the Greeks or the Italians, or among the Slavs, of this country. I think the members of the subcommittee can realize very readily what would be the result if we had in this country something like forty different nationalities, each one with its own language and its own peculiar ideas, owing its first allegiance to

some ideal other than the ideals of America. You will simply have here a disintegration and the ultimate destruction of the Nation. Everything will go by the board.

Now, in what I have said here I want it understood that I have no desire to prejudice or injure in any way the citizens of this country who, like myself, are of German descent. I am convinced that this committee and Congress can do no greater service to all of the citizens of German descent than by repealing this charter and in that way pointing them on the right path. They have been chasing after false gods, the gods that are leading the German people and the German nation to their destruction. It is a false ideal, a bad ideal, that has been presented to them through this National German-American Alliance, and the best that could be done for those of German descent in this country would be to repeal the charter, and I am sure that the great majority of that element would applaud such action. There is absolutely no need for an organization of this kind, because I can say myself, as a citizen who is partly of German descent, that there is ample room in one organization for every man that is sincerely an American, and that is the Loyal League of all Americans: and every man of German descent is welcome in that organization and can maintain his dignity there to an equal extent with any other citizen.

Senator WOLCOTT. Mr. Ohlinger, are we to understand you to go thus far in your views, that no organization, whether incorporated or unincorporated, whose objects and purposes are those set out in this charter that the National German-American Alliance possesses, should be tolerated in this country? Or are you speaking of the National German-American Alliance not as defined in this charter but as you have found it in practice?

Mr. OHLINGER. I was thinking just then of the perversion of this charter in practice; but I would like to see that copy of the charter and see just what its terms are before I answer that question.

Senator KING. Assume that this organization should live up to the spirit of that charter and the letter of it, or assume that an organization is incorporated solely for the purpose of teaching foreigners to become citizens, what do you say as to the policy of giving a Federal charter to organizations of that character to operate in the several States?

Mr. OHLINGER. I think that it is a bad policy, because the history of this Alliance has shown how very easily the purposes expressed can be perverted. For instance, take this purpose, "the cultivation of the German language, literature, and drama, and the perpetuation of the memory and deeds of those early German pioneers whose influence has been of incalculable benefit to the intellectual and economic development of this country and whose loyalty in times of stress and strife is a matter of history." That has been perverted to the idea of the maintenance of a foreign language as a bond of unity and not the study of a foreign language for cultural purposes. I think there could be no objection whatever to the Germans of the United States, if they wished to do so, forming societies for the study of French. First, however, they should study English.

Senator KING. You mean for the study of German?

Mr. OHLINGER. No; I say for the study of some other language than their native language.

Senator KING. Oh, I beg your pardon.

Mr. OHLINGER. The first language that those of foreign descent in this country should study and that an organization should insist upon their members mastering thoroughly is the language of this country, because, as the Official Bulletin itself says, "the life of the people is in its language", and there is abundant authority for that statement everywhere. The first thing that they should insist upon is that all their members, every one of them, should learn and cultivate the language of the country, and master it. Then, if as a cultural ideal, something simply as a matter of higher education, they wish to learn a foreign language, so much the better. But the idea of impregnating the children of this country with a divided allegiance through the teaching of two languages is something that is unendurable and something that is detrimental to the national existence.

Senator WOLCOTT. The charter, however, in the language you have read does not necessarily mean that they should proceed to do this thing which you charge them with having done.

Mr. OHLINGER. It does not necessarily mean that. I said at the very beginning that this organization perverted the purposes of this charter, and if the history of this organization is to be a guide it should certainly be a warning against doing the same thing again.

Senator KING. From your acquaintance with its literature and operations of its officials, do you know whether this organization has been back of the movement, which I am told has been made in some States, to teach the German language in the schools and make it paramount to the English language.

Mr. OHLINGER. Well, I could not prove that except from the statement that I read from the 1904 official organ of the Alliance at that time, in which it was hoped that through these private schools, which would ultimately become public schools, German would be the language of teaching and English would be the foreign language.

Senator KING. Yes; I had that quotation in mind when I asked this question.

Mr. OHLINGER. But I do not find in the Official Bulletin of the Alliance resolutions for the carrying out of that purpose. But the effort has been to bring in German teaching more and more, with the ultimate object in view of having it begin in the first grade.

Senator KING. Generally speaking, in the literature to which you have called the attention of the committee have you found any condemnation of the autocratic government of Germany?

Mr. OHLINGER. Absolutely not. On the contrary——

Senator KING. Its military power?

Mr. OHLINGER. No, sir; on the contrary, commendation for its efficiency.

Senator KING. Is there any plea there for American democracy, for the democratization of the people of this country, and for the Germans who come here to throw off the autocratic views which they may have of government as they find it applied in Germany and urging them to become acquainted with a republican, democratic form of government and the spirit of the institutions of this country?

Mr. OHLINGER. I have examined these Bulletins quite carefully, and I think I am safe in saying there has been no plea whatever of that kind. On the contrary, the plea has been to remember the state ideals, the political ideals, with which they came here, and a

plea to them to carry those ideals into the American Government. I have reference particularly now to the review of Münsterberg's book which appears in this Official Bulletin. I read some of that to the committee on Saturday.

Senator KING. Would you say that a perusal of these Bulletins and the other literature to which you have called our attention could lead to but one conclusion, namely, that the effort of this organization has been to Germanize or Prussianize the Germans who come to this country rather than to Americanize the Germans who come to this country?

Mr. OHLINGER. I would not say that the effort has been to Prussianize, but the effort has been to maintain their Germanism, the assumption being that they are already Germans when they come here and if they are already Germans to have them remain Germans. The effort has been to maintain Deutschtum or Deutsch-Amerikanertum, but not to maintain purely Americanism.

Senator KING. Did you find any condemnation of Bernstorff's efforts and the German government's efforts to spread disunion among the American people and their efforts, through spies or otherwise, to get the American people into domestic trouble and to embroil us with Mexico at that time?

Mr. OHLINGER. Not one word. On the contrary, there is published in this Bulletin an excerpt from a paper criticizing Mr. Marshall——

Senator KING. The Vice President?

Mr. OHLINGER. No; the district attorney in New York.

Senator KING. Oh, yes.

Mr. OHLINGER (continuing). For the alleged steps he had taken to injure and slander reputable citizens and his persecution of everything German, and saying that of course Marshall was simply acting under orders and that the person who was really responsible for it was "Prof. Wilson".

Senator KING. Then you find approval of the activities of German spies and German representatives in using this country as a base for German propaganda and for stirring up domestic strife and trying to embroil this country in war with other nations?

Mr. OHLINGER. No; I do not mean I found approval of that. I found no disapproval of that.

Senator KING. Yes.

Mr. OHLINGER. I found condemnation of District Attorney Marshall's efforts, in a quotation from a paper which appears in the Official Bulletin, without comment.

Now, let me make it clear to this committee that this Official Bulletin is not a newspaper. It is the organ of the propaganda of a society, and therefore what it has in it, whether it is a speech by some one or whether it is quoting from another paper, must be assumed to be in harmony with the purposes of the organization, because this is the official bulletin, a propaganda bulletin. It is not a newspaper or periodical. Of course newspapers and periodicals print speeches from everybody, and that does not mean that what is printed is the opinion of the newspaper; but that is not the case with this Official Bulletin.

Senator WOLCOTT. I think we are absolutely safe in saying that what is contained in that Official Bulletin is the language of the National German-American Alliance.

Mr. OHLINGER. I would say so, unless it appears with criticism or disapproval.

Senator WOLCOTT. Well, that is all in the Bulletin.

Mr. OHLINGER. Yes. If it appears there without criticism or disapproval it is the language of the National German-American Alliance, in my opinion.

Senator WOLCOTT. Are you through?

Mr. OHLINGER. Yes.

Senator WOLCOTT. I have before me here the Federal charter of this organization. I want to run down these purposes as set out in the charter, and ask you, just briefly, to state whether or not to your knowledge the purposes are being carried out, or if they are not being carried out, if you know. Here is the first clause among these purposes, "The conservation of the principles of representative government and the protection and maintenance of all civil and political rights". The other day you mentioned some activity on the part of the National German-American Alliance designed to preserve the civil right of having intoxicating liquors sold.

Mr. OHLINGER. Yes.

Senator WOLCOTT. Do you know of any other civil or political right that it has championed?

Mr. OHLINGER. Their effort to preserve that right, so far as intoxicating liquors are concerned, is so preeminently and overwhelmingly prominent everywhere that you can not find any other purpose. It may be hidden somewhere, but it is hard to discover. That is the big thing; and I might say that so far as the preservation of—what does it say there?

Senator WOLCOTT. The "protection and maintenance of all civil and political rights".

Mr. OHLINGER. So far as that is concerned, I might say that 95 per cent of all the efforts in that direction of the National German-American Alliance are devoted to the liquor matter.

Senator WOLCOTT. Now, here is another purpose which it seems to me is entirely praiseworthy, "the protection of German immigrants against imposition and deception and to assist in their naturalization".

Mr. OHLINGER. Yes.

Senator WOLCOTT. They have done considerable work in following out that purpose, have they?

Mr. OHLINGER. So far as the protection of German immigrants from imposition is concerned, I do not find any record of direct activity of that kind. To my mind that would mean an effort to meet the German immigrant as he arrives, to take care of him from the time he leaves the ship, to see that he does not get into the hands of sharpers; that is what I would understand from that designation. But there is no record in their Bulletin of anything being done along that line that I can remember.

Senator WOLCOTT. In the reports of the national conventions do you find any reports of committees whose business it is to handle such branches of their work?

Mr. OHLINGER. No, sir.

Senator WOLCOTT. Are you sufficiently familiar with the organization of the Alliance to be able to tell us whether or not they have set up a piece of machinery to do this particular work of protecting the immigrant?

Mr. OHLINGER. Let me just go over the list of committees of the Alliance to be sure on that. [After examining list.] There is a committee for immigration—a committee on immigration. That committee's activities, however, were devoted to propaganda against any restriction on immigration, propaganda against the bill which was recently passed by Congress, which you are familiar with—conducting propaganda against that; but so far as maintaining homes for immigrants or having agents to meet them when they arrive at the steamers or to give them employment when they arrive is concerned, I do not find any record of anything of that kind.

Senator WOLCOTT. Either in the Bulletin or in the reports of the national gatherings?

Mr. OHLINGER. No, sir.

Senator KING. Do you find any expenditures made by the organization in behalf of those who have come here and who might stand in need of funds? I mean at their conferences or conventions are there reports indicating the expenditure of money in behalf of the immigrants who come here?

Mr. OHLINGER. No; I do not. Now, there is this that occurs to me, that this was done by the Los Angeles branch of this Alliance: When the German inhabitants of Kiao-chau were captured by the Japanese and the British, upon their arrival in Los Angeles they were met by the Alliance and speeded upon their way.

Senator WOLCOTT. Here is a third purpose, "the study of American institutions and the publication of American history". The other day you told us that they had made some publications of a biographical nature, as I understood, of prominent Germans who had come to this country and rendered very valuable services in this country; that they had made historical publications of that nature.

Mr. OHLINGER. Yes.

Senator WOLCOTT. Have they made publication of documents or books of a general American historical nature or not?

Mr. OHLINGER. No; their effort through their committee on historical investigation has been, as they say, to wipe out historical lines and to give to the activities of the Germans their proper perspective in this country. For instance, in one place the committee criticizes the fact that in the histories of the United States no mention is made of the fact that among those who came with John Smith there was a German, and that was in derogation of what they thought should be their recognition; and their effort has been to bring their racial kin into prominence, as, for instance, by the statues which they caused to be erected, one of Baron von Steuben at Valley Forge, the Herkimer Homestead, and the Pastorius Monument; and in these activities to commemorate the activities of these men it is always in connection with the opportunity to give a demonstration of German unity in this country.

Senator WOLCOTT. Their publications, then, have not been of American history in the broad sense of the word?

Mr. OHLINGER. No; they have been of the history of those of German race.

Senator WOLCOTT. The language is, "the study of American institutions and the publication of American history". Are you aware of any activity on the part of this organization designed to promote the study of American institutions?

Mr. OHLINGER. No; I am aware of no such activity except in the way of teaching the immigrants how to get out their papers and how to become citizens. They have that carefully covered.

Senator WOLCOTT. That, of course, is not so much the study of an American institution.

Mr. OHLINGER. It is more incidentally teaching them enough of it so that they can answer the questions which are put to them when they are naturalized.

Senator WOLCOTT. Those questions may be hard or may be easy, depending upon the jurisdiction?

Mr. OHLINGER. It depends entirely upon the jurisdiction. There is no uniformity whatever about it.

Senator WOLCOTT. And upon the temper of the judge?

Mr. OHLINGER. And the temper of the judge.

Senator WOLCOTT. The last purpose stated is "the cultivation of the German language, literature, and drama, and the perpetuation of the memory and deeds of those early German pioneers whose influence has been of incalculable benefit to the intellectual and economic development of this country and whose loyalty in times of stress and strife is a matter of history." That you have read, and you have answered as to that.

Mr. OHLINGER. Yes.

Senator KING. Mr. Ohlinger, you quoted on Saturday from a speech delivered by Dr. Hexamer in which he stated to the audience that they should be strong and be German; that is, Germans must not merge with the American people, but——

Mr. OHLINGER. Raise the others to their level, I believe it was.

Senator KING. The idea was that they must not accept the American institutions, but must raise the Americans up to the German level?

Mr. OHLINGER. Yes.

Senator KING. Was that speech published in the Bulletin?

Mr. OHLINGER. Yes, sir; it was.

Senator KING. And you so testified?

Mr. OHLINGER. Yes.

Senator KING. I had forgotten.

Mr. OHLINGER. Yes, sir; it was published in the December (1915) number of the Bulletin, and the part you have just mentioned is the following——

Senator KING. Well, if you translated it before, I would not care to encumber the record with it again.

Mr. OHLINGER. Well, I would like to translate that because you did not get it just as I gave it, Senator.

Senator KING. I know that I did not; I was quoting from memory. I suggested that because it may be more or less important that you furnish a translation of the entire part of the speech that is found in the Bulletin, so that there may be no claim made that the parts quoted were given undue emphasis and that the parts not quoted might have modified those portions that you submitted.

Mr. OHLINGER. I must say this in connection with that subject. The translation I gave to the best of my ability is an exact translation of this speech; and it was taken from the December (1915) Bulletin on page 3.

Senator KING. Did you give the entire translation in your testimony?

Mr. OHLINGER. I gave the entire translation.

Senator KING. Well, that is all right, then. I thought you translated only a portion of it.

Mr. OHLINGER. Well, what I did translate there is in a solid piece. There is another paragraph following. I will translate the balance of that, to be sure of it.

Senator KING. Very well.

Mr. OHLINGER. And on that same occasion and in Milwaukee he made the statement that the time has come when the Germans must be the hammer or the anvil, that they must up and strike or succumb.

Senator KING. Yes; you testified about that.

Mr. OHLINGER. Prof. Kuehnemann, I believe, was also present at that time and made a speech on the unity of the German element.

Senator KING. Has there been any reference, so far as you have been able to discover, in this record to the deportation of Belgians, and the destruction of cathedrals and churches, and any condemnation of that course pursued by Prussia in her war upon Belgium and France?

Mr. OHLINGER. There has been some reference to the deportation but there has been nowhere one word of condemnation of that course. I am speaking, now, of the numbers of the Official Bulletin from August, 1914, up until May, 1916; and in the subsequent numbers I am almost positive there has been no condemnation of any kind, unless it was put in a very obscure place.

Senator KING. Does the record show activities upon the part of the organization in those States or districts where prohibition has been an issue?

Mr. OHLINGER. Oh, yes; that is where they have been most active, because they say that Deutschtum and the preservation of Deutschtum depend upon being wet. Where a State goes dry the German spirit dries up. [Laughter.] That has been brought out repeatedly.

Senator KING. In the Bulletin?

Mr. OHLINGER. Oh, yes. Yes; I can give you references to that. Where a State becomes dry the Alliance, lacking the liquid nourishment, withers away.

Senator KING. Is there anything in the Bulletin there to indicate that one of the principal objects of this organization is to oppose prohibitory movements?

Mr. OHLINGER. Well, it does not appear in their charter that that is their object.

Senator KING. I know; but in the record is there anything in the speeches or in the conferences of the editors of the publications indicating that that is one of the principal purposes of the organization?

Mr. OHLINGER. Oh, yes; the record is full of it. It is full of that.

Senator KING. I will say that personally I do not care to go into that field very much. I can readily appreciate that men would differ upon the question of the wisdom of prohibition. There are a great many very good Americans who are very strongly opposed to

prohibition and who feel that prohibitory statutes are an infringement upon personal liberty.

Mr. OHLINGER. Yes.

Senator KING. I have a great deal of sympathy with that. While I am a prohibitionist, I have a great deal of sympathy with that view. It is a pretty difficult thing to legislate for the tastes of individuals, and it is a serious question how far legislation of that character infringes personal liberty. As I say, personally I do not care to go into that. Let me qualify that. By that I mean that if that is the only criticism of this organization, that it has been active in opposing prohibition, while men might differ as to the wisdom of incorporating any organization by Congress, I would not feel that that would justify any particular action upon our part at the present time.

Mr. OHLINGER. I would not think so. I would be of the same opinion.

Senator WOLCOTT. It was a very pertinent inquiry to know whether or not the organization which received a Federal charter for certain purposes had gone outside of those purposes and constituted itself a protagonist of the different sides of the liquor question, whether wet or dry.

Mr. OHLINGER. Yes; I should think that an organization that got a Federal charter and went out on the dry side, that violated its charter and went outside of its charter and took up the dry work as a part of its business, was just as reprehensible as one that went out on the wet side of the proposition.

In connection with the question which Senator King has asked, I want to call attention to a clipping from the Indianapolis News of May 24, 1917, from which I read as follows:

HOW KELLER AIDED LIQUOR INTERESTS.

I will just read the first paragraph of this:

Pittsburgh, May 24.—About a month ago the United States Brewing Association, some of its subsidiary companies and some of its individual members were heavily fined in the Federal court for violation of the Federal law prohibiting corporations from paying money for political purposes.

Then there is a statement here in regard to moneys that were received by Mr. Keller, who is the first vice president of the National German-American Alliance, from the United Brewers' Association; and if the committee is interested it could get the full details of that by getting the documents from the Federal court at Pittsburgh.

Senator WOLCOTT. You have covered six points. The seventh point is——

Mr. OHLINGER. The seventh point is the point for the committee to investigate.

Senator WOLCOTT. That you just mentioned?

Mr. OHLINGER. Yes; for the committee to investigate, and that I make no assertion on, except my own private opinion.

Senator WOLCOTT. We have with questions moved from one point to another, so to speak, all along through these two days of examination, and I wanted to make sure that you had covered all that you intended to say under these points.

Senator KING. Is there anything else you have to offer?

Mr. OHLINGER. I think not.

Senator KING. When do you purpose leaving the city?

Mr. OHLINGER. To-night at 8 o'clock.

Senator KING. When can you furnish the translations to which reference has been made?

Mr. OHLINGER. By the end of the week I can have them here.

Senator KING. The committee would like them, if possible, by Saturday morning.

Mr. OHLINGER. Yes, sir.

Senator KING. We will resume the hearings possibly on Friday. Senator Wolcott will be absent for two or three days, so that further hearings on this matter will be postponed until his return to the city, which will probably be by Friday.

Senator WOLCOTT. It may be by Thursday, but by Friday certainly.

Senator KING. The subcommittee will stand in recess, subject to the call of the chairman of the subcommittee.

(Thereupon, at 5.40 o'clock p. m., the subcommittee adjourned, subject to the call of the chairman.)

NATIONAL GERMAN-AMERICAN ALLIANCE.

THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 28, 1918.

UNITED STATES SENATE,
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY,
Washington, D. C.

The subcommittee met at 2 o'clock p. m. in the room of the Committee on the Judiciary in the Capitol.

Present: Senators King (chairman), Wolcott, and Sterling.

TESTIMONY OF MR. HENRY C. CAMPBELL.

The witness was duly sworn by Senator King.

Senator KING. State your full name, please.

Mr. CAMPBELL. Henry C. Campbell.

Senator KING. And your residence and business.

Mr. CAMPBELL. I am assistant editor of the Milwaukee Journal, Milwaukee, Wis.

Senator KING. How long have you resided in Milwaukee?

Mr. CAMPBELL. About 50 years.

Senator KING. How long have you been engaged in the newspaper business?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Thirty-four years.

Senator KING. Have you as a newspaper man, in Milwaukee and elsewhere, had occasion to investigate or come in contact with the National German-American Alliance?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes, sir.

Senator KING. The parent as well as the State and local organizations?

Mr. CAMPBELL. In large measure; yes, sir.

Senator KING. You may state in your own way what the result of those investigations has been, what statements and utterances have emanated from the organization, the parent or the local organizations, tending to show the objects, purposes, and activities.

Mr. CAMPBELL. I should like, to begin with, to say a few words regarding the background of the immediate question that is under consideration.

About the year 1890 there was organized in Germany what is known as the Pan-German Union, whose object and purpose are to cement men of German blood, in all the countries of the world, together in the interests of Germany. About the year 1900 the German-American Alliance was organized, and the German-American Alliance has in very large measure done the work in the United States of the Pan-German Union. The German-American Alliance was chartered by Congress in 1907. That was several years after the initial organization. When it was chartered it promised to abstain

from activity in political campaigns. That was a condition in the charter.

Senator WOLCOTT. Just a moment, Mr. Campbell. You say that was a condition in the charter?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes, sir; it was a condition in the granting of the charter.

Senator WOLCOTT. Of course, there is no mention of it in the charter?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes.

Senator WOLCOTT. There is no mention of any such condition of restriction upon the corporate activities set forth in the charter; so I would like to ask you upon what do you base your statement that that is one of the conditions upon which the charter was granted, that the Alliance should abstain from political activities?

Mr. CAMPBELL. There was a very clear stipulation on that point. I would have to take a second or two to reach that.

Senator WOLCOTT. Are you going to come to that later?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes.

Senator WOLCOTT. All right.

Senator KING. I think he is just connecting his statement.

Senator WOLCOTT. All right.

Mr. CAMPBELL. There was also a promise on the part of the German-American Alliance to engage in the work of Americanizing German immigrants.

Senator WOLCOTT. Do you propose later to cite evidence in substantiation of that statement?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes, sir.

Senator WOLCOTT. Very well.

Mr. CAMPBELL. And both that condition and that promise have been treated by the Alliance much as "scraps of paper." The German-American Alliance instead of Americanizing German immigrants has done much to keep German immigrants German, and has done not a little to Germanize Americans. It has been the chief factor in the German separatist movement. It has aimed to unify men of German blood, as Germans, for action in the public life of America, and very largely during recent years has done so directly in the interest of Germany. It has taken the side of Germany on questions arising out of the world war in almost every instance, supporting measures in the interest of Germany pending in Congress, and it has consistently taken a position in opposition to the policies of the Government of the United States in regard to all those questions.

Senator KING. That has been done by the organization as an organization?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes.

Senator KING. In contradistinction to the action of individuals?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes; by the organization as an organization and by its representatives and branches.

The Central Alliance of Pennsylvania, which is the parent of the German-American Alliance, called a meeting, held in Chicago late in May, 1916, just before the national political conventions were held, to organize for political action along racial lines. One of the reasons why the National Alliance has left much of its work to the State bodies is that the National Alliance has a regular session only once in two years. The State bodies meet much more frequently and are

thus able to consider immediate matters. John B. Mayer, the president of the Central Alliance, issued the call for the Chicago political meeting. At a meeting of the Central Alliance of Pennsylvania held at Erie, August 5, 1916, the president made a report, and among other things said:

When, at the proposal of our legislative committee, your president called a meeting of the country's German-Americans in Chicago on May 28 and 29 of this year, it was scarcely to be wondered at that representatives of forty-two states attended, men who represented religious corporations, singing societies, turn societies, military societies, state branches of the national alliance, etc., and who there unanimously resolved to oppose unjust attacks and defeat them. It was one of the most memorable meetings ever held by German-Americans.

At that meeting a committee was appointed to take an active part in the national campaign that year.

Senator WOLCOTT. Now, that was an activity on the part of the Chicago alliance and the Pennsylvania State Alliance?

Mr. CAMPBELL. The Pennsylvania Alliance took the initiative, the Chicago city alliance was represented at that meeting, and specific activities by the Chicago alliance and the Illinois alliance developed a little later.

Senator WOLCOTT. Do those activities connect up with the National German-American Alliance, the body that possesses this Federal charter?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes.

Senator WOLCOTT. Are you going to show that?

Mr. CAMPBELL. I shall show that later.

Senator WOLCOTT. All right, sir.

Mr. CAMPBELL. The call for that meeting, the Chicago meeting, issued by President Mayer, of the Pennsylvania body, and signed by himself and Adolph Timm, contains this paragraph:

Presidents of all the many great organizations, warriors of the pulpit and the pen come, one and all, so that the feelings that animate German-American hearts may at last find united expression, an expression that will compel the respect of the political managers who respect only a solid organization. Let us take an example from the people of Germany. Remove all dividing lines and come. If we are united, victory is ours.

Senator WOLCOTT. That call was published in the Official Bulletin, was it not?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes, sir; and the action taken at the Chicago meeting was afterwards indorsed.

Senator WOLCOTT. Indorsed by the Official Bulletin?

Mr. CAMPBELL. By the press bulletin—the press bureau—of the National Alliance.

Senator WOLCOTT. What do you mean by "the press bureau"? Is that the publication called the Official Bulletin?

Mr. CAMPBELL. No; the Official Bulletin is a bulletin issued directly to its members by the National German-American Alliance. The National German-American Alliance has, or had, a press bureau which sent out articles to papers friendly to its purposes.

Senator KING. A publicity committee that sent out to the press articles for publication?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes; a regular press bureau organization; a bureau of publicity, it might well be called.

Senator STERLING. To what victory is reference made where they say there "victory is ours"?

Mr. CAMPBELL. To the national campaign of 1916.

In October Dr. Hexamer sent out from Philadelphia a letter urging the German-Americans to come out openly and fearlessly for Hughes and Fairbanks. This letter was written upon a letterhead reading as follows:

E. Hexamer Established 1856. C. J. Hexamer

E. HEXAMER & SON
CIVIL ENGINEERS AND INSURANCE SURVEYORS
419 Walnut Street, Philadelphia, den 12 Oktober, 1916.

A translation of the letter itself reads as follows:

DEAR SIR: Since our National Alliance is not permitted to spend a cent for the election of a Federal official, without its president and its board of directors being liable, according to Paragraphs 83 and 37 of the United States Penal Code, to imprisonment and fine, I am using for this letter my private business paper.

The contents of the enclosed open letter explains itself.

The time has now come when German-Americans must come out openly and fearlessly for Hughes and Fairbanks. If Wilson is elected, our political impotence will be accomplished and we shall be made powerless for a long time.

Cordially yours,

C. J. HEXAMER.

Now, regarding the agreement that the German-American Alliance should not engage in political activities: In a letter written in behalf of the German-American Alliance on March 13, 1906, while the charter matter was pending in Congress, the secretary of the Alliance said:

It is a purely patriotic organization.
Party politics and religion are strictly excluded.

That is what I had in mind when I stated that it was promised that it would not engage in political campaigns as such.

Senator WOLCOTT. That was a letter written when?

Mr. CAMPBELL. That is from a letter written on March 13, 1906, by the secretary. It begins as follows:

PHILADELPHIA, PA., *March 13, 1906.*

DEAR SIR: Complying with your request and by order of our president, Dr. C. J. Hexamer, I beg to submit to you the aims of the National German-American Alliance.

Senator WOLCOTT. To whom was that letter written?

Mr. CAMPBELL. It was written by the secretary of the Alliance and sent to Representative H. W. Palmer, of Pennsylvania.

Senator WOLCOTT. Was that letter published in the Congressional Record of that time?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes. I would like to explain, Mr. Chairman, that some parts of the testimony that I seek to give have been published in various forms. I have included it all in this statement in order to tell the story comprehensively in its logical order.

Senator STERLING. Was the bill then pending for the granting of a charter?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes, sir; and Mr. Bartholdt is quoted on the subject in the Congressional Record. Representative Hepburn of Iowa took exception to the name "German" in the proposed charter. Mr. Hepburn said:

I do not think there is any advantage to be gained by perpetuating these national distinctions in the United States.

Mr. Bartholdt said:

I am aware of my friend's objection to the hyphenation, but this is a name which the organization has adopted, and they are petitioning us to grant this concession under the name they have chosen to adopt. I, for one, have no authority to consent to the change of name. I should like to, but I have not the authority to do so. As far as that name is concerned, let me suggest, Mr. Speaker, that it is only a name. The word "German" is not used in a political sense, but merely in an ethnological sense.

Senator STERLING. What was the date of that discussion?

Mr. CAMPBELL. It is from page 65 of the Congressional Record of that year, 1906. That is the citation I have here.

In addition to the letter written by Adolph Timm, secretary of the German-American Alliance, to Representative Palmer under date of March 13, 1906, in which the Alliance, asking for a Federal charter, made a promise to abstain from all party politics, Dr. Hexamer himself is on record as stating that the Alliance is not permitted to engage in political activities.

Part of the matter that I have here consists of American writers on this subject; and, if you will let me do so, I should like to quote briefly from a few pages—a very few—and in addition I have quotations from writers and statesmen of Germany bearing upon the question of this German-American Alliance and showing that Germany viewed this organization as its ally in the United States.

In an article published in the American Magazine for July, 1916, William Hard writes, among other things:

Before 1900 there was no German-American National Alliance. There was no unity in American "Deutschtum". * * * It dwelt in thousands of scattered Liederkranzes and Saengerbunds and Vereins-for-this and Gesellschafts-for-that. It had no important continuous connections with the "Deutschtum" of Germany. The Berlin of Bismarck's day had abandoned the German-Americans to American assimilation. They were "expatriates". They were "deserters". America, as Hasse of Leipzig (member of the Reichstag) used to say, was "the grave of Deutschtum". * * *

Fourteen years later, in 1914, Professor Julius Goebel, professor of German Literature in the University of Illinois, published a book on "The Fight for German Culture in America". He published it in Germany in the German language. It is dedicated, this story of a "fight", to a "fellow-fighter"—to C. J. Hexamer, president of the 2,000,000 members of the German-American National Alliance. It expresses the following conclusion and determination: "We stand to-day at the very beginning of the German Movement in America and of that which it has been called forth to accomplish."

Mr. Goebel was at one time one of the lecturers of the National German-American Alliance.

Mr. Hard further states:

There existed in Germany an active private society called "The German School Association for the Preservation of 'Deutschtum' Abroad". It gave subsidies to schools teaching the German language in foreign countries.

In that connection I wish to say that one of the foremost activities of the German-American Alliance has been to enforce the study of German in the common schools of the United States. I have quite an intimate knowledge of their activity in that direction in my own section.

Senator STERLING. How enforce it? How would they enforce it?

Mr. CAMPBELL. In Wisconsin there was enacted a good many years ago a law which permitted the study of a foreign language in the grade schools, provided parents wished their children to take it. It was merely a permissive law for optional study. In Milwaukee

they overrode that law through control of the school board and adopted a rule, which has been partly abrogated recently——

Senator KING. When you say "recently", you mean since the war?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Since the war; yes, sir. They adopted a rule which provided that unless a child at the opening of the school term brought from one of its parents an excuse from the study of German it should be enrolled in a German class; the sending of an express wish not to have the child study German was the only thing that would relieve the child from studying German.

Senator KING. That would pertain to children, as you say, in the grade schools?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes.

Senator KING. That is, in the schools below the eighth grade?

Mr. CAMPBELL. It would apply to the children in the first grade, as soon as they got out of the kindergarten, and up to and including the eighth grade. That was done in Milwaukee, and the unfairness of it consisted in the fact that though the State law merely permitted the study on an optional basis, as applied to the children, the school board's rule, enforced for a number of years, made it virtually compulsory, made it compulsory because the children and the parents were never given any notice of their right of choice in the matter; and in a great majority of cases a child, through the ignorance of its parents, would go to school without a written excuse and would be dragooned into a German-class room. That condition existed for a number of years, until our country was forced into war; and the release of a child was made a very difficult matter. A note to the principal would not do. The rule, or the practice, required that one of the parents of the child should go to the school-board headquarters to get the child released from the study of German, and when he went to the school-board headquarters the man with whom he dealt was the assistant superintendent in charge of German instruction.

Senator STERLING. Was the rule so broad as to include other than German children? Did it take in all children in the grade schools, so that if they did not bring excuses from the study of German they would be caught and put in the German classes, too?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Absolutely, Senator; that is just the way it operated. And what is more, it worked a great injustice to the children of immigrants of other races. For instance, Milwaukee for many years, like other cities, has received a large immigration from southern and eastern Europe; and when the children of these poor, ignorant immigrants entered a public school in Milwaukee—the parents, of course, not knowing anything at all about the matter, no notice ever being sent to them—these children were confronted with the requirement that they study what to them were two foreign languages, that is, English and German. The result has been, in my opinion, that tens of thousands of children—and the majority of the school children of Milwaukee never go higher than the eighth grade, and a large number drop out at the sixth grade, a comparatively small minority only going to high school—the children attending the grades, even though they finished the grades, have gone out with a very inadequate knowledge of the language of this country and with nothing more than a smattering of German, because German has not been taught with practical success.

Senator KING. One question. Of course that rule of which you speak would necessitate the employment of none but German teachers, then—at least teachers who knew German?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Absolutely; and in France to-day German is being taught in public schools, but it is being taught by French citizens, in spirit and every other way, whereas in Milwaukee, in connection with the war, there has been a very marked spirit of Germanism and very little Americanism displayed on the part of a very considerable number—proportion even—of the teachers of German.

Senator KING. Did the superintendent of education in Milwaukee have any connection with the German-American Alliance?

Mr. CAMPBELL. The present superintendent has not. The assistant superintendent of schools, in charge of German, in Milwaukee is the president—or was until recently—of the German-American Alliance of Wisconsin.

Senator KING. Is that Leo Stern?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Leo Stern; and he is, or rather has been for a number of years and until recently, vice president of the National German-American Alliance.

Senator WOLCOTT. Mr. Campbell, is there anything further regarding the identity of this man Stern——

Mr. CAMPBELL. I beg your pardon?

Senator WOLCOTT. In addition to the identity of Mr. Stern as assistant superintendent of schools in charge of German and as an officer of the National German-American Alliance, in the way of evidence, that connects this behavior in Milwaukee with the organization possessing this Federal charter; is there anything further? Do I make my question clear?

Mr. CAMPBELL. I understand, I think.

Senator WOLCOTT. Do you have any other piece of evidence that would lead this committee to believe, or that might point to the fact, that the corporation enjoying the Federal charter was responsible for that state of affairs in Milwaukee?

Mr. CAMPBELL. In reply, I would say this, that the spread of the teaching of German has been one of the foremost activities of the National German-American Alliance, not only in Milwaukee and in Wisconsin but all over the country, and also I would say that the German-American Alliance of Wisconsin has been incessantly active all through the years to spread the study of German.

Senator KING. In the schools—the public schools?

Mr. CAMPBELL. In the schools. I am speaking of the public schools entirely when I say that.

Senator KING. Proceed.

Mr. CAMPBELL. In regard to the efforts to spread Germanism in the United States, quoting from Mr. Hard again, I wish to read this paragraph:

> The end of this policy and its advantages to Germany were openly expressed by Count Quadt, chargé d'affaires at the German Embassy at Washington, when he addressed the German societies of New York during their first great united "German Day" celebration in the fall of 1902. He said:
>
> "If you should succeed in your efforts to unite the German element in the United States, and keep it united, then indeed the German nation is indebted to you".

That was in 1902.

Senator WOLCOTT. Referring, you say, to the success that had characterized their efforts to install German in the public schools of Milwaukee?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Well, not particularly, but to the effort to unify Germans and segregate them and to spread Germanism and to spread the German language.

The States of Nebraska, Minnesota, and Indiana some years ago passed laws making the offer of German compulsory in schools where a sufficient number of parents desired it. The State alliances, in reports to the national body published in the Bulletin, took upon themselves full credit for getting through these laws. In one case the report complained that some legislators, when approached by the Alliance, objected to propaganda upon the subject. The report admitted that some of the objectors were of German descent.

At the time von Holleben was German ambassador to the United States, and also in connection with Prince Henry's visit to the United States, the exact date of which I have not at hand just now, a great deal of attention was paid by both of them to the different singing societies, German singing societies, musikvereins, rifle clubs, and all other German organizations, in what it is now very apparent was an effort to promote the unification of men of German blood in America in the interest of their native or ancestral country.

Going back to the committee organized at Chicago in May, 1916, after that meeting in Chicago there was another meeting called in Milwaukee and in Wisconsin, and the call for that meeting spoke of the resolutions that had been adopted in Chicago and announced that this meeting would be held in Milwaukee "in accordance with the central authorities in Philadelphia, who will later give the word for common action for us all". The organization all the way through was quite efficient, as it proved to be in the case of movements against Congress. There would be a signal and work would begin, and when it was necessary to stop work the signal was given and it would stop as suddenly as it had begun. Speakers at that meeting urged the necessity of organizing politically as German-Americans and of acting as a unit.

Senator KING. Who were the speakers?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Max Hottelet, of Milwaukee, who presided, stated that the object was "to organize politically for the purpose of taking a stand as American citizens in the coming election and of coming out for our ideals at the polls".

Senator STERLING. What election does he refer to?

Mr. CAMPBELL. The national election of 1916.

Senator KING. Was he a member of the National Alliance?

Mr. CAMPBELL. I am sure he is a member of the German-American Alliance. This was a movement following up the Chicago organization meeting and the Chicago organization meeting was called by the Pennsylvania body, the parent body of the German-American Alliance.

Mr. Emil Court, another speaker, said:

Can we not again stand together? We can if we want to and if we are a unit.

Arthur Koenig, another speaker, said:

I hope that we will act unitedly, and that at the next great election we shall be able to bring to the ballot box a deciding vote.

One result of this meeting in Chicago of May, 1916, was the sending of a number of protests against the nomination by the Republican Party of certain candidates for the presidency.

Senator KING. Do you recall who presided at that meeting at Chicago?

Mr. CAMPBELL. I think it was John B. Mayer.

Senator KING. He is a member of the Alliance?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes, sir; and very prominent in the National German-American Alliance.

Senator KING. Was Dr. Hexamer there, do you recall?

Mr. CAMPBELL. I would not undertake to answer that question.

Senator KING. Or Mr. Timm?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Mr. Timm was there. He is a charter member of the National German-American Alliance.

Senator KING. Yes; he is secretary of the Alliance.

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes. I am coming to the statement that the national officers of the Alliance sent out later.

Senator WOLCOTT. Mr. Campbell, I wish you would try to remember this, as you detail these activities of various German-born citizens and local German societies or alliances, that you would let the committee know whether the national organization countenanced that particular activity, because we are only concerned with the national organization.

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes, sir.

Senator WOLCOTT. You just mentioned some speakers at a meeting where the hearers were urged to stand together and, in substance, to make themselves felt at the polls. You have not shown anything that indicates that those speakers and the proceedings at that meeting were countenanced by this national organization. Have you anything to show that?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Only what I said about the Chicago organization meeting being called by the Pennsylvania Central Alliance, which is really the parent body of the National German-American Alliance and which is now the Pennsylvania branch of the National German-American Alliance. I explained that the meeting in Milwaukee was not a meeting of the German-American Alliance but was the outgrowth of the Chicago meeting which was conceived and carried out by this Pennsylvania branch of the Alliance. I should like to say, in regard to that, that there has been a great deal of activity by city branches and by State branches of the National German-American Alliance, and at times, as I remember it, the officers of the National German-American Alliance have taken the ground that it was not responsible for what these subsidiary branches—organizations—do. I do not know whether that is true or not.

Senator WOLCOTT. Well, I can see very clearly how they might take that position that they are responsible only for the conduct of the organization of which they have charge.

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes.

Senator WOLCOTT. So that it might be possible to show all sorts of activities by individual German-American citizens, by city alliances here and yonder over the country, and still the question would remain, Did this national organization that is enjoying this Federal charter encourage that sort of thing or countenance it?

Senator KING. Well, this might be said as a part of the thought expressed by the Senator, that if the parent organization organizes State organizations, and State organizations under the patronage of the parent organization or under the charter they get permit activities that are at variance with the charter of the national organization and tend to pervert the purpose of the national organization, the national organization should be responsible for them, at least, unless it repudiated affirmatively their conduct and disciplined or threatened to discipline them for a perseverance in a course that was wholly at variance with the purposes of the national organization.

Senator STERLING. The fact that Mr. Mayer, who was a vice president of the National German-American Alliance and, as I understood you to say, vice president——

Mr. CAMPBELL. Mr. Mayer has been very prominent in the National German-American Alliance. I am not sure now——

Senator KING. Mr. Timm was secretary.

Senator STERLING. The very fact that he presided over the Chicago meeting, I think, would show some connection.

Senator WOLCOTT. Yes; it would show some, but it certainly would not convict the principal.

Senator STERLING. No; but it would be material evidence.

Senator WOLCOTT. Unquestionably it is material.

Senator KING. Mr. Ohlinger referred to some action taken at this meeting.

Senator WOLCOTT. That would tie it up, of course.

Senator KING. Yes. Proceed, Mr. Campbell. We will of course differentiate between any activities or agencies for which the parent organization is not responsible and those for which it is responsible.

Mr. CAMPBELL. Regarding activities of the German-American Alliance and its leaders, in November, 1915, Henry Weismann, president of the New York State branch of the National German-American Alliance, stated that the defeat of John J. Fitzgerald, Democratic candidate for the Supreme Court of New York, was accomplished through "the secret opposition of German-American voters, as a rebuke to President Wilson", and stated in addition that steps were being taken to organize the German-American vote "as never before" for the campaign of 1916. Mr. Weismann said:

> The election returns proved that "Deutschtum" is armed and able, *when the word is given, to seat its man.*

That is the spirit that runs through, all the way through, the German-American Alliance.

Now, on the other hand, so far as political parties are concerned, the following letter was sent to delegates to the Republican National Convention held in Chicago in June, 1916:

> DEAR SIR: In accordance with the resolution adopted by the German-American alliance of Chicago and of the state of Illinois, we protest against the nomination of Theodore Roosevelt or Elihu Root for president of the United States and take the liberty of bringing this to your attention.
>
> Very respectfully yours,
>
> ——— ———.
>
> CHICAGO, *June 5, 1916.*

This is signed by Fred Walther, president of the German-American Alliance of Chicago, and Louis E. Brandt, its secretary, and by Dr. H.

Gerhard, chairman of the political committee of the German-American Alliance of Chicago, and E. Brosius, its secretary.

Senator KING. That was sent to each delegate—a copy of it?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes, sir. A few days after the close of the Democratic National Convention in St. Louis, Robert Emmet Burke, the only delegate who voted against the renomination of Mr. Wilson as President, announced that he had received the following telegram:

> We congratulate you on the stand you have taken in opposing the nomination of Woodrow Wilson. You have proved true to the people who have elected you as a delegate to the Democratic convention. Assuring you of a continuation of our support,
>
> GERMAN-AMERICAN ALLIANCE OF AMERICA.
> G. F. HUMMEL, *President*,
> THOMAS P. BONFIELD, *Secretary*.

However, although it appears to be so on the face, that is not the National German-American Alliance; it is a local branch in Chicago.

Senator KING. In Chicago?

Mr. CAMPBELL. In Chicago, a local branch of the Alliance. I might add here that this movement in the public life of America in behalf of Germanism is not Republican and not Democratic and not social democrat or in any sense American political partisanship of any kind. The men who hold these extreme views hold themselves in readiness to support any political party that leans their way, or, if it does not lean their way, any political party that has not taken a positive stand as against a political party which takes a positive stand the other way. The truth of that has been strikingly illustrated in Wisconsin during the past year or so. German farmers by the hundreds and thousands have joined the social democratic party, with which, before, they had never had the least in common. In Wisconsin, in a special election for assembly just a short time ago, in a district where the social democrats had been very weak—it was a very small minority party—they seated their candidate for the assembly as against the Republican candidate in whose interest or behalf the Democratic nominee withdrew. There was a similar thing, except that the Democratic candidate in this case took the part of the social-democratic candidate in the first case, in another community; the Democratic nominee was supported by the socialists and the pro-Germans and he was elected against a man who ran as an outspokenly loyal candidate.

I want to say in justice to Wisconsin, however, that these things happened in very uncommon districts, in markedly German districts. But over the State, to a great extent, those whom we call pro-Germans are joining the social democratic party by hundreds and thousands and working with it.

Senator KING. Is that because the so-called social democratic party is favorable to Germany in this war?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Well, that party has denounced this war as a crime and has advocated mass action and mass movement against the war and has advocated opposition to the National Army act.

Senator KING. To the draft law?

Mr. CAMPBELL. To the draft law; and it is antiwar, very strongly.

Senator KING. That is, antiwar so far as we are concerned?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes; so far as we are concerned.

Senator KING. But for war so far as Germany is concerned?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Well, I never heard any of them denounce any of the crimes that Germany has committed. Nor do I know of any outspokenly loyal word that the German-American Alliance has uttered or any convincingly loyal act that it has performed.

Senator KING. You mean the organization?

Mr. CAMPBELL. The organization.

Senator KING. Yes.

Mr. CAMPBELL. Before we entered the war the Alliance was altogether on Germany's side regardless of the United States, and since the war, with one or two quite notable exceptions—with two or three, perhaps, notable exceptions—in the direction of loyalty, the Alliance in its national and branch organizations has been very silent.

Senator KING. You referred to the Germans in Wisconsin affiliating now with the socialistic organizations?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes.

Senator KING. Heretofore there was nothing in common between the Germans and socialism there, as I understand you, in your State?

Mr. CAMPBELL. No.

Senator KING. By that I mean the Germans did not belong, as a rule, to the social democratic organization?

Mr. CAMPBELL. I was speaking of German farmers. Germans in the industrial centers like Milwaukee did belong to it. The backbone of the German socialistic party has consisted of German laborers and workingmen and so forth. But the party never made any headway among German farmers until within a very short time.

Senator KING. Now, what I wanted to ask was this, Has the German-American Alliance organization had anything to do with that?

Mr. CAMPBELL. The German-American Alliance in Milwaukee has been exceedingly passive since we entered the war.

Senator KING. But has it had anything to do with the German farmers joining the socialistic organizations to which you refer—the organizations of the socialist party?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Nothing that I have learned shows any direct connection.

Senator KING. Then it would not be fair to ascribe the change of the German farmers to the German-American Alliance?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Oh, no; I am not speaking in that sense. I am speaking in this sense, that the men who are exceedingly pro-German will enter into any political party, according as that party serves the interests of Germany, and they are doing it in Wisconsin, entering the social democratic party, because they realize that the Democratic and Republican parties will not serve any such purposes.

Senator KING. Permit me to make this observation: I do not think the committee is interested in knowing the activities or personal views of any person or persons who are not members of this German-American Alliance. What they do, how they vote, would not be interesting, so far as I am concerned, nor would it be our concern.

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes.

Senator KING. It is simply whether this organization as an organization has perverted its charter.

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes; I understand that. I yielded to an impulse to talk a little aside. Nevertheless, all manifestations of Germanism here are largely the result of the Alliance's work.

On March 6, 1916, the German-American Alliance of Minnesota sent to its members a circular telling them how to vote in the approaching election of delegates to the national political conventions. A translation of part of this circular, which was in German, reads as follows:

There follows a list of candidates who are seeking election as delegates of their parties.. Those marked with a star (*) are candidates about whom it has been ascertained that they are in agreement with the views and wishes of "Deutschtum" and that, if elected, they will act accordingly.

Leo Stern, as president of the German-American Alliance of Wisconsin, made the arrangements for a public meeting held in Milwaukee in November, 1915, as I recall it—I can give the correct date later—at which he presided, and Dr. Kuehnemann, an exchange professor from Germany, who had recently been connected in this way with the University of Wisconsin, was one of the speakers. Dr. Kuehnemann said:

The German trunk has made us all we are. To it we owe what we are and what we have.

We are all German brothers together no matter in what country we may live.

Your loyalty toward Germany is your true and best loyalty to America.

The best American patriotism which you can at this moment display is your loyalty to the German cause. The best German is the best American.

Dr. Kuehnemann was one of the lecturers of the German-American Alliance.

Dr. Hexamer, who spoke at the same meeting, attacked the Government of the United States, using such expressions as these——

Senator KING. One moment; was that called under the auspices of the German-American Alliance?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes; it was a celebration of the fifteenth anniversary, I think it was, of the German-American Alliance of Wisconsin, and Leo Stern, one of the vice presidents, at the time, of the National German-American Alliance, presided.

Senator KING. Dr. Hexamer was the president?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes; of the national body. Leo Stern arranged the meeting and he presided.

Senator KING. And he was also the president of the State organization?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes.

Senator KING. And vice president of the national organization?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes.

Senator KING. Was Dr. Hexamer present when Dr. Kuehnemann made that statement.

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes. Dr. Hexamer said:

We have never had so wretched and weak-kneed an administration as the present.

Weak-kneed, pitiable administration.

Wretched exhibition of cowardice.

We had a stenographic report of those two speeches made by German stenographers, and we have those on file.

Early in August, 1915, the German-American Alliance held its national convention in San Francisco. In his address Dr. Hexamer demanded neutrality on the part of the Government at Washington.

The reports agreed, as I remember it, in stating that they celebrated German-American Day by singing "Deutschland über Alles" and by cheering the fall of Warsaw. And then that meeting demanded that the Government at Washington protect American commerce and American rights under international law and adopted resolutions demanding the abolishment of the right of American manufacturers to sell arms and munitions of war to belligerent nations and the abolishment of rights of American citizens, under international law, to travel on the high seas.

I have a fuller report of that meeting, but it may not be necessary to go into all the details.

It is almost impossible to separate pro-German activity in this country from the German-American Alliance. The German-American Alliance has in large measure been a prime mover in all the protests against the policies that this Government has pursued, and through its officers and leaders it has been active in all or in nearly all of these mushroom propaganda organizations, pro-German in character, that have sprung up since the world war began in 1914.

Dr. Rohrbach, in Germany, writing to Prof. Appelmann of the University of Vermont, advised him that it was impossible to believe that German political ends would be forwarded by German-Americans lending themselves to American armament schemes.

Senator KING. Do you remember the year?

Mr. CAMPBELL. In 1916, according to an article by Mr. Hard in the Metropolitan Magazine for July, 1916.

A noted writer, writing under the nom de plume "Ex-Attaché", stated in an article published February 7, 1915:

> Perhaps the boldest thing ever done by Germany in this connection was when the German Naval League a few years ago made use of these societies to circulate among American citizens of German birth and ancestry appeals for subscriptions toward the construction of a German navy that would give to Germany maritime supremacy, that is to say, superiority over the United States.

Senator KING. Now, do you know that that was done?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Mr. Ohlinger told me a year or two ago that he had learned that same thing; but I have no personal knowledge of it. I am quoting Mr. Hard.

Senator KING. Do you know of subscriptions being taken up through the organization of the National German-American Alliance for that purpose?

Mr. CAMPBELL. No, sir; not for any German Naval League. I took the liberty of citing that fact because it is one illustration of the very grave danger to which this country is subjected from the spread of Germanism, and the Alliance's chief mission has been to spread Germanism.

Senator KING. Do you know that the National German-American Alliance——

Mr. CAMPBELL. The National German-American Alliance, so far as I know, never had anything to do directly with any such movement nothing at all to do with it.

Senator KING. Do you know whether it opposed, directly or indirectly, the armament or the building of a sufficient navy and the arming of the same by our own country, as an organization or as a part of it, or as State organizations or local organizations?

Mr. CAMPBELL. I can not remember of any action by that organization against armament nor can I remember of any action favorable to armament.

Senator KING. You read, there, from a letter of some professor in Germany writing to a professor in the United States, the effect of which was that it would not be to the advantage of Germany for this country to become an armed power.

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes.

Senator KING. Now, do you know whether the National German-American Alliance published that?

Mr. CAMPBELL. No.

Senator KING. Or acted upon it?

Mr. CAMPBELL. No; I do not. That reminds me, however, of this, that one of the weapons that Germany has used in this country is her exchange professors. Dr. Kuehnemann, from whose speech in Milwaukee I read, was one of those. Before the war broke out they were engaged in the propaganda of Germanism, and since the war began they have almost all of them been very active in furthering the cause of Germany in this country, irrespective of the rights or interests of the United States or the injury of the United States.

Senator KING. When you say "they" you mean these German professors?

Mr. CAMPBELL. These German exchange professors.

Senator KING. The exchange professors; yes.

Mr. CAMPBELL. And these German exchange professors in our part of the country and all over the country are in very close communion with the German-American Alliance.

Senator STERLING. Do you know where that idea of these exchange professors originated, whether that originated with Germany to begin with?

Mr. CAMPBELL. My recollection is that it originated with the present Emperor of Germany during one of the earlier years of Mr. Roosevelt's administration, and that it was carried out very generally almost immediately—within a very short time.

I have simply read some of the statements I have here. I quote from Prof. Kuehnemann as follows:

"German-Americans will soon experience a new epoch in their relations to Germany," says Professor Kuehnemann, of the University of Breslau, who has been lecturing for the last two years before German societies under the auspices of the Alliance. "Soon the German, just as has long been the case with the Englishman, will think of the world when his country is mentioned. A world Germanism will evolve, and to foster this world Germanism will be the problem of Germans in every country of the globe. In 1870 Germans began to come to self-consciousness, but in the great years 1914 and 1915 this feeling of greatness has grown. * * * The Germans in America can offer their Fatherland no greater evidence of faithfulness than by working to the end of keeping America aloof from England".

Senator STERLING. When was that said?

Mr. CAMPBELL. This was from Mr. Ohlinger's book entitled "Their True Faith and Allegiance," published in 1916, and he does not give the exact time when that was said, but it was at a very recent period before that.

The German-American Alliance has systematically sought to attack Anglo-Saxonism and everything pertaining to it, just as strenuously as it has sought to introduce Germanism, and in that way has tended to create wide racial lines in this country.

Senator STERLING. In just what sense do they use that term "Anglo-Saxonism"? Does it pertain to Anglo-Saxon notions in regard to any particular subject—as regards prohibition, for example—do they limit it to that or do they mean Anglo-Saxonism generally?

Mr. CAMPBELL. They use that term, I believe, in its broadest sense.

Senator STERLING. Meaning Anglo-Saxon civilization?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes. Many of these men express themselves in favor of changing what they call the Anglo-Saxon civilization of America.

Senator STERLING. Do you think that the German-American Alliance has been particularly active along those lines?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Exceedingly active, for Germanism as against Anglo-Saxonism; not only that, but for Germanism as against Americanism.

Senator WOLCOTT. Are you going to follow that statement with some proof?

Mr. CAMPBELL. I have quite a lot of evidence on that subject. This is partly in line with it:

> In a speech before 10,000 Germans, who packed the largest hall in Milwaukee, the president [Hexamer] expressed the position of the Alliance: "We have before us a bitter struggle, and we can wage it successfully only if we are united—a united race of brothers. * * * We have long suffered the preachment that 'you Germans must allow yourselves to be assimilated, you must merge in the American people'; but no one will ever find us prepared to descend to an inferior culture. No! We have made it our aim to elevate the others to our level. * * * Be strong! Let everyone be strong who stands forth for German culture. Be strong, and German. Remember, you German pioneers, that we are giving to this people the best the earth affords, the benefits of German kultur".

Senator WOLCOTT. As I recollect, that speech was published in the Official Bulletin, was it not?

Mr. CAMPBELL. I do not know as to that. I will explain that Mr. Ohlinger is the best authority I know of on the Bulletin of the German-American Alliance. He understands German thoroughly, and I know that he has had the Bulletins for a number of years and has kept very close track of them. I have not been able to read the Bulletins themselves.

Senator WOLCOTT. My recollection is that Mr. Ohlinger told us that that speech was published in the Bulletin.

Senator STERLING. That is my recollection also, and that he quoted from it.

Mr. CAMPBELL. The president of the German-American Alliance of Wisconsin said—I have not the date of that, but I can get it:

> We are proud to call ourselves citizens of this Republic——

Senator KING. Did he say that at Milwaukee, at a meeting there?

Mr. CAMPBELL. No; in Madison, Wis.

Senator KING. At a public meeting?

Mr. CAMPBELL. At a public meeting; at a meeting of the German-American Alliance. He said:

> We are proud to call ourselves citizens of this Republic, but we are still prouder to be German-Americans. The hyphen is for us an honor and we carry it as a distinction.

The German-American Alliance has stood for an embargo on arms and ammunition; it has opposed the sale in this country of the war

bonds of the entente allies; it has urged the surrender of American rights at sea, and has actively supported all the measures and movements that would help the cause of Germany in the world war. I have considerable evidence of that, but it is so well known that it is probably not necessary for me to go into it.

Senator STERLING. My recollection, Mr. Campbell, is that while the bill for an embargo on arms and munitions of war was pending Senators and Congressmen were fairly overwhelmed with telegrams and letters——

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes.

Senator STERLING (continuing). Asking them to support the bill. I wondered if you knew of any connection between the German-American Alliance and those communications; if there was any evidence showing that they were sent under the authority of the German-American Alliance or not?

Mr. CAMPBELL. The subject is one that was stirred up at about every meeting of the German-American Alliance that I have heard of, since the world war began. It came up at every meeting of the German-Alliance of Wisconsin, and I have the text of resolutions adopted on the subject available.

Senator KING. Adopted at those meetings?

Mr. CAMPBELL. At meetings in Wisconsin. It came up, too, at the San Francisco meeting of the National German-American Alliance and was urged at that time; and I consider that the German-American Alliance has been as active, if not more active, in support of the embargo movement than it has been of almost any other single enterprise.

Senator WOLCOTT. You spoke of resolutions adopted at many of these meetings. Can you recall whether any of those resolutions embodied the suggestion that members of the Alliance should send telegrams to Senators and Congressmen?

Mr. CAMPBELL. I can not answer that offhand; no, sir; but that is a thing that would naturally follow the proceedings of the National Alliance, which communicated to the affiliated bodies the proceedings of the State alliances, and the affiliated bodies are in all cases supposed to govern themselves accordingly. The adoption of resolutions by the National Alliance or any State alliance I would regard as simply a call for action and effort along that line.

Senator KING. You said you had excerpts from some of the resolutions adopted by the State alliances. It might be material to call attention in a little more detail to some of those.

Mr. CAMPBELL. At a meeting of the German-American Alliance of Wisconsin held at Marshfield in July, 1916—I am not sure whether it would be July 23 or 24, 1916—resolutions were adopted, and those relating to the embargo read as follows:

When our administration, by servility towards any foreign great power, hurts the pride and honor of our country, and continually is exerting its influence in favor of such foreign power; when this same administration reacts on repeated encroachments upon the rights and interests of our nation with mere feeble requests, and never with an energetic real protest; when, furthermore, this administration by sanctioning the furnishing of arms and ammunition to one side of the belligerent nations under present conditions becomes guilty of an obvious breach of neutrality; when this administration by publicly disseminating a sort of pseudo-Americanism, instigates hatred and discord—

And so forth, and then there is this:

We demand of our administration an energetic and effective protection of all our citizens in foreign countries, provided, however, they do not expose themselves intentionally to any danger by entering the war zone, and thus forfeiting the right to enjoy such protection.

Senator KING. Was any minority report or resolution passed?

Mr. CAMPBELL. There was quite a little discussion of the embargo question. As I recall it and from just glancing at this, the question had been up before and the German-American Alliance of Wisconsin had taken a stand for an embargo, but this Marshfield meeting was in July, 1916, and there were two opinions in the meeting, one very radical, the other more conservative, and they compromised on the resolutions that I have read.

Senator KING. Was there objection to action being taken, on the ground that this organization was nonpolitical?

Mr. CAMPBELL. None.

Senator KING. And therefore that it ought not to interfere in political and international political questions?

Mr. CAMPBELL. No, sir.

Senator KING. With which our Government was dealing?

Mr. CAMPBELL. No action of that kind has ever been taken, as I remember, at any German-American Alliance meeting, because the settled policy of the Alliance is to take part in politics.

Senator KING. Do you know that it has taken part in politics actively in your State?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes.

Senator KING. And is doing so now? When I say "now" I mean since the last election—since the war.

Mr. CAMPBELL. Since the world war, do you mean, or since we entered into the war?

Senator KING. Since we entered into the war—if you have had an election.

Mr. CAMPBELL. Well, as I explained before, the German-American Alliance has been very passive since we entered the war. I have not been able to discover any signs of activity since that time.

In September, 1915, the German-American Alliance of Milwaukee adopted resolutions submitted by Leo Stern, who at that time was vice president of the national body, protesting against a big loan to the allies.

Senator KING. That is, a loan by private parties?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Against popular buying of the bonds of the entente allies.

Senator KING. Yes.

Mr. CAMPBELL. If you wish, I will read very briefly two or three paragraphs.

Senator KING. Proceed.

Mr. CAMPBELL. This declaration was as follows:

We, the German-American alliance of Milwaukee, therefore, voicing the sentiment of millions of loyal and earnest fellow citizens, do hereby declare:

First—That this proposed loan is in direct violation of our national neutrality and is clearly and distinctly the result of pro-British sympathies and pro-British agitation, and is but a part of the wicked conspiracy whose object is to involve our country in the present European war and to so involve it on the side of England.

Second—That this loan, if made, would be a terrible menace and a danger to our own economic development, and would, through the power of Wall street, extract

from the people their savings and deflect this enormous amount of money from natural and healthful business channels into the maelstrom and dangerous confusion of England's war politics.

Third—That by such loan, surely to be followed by other like loans, our savings would be delivered into English hands and thus into England's control an added weapon wherewith she hopes to continue absolute domination of the seas that are and ought to be the free highway of all men and of all nations, and not under the supreme control of a single dominant robber power.

Fourth—That we condemn this proposed loan as unneutral, unpatriotic, un-American and dangerous alike to our peace and future welfare.

I might add that when German war bonds were offered for sale in Milwaukee the German-American Alliance made no such protest.

Senator STERLING. Another occasion for the sending of many protests to Senators and Congressmen was at the time, or a little after the time, of the *Sussex* affair, and when President Wilson appeared before Congress and read his message with reference to our relations with Germany, threatening severance of those relations unless Germany changed her course.

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes.

Senator STERLING. I wondered if you had any evidence showing the connection of the German-American Alliance with that propaganda.

Mr. CAMPBELL. I know that leaders in the German-American Alliance were very active in that propaganda. I remember distinctly that in some cities the German-American Alliance branches were very active in that work; and, as a matter of fact, it did not make very much difference what organization did the work, the men in the German-American Alliance stood back of it just the same. I can not say that I remember anything proving that the National German-American Alliance, as such, directly engaged in that movement.

Senator STERLING. Did you ever hear it stated that from the offices of the Alliance in Chicago regular forms of telegrams were sent out to Germans throughout the country for them to copy and send to their Senators and Congressmen whenever occasion required, such as the embargo, such as the *Sussex* affair, and so on?

Mr. CAMPBELL. I know, of course, that those forms were used, and especially in that telegraphic campaign of April, 1916, but also in connection with the embargo campaign, and there is no doubt whatever that leaders of the German-American Alliance furthered that in every possible way. But I do not recollect any fact in connection with the instances you just mentioned.

An appeal was issued by Dr. Hexamer on the subject of the Anglo-French loan, he protesting against it and opposing it.

Senator KING. Was that published in the Bulletin?

Mr. CAMPBELL. I think it was.

Senator KING. Was it signed?

Mr. CAMPBELL. It is signed by him but not as president of the German-American Alliance. Sometimes he would give out form circulars and just sign his name and not sign as president of the German-American Alliance; but so far as I have been able to learn those circular letters invariably went to the affiliated bodies of the National German-American Alliance, and they were effective whether he signed himself as president or not. They were as effective if he signed simply his name as if he signed as president.

Senator WOLCOTT. You say that it is true so far as you have been able to learn?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes.

Senator WOLCOTT. How far have you been able to learn? I can say the same thing so far as I have been able to learn, but I do not know a thing about it.

Mr. CAMPBELL. Well, I have been paying very close attention to this pro-German propaganda for three and a half years now and I have had very exceptional opportunities for learning the inside facts in the important cases, and I live in a community where the German-American Alliance has always been very strong and active, and I think I understand the German-American Alliance and its workings quite well. Now, I understand, of course, that when I say that it is simply an expression of my own opinion.

Senator WOLCOTT. Well, your opinion may be based on good information.

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes.

Senator WOLCOTT. Let me ask you this question, Do you know, as a matter of fact, that in this locality with which you are most intimately acquainted such telegrams as you have mentioned did come to the subordinate alliances in that State?

Mr. CAMPBELL. There have been a number of messages come to the subordinate alliances that have been revealed. When it comes to citing particular instances I might not be able to do that offhand. I would have to go over a lot of records that I have in the office.

Senator WOLCOTT. I am not asking you for any particular instances. I am just asking if you know that in some instances in your State, where you are best acquainted, such telegrams as you have mentioned, telegrams antagonistic to the Anglo-French loan, did come from Dr. Hexamer, signed by him individually, to the local or State alliances, as the case might be? I am not asking you which one they might have come from.

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes.

Senator WOLCOTT. You do know that they came, do you?

Mr. CAMPBELL. I am not discussing any telegram. This form is a circular letter, signed by Dr. Hexamer.

Senator WOLCOTT. I should have said a circular letter instead of a telegram.

Mr. CAMPBELL. And we know that it did go to some of the——

Senator WOLCOTT. Of the alliances there?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Of the alliances there.

Senator KING. What does it say?

Senator WOLCOTT. That is a form letter against the Anglo-French loan?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes. This appeal issued by Dr. Hexamer on the subject of the Anglo-French loan reads as follows:

Fellow citizens: The most sinister influence in our national life has been the Money Trust. The Anglo-American combination of money interests, supported by a large part of the Anglo-American press, which it controls, is doing everything in its power not only to supply England and her Allies with munitions of war, but it is also bent upon driving our peaceful nation into the war as an ally of England. The prime movers of the allied Anglo-American money interests are now also actually engaged in formulating the nefarious plot of robbing the American people of their savings which were in good faith deposited by them in our banks, in trust and life insurance companies and in our savings funds for home use. They want to aid England and to

enable her to continue the war which she is now waging to retain the mastery of the seas and to control the commerce of all the world for all times.

I call upon all patriotic American citizens to pass resolutions in every American society or association to express their abhorrence of this unpatriotic and pro-British scheme and to earnestly appeal to the President of the United States and the Secretary of State to thwart this evil conspiracy; a conspiracy which would rob the American people of the money wherewith it can alone develop the natural resources of our land, increase our industries and extend our own commerce across the seas, improve our means of internal transportation and aid our agriculture.

I call upon every true American to write to every financial institution in which he has deposited money, protesting against the use of his money for the proposed Anglo-French $1,000,000,000 loan.

C. J. HEXAMER.

Now, recurring to your last question, Senator Wolcott, I would like to call your attention to what to me is a striking similarity of language and ideas between this appeal by Dr. Hexamer, which was sent out in September, 1915, and the resolutions adopted by the Wisconsin German-American Alliance in September, 1915, namely, "the freedom of the seas" and other phrases in there. There is a close association of ideas between the two. And, incidentally, I might state that in Milwaukee there was such a furore raised against the sale of any Anglo-French bonds, such earnest threats were made against financial institutions which might be thinking of selling them, that, as I remember, not a single Milwaukee bank openly handled any Anglo-French bonds. On the other hand, when, before that time, German war bonds had been offered for sale, there was no objection raised to the sale in the quarters from which the strenuous objection to the sale of Anglo-French bonds had been made. Threats were made to boycott banks, and that was not confined to Wisconsin.

The Wisconsin German-American Alliance took a stand from the first for an embargo. I take it that the Americanism of the German-American Alliance and of its president is more or less a matter of concern in this connection, and I wish to read a little statement that I know to be based on facts.

Dr. Hexamer has publicly said a great deal about preserving liberty in the United States and of maintaining the rights of individuals. Yet in the office of the United States Attorney, in Erie, Pa., on March 23, 1916, in a friendly discussion of judicial and governmental matters, C. J. Hexamer stated:

This form of Government is a failure and the only correct form of Government is a Constitutional Monarchy.

He also stated that after a long study of the matter, he was convinced that a monarchical form of government was better than our form of government. He also stated that the legal system in the laws of Germany was more concrete and better than the laws of this country. The men who heard that conversation were E. Lowry Humes, D. L. Frawley, J. R. Dillon, Judge Moon, and Ed. T. Fleming, of Philadelphia.

Senator WOLCOTT. All of Philadelphia, are they?

Mr. CAMPBELL. All of them, I believe, of Erie, except Mr. Humes, who is at Pittsburgh, and Mr. Fleming, who lives in Philadelphia.

Senator KING. Is Mr. Humes the district attorney?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes, sir.

Now, Mr. Ohlinger and I may duplicate each other at some points. I am trying to avoid that, but my only guide is the newspaper ac-

counts of his testimony, and I wish, in substantiation of my earlier testimony on the subject, to read some evidence that seems to be important. In official press correspondence issued from the national headquarters of the German-American Alliance at Philadelphia in June, 1916, this passage appears:

> The German-American National Alliance has always shown itself the best friend of Germanism and proved itself a support and herald of true Americanism. That should not be forgotten.
>
> In unity is power and the power of American citizens of German descent and their political significance is centered in the preservation of their unity, which is the goal of the German-American Alliance, even though it does not enter as such into politics. Every attempt to break it up and destroy it amounts to treason to the cultural mission of the German race in the United States of America.

That is issued from the national headquarters of the German-American Alliance at Philadelphia.

Senator KING. When, did you say?

Mr. CAMPBELL. In June, 1916.

Senator STERLING. Mr. Campbell, as I remember, Mr. Ohlinger quoted from a book entitled "German Spies in England," written, I believe, by an author named Le Queux, and the book purported to give an extract from a speech made by the German Emperor at a secret conference in Potsdam in 1908——

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes.

Senator STERLING. In which he claimed then to rule in America, and largely—that was the substance of it—through the German-American Alliance.

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes.

Senator STERLING. Have you seen that book?

Mr. CAMPBELL. I have seen the book, but have not read it, and I have seen that statement, but I could not say as to its authenticity. However, I have some authentic quotations from sources in Germany that are very much along the same line. I am getting down to them as fast as I can.

Now, Mr. Chairman, I have a few marked extracts from meetings of State organizations of the German-American Alliance.

Senator KING. Do they bear upon political activities?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes; and this question of Germanism also.

Senator KING. I think you had better put them in the record.

Mr. CAMPBELL. At the meeting of the Central Alliance of Pennsylvania on August 5, 1916, John B. Mayer, the president, made these statements, among others:

> It is one of the most important tasks of our alliance to make clear again and again to German-Americans that they can become a factor in this country only though strong, coherent union which must be taken into account in all public affairs. Their political conscience must be awakened; the grand successes which may be achieved by the union of all Germans must be continually shown them—the powerful influence which such a coherent unity under the leadership of our alliance must wield on our fellow-citizens of non-German descent.

At that meeting Dr. Hexamer, national president, said:

> May everything which may operate in a disturbing manner on all that has been accomplished in the last seventeen years come to smash on the cliff, "Union in the alliance". Within the limits of the alliance, all efforts of Americans of German birth and feeling can be brought to fruition.

Running all through this, constantly, is the idea of unity of Germans, racial distinction, the segregation of one class of citizens. It runs all the way through.

In his address at the annual meeting of the New York State branch of the German-American Alliance, held at Buffalo July 2 and 3, 1916, the president, Henry Weismann, said, speaking of the *Lusitania* affair and other things that were in controversy with us at that time and the efforts of the German-Americans for peace:

I am glad to report that our work in this regard was not without success. Important men and non-German elements of the population finally came out publicly, in and out of Congress, for these same ideas, *knowing the vast reserve strength of a united German-Americanism.*

Then he goes on and urges the promotion of the study of the German language and literature.

At the meeting of the German-American Alliance of Ohio held at Dayton during the latter part of August, 1916, the secretary, Henry Albertz, said in his report:

On Jan. 7, of this year, we transmitted to all branch organizations formulas of petitions to influence senators and representatives to vote for a resolution placing an embargo on the shipment of munitions and tools of war to all belligerent countries. But one knocks in vain at the doors of the present administration when it is a matter of coming out for humanity and international law.

A propaganda document called "The Earnest Call of a Serious Time", which is admirably suited to be a means of agitation, came to the executive board from the propaganda committee of the German-American National Alliance and was distributed by the thousand among branch organizations.

In his address at that meeting President Schwaab said, among other things——

Senator WOLCOTT. He is president of what?

Mr. CAMPBELL. He is president of this Ohio branch. I am following that up. He said:

The American school system is for the greatest part, an imitation of the German, because that is the best. * * *

Thank God we need not defend our rights with the sword in our hands; there is a much simpler way for us, that is, the ballot. * * *

I have noticed with pleasure that every year the resolutions of the previous convention are made more and more decided.

Copies of the resolutions committees and of the committees for neutrality were sent to the president of the United States, Hon. Woodrow Wilson; you all know yourselves with what success the same were accompanied. Mr. Spring-Rice & Co. still have the same under consideration, it would seem.

At the same meeting of the German-American Alliance of Ohio, held at Dayton, the report on the German press included this statement——

Senator STERLING. What year was that?

Mr. CAMPBELL. This is the same meeting, in 1916. This report said:

We stand at the close of an epoch in world-history. It will end with the victory of Germanism in Europe; the new epoch will then begin. We must all see to it that it bears fruit for America's future and that the German press of the country leads the way unitedly.

Now, as I stated, some of the things that I am relating have been published. I include them, however, in order to set forth essential facts.

The German-American Alliance of Elizabeth, N. J., adopted "amid cheers" resolutions justifying the sinking of the steamship *Arabic* by a German submarine. This is according to an article that appeared in the New York Times of August 25, 1915, and I have the resolutions here, if you wish to hear them.

Senator STERLING. That has not gone into the record yet, and I think it would be a good thing, Mr. Chairman, to have that resolution.

Senator KING. Proceed.

Mr. CAMPBELL. The resolutions read:

Whereas, The continued sale by America of arms and munitions of war to the enemies of Germany is directly responsible for thousands more; and

Whereas, Protests against such sales by a neutral country have been unheeded:

Be it resolved, That the German-American Alliance of Elizabeth declare the sinking of the *Arabic* as justifiable and deserved;

Be it resolved, That the Alliance indorse Germany's submarine policy and extend to her marine commanders the unstinted praise to which they are entitled;

Be it resolved, That traveling Americans to escape the dangers of the war zones, be urged to make use of the ships of neutral countries;

Be it further resolved, That the sympathy of the Alliance be extended to Germany in her hour of trouble.

Senator KING. That was in New Jersey?

Mr. CAMPBELL. At Elizabeth, N. J., yes, sir; a local alliance.

Late in May, 1915, shortly after the sinking of the *Lusitania*, the German-American Alliance of Massachusetts, at a meeting in Boston, adopted resolutions—I have not the complete resolutions—from which the following is taken:

We refuse to recognize the possibility of a war with Germany. There will be no war if we stand united.

At dinner the delegates, according to the Boston Herald, sang a new song, "Hoch Deutschland," composed by Paul W. Hoffmann, to the tune "I am a Prussian."

In October, 1915, the Massachusetts Alliance held a meeting in Worcester to discuss what action should be taken in the election of a governor. A man who stated that he was a publisher of music arose and sang a song entitled "Don't Blame the Germans." The chorus ran thus:

Hoch, hoch! the Kaiser, he's the man to see,
Trying day and night to serve old Germany,
My fatherland, my fatherland,
The place so dear to me;
Our soldiers will try to save
Our home across the sea.

Senator STERLING. Do you know what relation there is, if any, between the local alliances and their action and the National Alliance, in regard, for instance, to the reports of meetings of the local alliances and their proceedings?

Mr. CAMPBELL. The State reports were sent to the Official Bulletin of the national body and published in it under the signature of one of the State officers, the president or secretary. In the conventions of the national body the president summarized the achievements of the State alliances.

Senator KING. Do you know whether the national leaders attend the local meetings?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Frequently; oh, yes.

Senator KING. For instance, Mr. Stern, you say, is the vice president of the National Alliance?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes, sir; or he was for many years, until recently.

Senator KING. Do you know whether or not the local leaders—and by that I mean the officers of some of the State organizations or some

of the city or smaller organizations—hold official positions in the national organization as president or vice presidents or directors?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Frequently; yes, sir; as in the case of Mr. Stern. He is president of the State organization and was vice president of the national body.

Intimidation is practiced to a great extent by the German-American Alliance. Here is a case in point. In April, 1916, the German-American Alliance of Cincinnati discovered that Charles W. Dabney, president of the University of Cincinnati, had written to Representative Cantrill, of Kentucky, a relative by marriage, urging him "to stand by the President" in controversies with foreign powers. The alliance wrote to the board of trustees of the university a letter protesting against President Dabney's request that a Congressman stand with the President, and this resolution concludes in these words——

Senator KING. That is a resolution by the organization?

Mr. CAMPBELL. This demand?

Senator KING. Yes.

Mr. CAMPBELL. It is the action of the Cincinnati alliance. I might read the whole statement. It is a letter which contained these statements:

> It is to be deplored that the president of the University of Cincinnati, Dr. Charles W. Dabney, has seen fit to express repeatedly and uncalled for his own views in pretendedly private letters in attempts to foist his dangerous notions, personal fallacies and national antipathies upon the community and to turn the tide of opinion to his own liking.
>
> The German-American Alliance of Cincinnati considers such procedure a presumption deserving of signal and severest condemnation, being attempted by one who is merely a public servant and as such subject and subservient to public control.
>
> Hence, the German-American Alliance of Cincinnati demands most energetically that either Dr. Charles W. Dabney desist in future from all similar agitatory acts, or that in case of noncompliance he be compelled to do so by proper authorities.
>
> JOHN SCHWAAB, *President.*
> EMIL KRAMER.
> H. C. BURGER.

Now, about the same time Mr. Leo Stern, as president of the German-American Alliance of Wisconsin, wrote to the president of the University of Wisconsin a protest against the use in the university of a French textbook, the author of that textbook being Prof. Giese, a member of the faculty of the University of Wisconsin, and the ground for the complaint was that this French textbook belittled the customs and the people of Germany.

Senator KING. Did he write that in his individual capacity? I ask that because he would have a perfect right to do that if that was his view.

Mr. CAMPBELL. He wrote it as president of the German-American Alliance of Wisconsin, and it was written, as I remember, as a result of action taken by the executive committee of the Wisconsin German-American Alliance.

As a result of Mr. Stern's letter, which suggested rather summary treatment of Prof. Giese and his textbook, the textbook was withdrawn from use temporarily until the parts that Mr. Stern objected to could be taken out.

Senator STERLING. Do you recall those parts, Mr. Campbell? Do you know just what they were?

Mr. CAMPBELL. No, sir; I paid general attention to that matter and not specific attention. But it would be very easy to get all of the correspondence on that subject.

Senator KING. Proceed.

Mr. CAMPBELL. To my mind they are very important, because they infringe upon academic freedom, which is quite well established in Germany—or supposed to be.

Senator STERLING. I can, of course, conceive how a book might be objectionable to those of any particular nationality.

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes.

Now, late in 1915 or early in 1916, Mr. Leo Stern wrote a letter to Alphonse G. Koelble, of New York, a letter urging a plan for the representation of Germans in the Republican national convention. In that letter Mr. Stern stated that he had talked over the matter with Dr. Hexamer, the president of the National German-American Alliance, and the object was to insure the election of men of German birth or ancestry to the Republican national convention; and Mr. Stern in that letter explained how he had arranged with the chairman of the Republican State central committee of Wisconsin, Mr. Alvin P. Kletzsch, to have 10 such delegates elected to the convention from Wisconsin. I need not go into that very fully, because it has been published. I have a copy of Mr. Stern's letter here, and I have copies of the letters on the subject written by Henry Weismann, of New York, and by Dr. Richard Bartholdt. Mr. Bartholdt did not take kindly to the suggestion, but his objection was based, as I remember it, upon what he considered its impracticability.

Senator KING. Was there any plan in those letters, any plan suggested, that the National German-American Alliance or its subsidiary organizations should be used for political purposes and to control or affect in any way the action of the Republican national convention?

Mr. CAMPBELL. No, sir. It was a plan that seems to have been formulated between Dr. Hexamer, president of the National German-American Alliance, and Mr. Stern, then a vice president of that Alliance, and they took the matter up with other leaders of the National German-American Alliance, including Henry Weismann, of New York, and Mr. Bartholdt. It was designed to bring about the choice of a certain proportion of Germans as delegates to the Republican national convention.

Senator KING. Did they communicate with the State leaders and with the national organization?

Mr. CAMPBELL. That I can not say.

Senator WOLCOTT. As a matter of fact, they never carried the plan out?

Mr. CAMPBELL. They never carried out the plan; no, sir.

Senator WOLCOTT. So that if you were to argue anything from that circumstance it would be, then, that the national organization did not engage in political activities; that they thought about it and did not do it? Is not that what you would conclude from that—if it has any significance at all, I mean?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Well, I would gather that they tried to carry out the plan and found that they could not do so.

Senator WOLCOTT. That is the gist of this?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes.

Senator KING. You stated that Mr. Stern said in his letter that he had made arrangements with the Republican leader in Wisconsin?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes.

Senator KING. To have a certain number of delegates elected?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes, sir.

Senator KING. Do you know whether that was carried out? Do you know, or did he state, that it was a tentative plan or one that had been agreed upon?

Mr. CAMPBELL. I have a later statement by Mr. Stern on that subject. Mr. Stern said in a published interview:

We had nothing to do with the selection of the delegates. This letter was written in November, and by the time the delegates were chosen, conditions had changed. The power was not in the same hands. In November, the political aspect was a different one. This letter was written before the state central committee met, when we thought the power would be in a different direction.

Senator KING. I think you had better put into the record the first letter you spoke of, written by Stern, in which he said he and Dr. Hexamer had conferred.

Mr. CAMPBELL. Here it is in this same newspaper clipping.

(The letter referred to is as follows:)

In conjunction with the presence of the Bundespresident, Dr. Hexamer, in Milwaukee, the question was brought up of the position of the German-Americans in the coming Presidential election, and of those persons favorable to our cause. After considerable discussion we have decided to act in the following manner, and believe the interests of the German-Americans generally will be served in that manner. In giving you the plan, I am doing so with the request to keep this matter strictly confidential, and with the hope that the Wisconsin Idea will meet with your approval and also be put to work.

The Wisconsin Idea is as follows:

It is known to us that the present President of the United States will be nominated by acclamation; that all opposition candidates have withdrawn from the nominations, and that even those Republicans who are of an anti-German frame of mind will be appealed to to vote for the Democratic candidate, so that the past policy of the Administration, and particularly its attitude to Germany and its allies, will be carried out.

A Republican victory under these conditions is only possible if a candidate is set up who is conservative in his principles, who only shows and sanctions real neutral views, and who shall express neither pro-British nor pro-German, but solely and only pro-American tendencies.

To secure the nomination of such a Republican candidate it is necessary that such delegates shall be sent out of each State to the Republican National Convention who shall in their entirety guarantee that they will only vote for a candidate who represents such truly American ideas. To do this it is necessary that a portion of the delegates to the Republican National Convention—a quarter to a third—shall consist of approved, distinguished German-Americans.

With this end in view an interview with the Chairman of the Republican State Committee is necessary. I personally have done this here, and out of twenty-six delegates to the National Convention we have been conceded ten. I believe that equal representations should be secured in every other State, and if, in a majority of the States this number could be secured only such a candidate would be nominated as represents the neutral American situation desired by us.

We here in Wisconsin have in view, after we have settled with the Republican State Committee as to the number and names of delegates, to acquire the cooperation of the Associated Societies [the National Bund] in order to "deliver" not only a practically unanimous vote [Republican] but also the Democratic vote of these organizations. Of course, it is necessary that the support of the German press be secured.

I am turning this proposed plan of Dr. Hexamer over to you for consideration and approbation, and hope that it meets with your approval. Of course, conditions in various States are different, and it is left to you to use your judgment as to just how far you are to go.

I will be pleased to receive an acknowledgment of this letter and your opinion of same.

With friendly regards, I am

Yours very truly, LEO STERN.

Senator KING. Proceed.

Mr. CAMPBELL. I have quite a little data showing political activities of the German-American Alliance of Wisconsin in that State. I will try to summarize it briefly, if you wish me to do so.

In January, 1916, the Milwaukee branch of the National German-American Alliance took action urging every German to take out citizenship papers. President Mayer said that this was done "in view of the hard political battle now in sight".

It has been the practice of the German-American Alliance in Milwaukee and in Wisconsin to issue reports on candidates for office from time to time, going so far as to enlist, or attempt to enlist, support for minor officers, such as members of the school board. They were particularly desirous of controlling the school boards in order to insure the retention of the study of German in the schools, and they have done the same thing in connection with the election of members of the State legislature. They did that in the campaign of 1916. There is every indication that the alliance took the position it did take in regard to candidates for the legislature, marking some of them as "very satisfactory," others as "satisfactory," others as "part satisfactory," others as "reported satisfactory," and others as "unsatisfactory," and on others making no report at all—that the alliance did that on the basis of the liquor question.

Senator KING. Did it communicate with voters, marking the various candidates as satisfactory and others as unsatisfactory, just as you have read?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Well, I will read from the article on the subject that was published in the Journal, and I might explain that in all these questions the Journal has taken very great pains to be accurate. I say this to show that I regard the report as accurate, as authentic.

Senator WOLCOTT. By the Journal you mean the Milwaukee Journal?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes.

Senator KING. You prepared the information or helped to prepare the information you are speaking of now?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes, sir; that is, the article was clipped from the Journal.

Senator KING. Proceed.

Mr. CAMPBELL. I read from this clipping of August 23, 1916:

National issues, and international issues that have arisen since the beginning of the European war, were ignored by the German-American alliance of Wisconsin in passing upon the qualifications of candidates for state offices, according to President Leo Stern of the alliance.

The alliance issued a circular giving a report on the position each candidate has taken on what it broadly called "any particular plan which may affect economic conditions or unnecessarily restrain personal liberty."

Senator KING. Was that circular widely distributed or secretly distributed?

Mr. CAMPBELL. I could not say just how widely it was distributed, but I feel safe in assuming that it was sent to all the affiliated bodies of the State alliance and also sent to newspapers that worked with the alliance. In other words, I would assume that it was sent to all the German-language newspapers at least.

Senator KING. Did you see the circular or copies of it yourself?

Mr. CAMPBELL. I did not see copies of the circular. I have a typewritten copy of the report on individual members of the legislature, here; a typewritten copy of that report.

Senator KING. Which came from the alliance?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes; this is a copy of the German-American Alliance report on candidates for the legislature.

Senator KING. How do you know of the existence of the circular?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Why, the German-American Alliance always follows that course in a political campaign.

Senator KING. In Wisconsin, you mean?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes, sir; and that is its invariable practice, of finding out in advance how candidates stand, and then judging them purely upon the basis of whether they are for or against German instruction in the schools, in the case of the election of school directors, or, in the case of aldermen, how they stand on a wide-open town or a town that is not quite so wide-open, and, in the case of the legislature, how the members of the legislature stand on the question of prohibition, but not prohibition only. The record of the German-American Alliance has not been in any way one of support of reasonable regulation of the saloon business.

Senator KING. Is it a matter of common knowledge that circulars are sent out there at these various elections?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Oh, yes.

Senator KING. And instructions given?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes.

Senator KING. Or preferences expressed as to the voters?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Oh, yes; preferences are expressed.

Senator KING. Do they come from individuals as individuals or from the organization?

Mr. CAMPBELL. From the organization, from the German-American Alliance; and that has been the case ever since I remember—ever since I paid any particular attention to general political matters.

Senator KING. Proceed. You started to read an article; did you want it included in the record?

Mr. CAMPBELL. I had read all, I think, that I wanted to of that. [Reading:]

The circular states that the alliance has not communicated with any candidate, nor has it exacted any pledge from anyone. The alliance recommends no candidates in particular, but impliedly repudiates a few. It urges all alliance members to vote at the primaries Sept. 5.

"Only state issues were considered in passing upon the candidates," said President Leo Stern. "What the alliance thought of national and international issues was made plain at its convention in Marshfield."

Senator KING. That is what he said?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes, sir. I have a report of that Marshfield meeting. The resolutions I read were from that report.

Senator KING. Have you put those resolutions in the record?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes, sir.

Senator KING. All right; proceed. I stepped out for a moment, and I suppose you put them in while I was out of the room.

Mr. CAMPBELL (continuing reading from newspaper clipping):

"As indicating that we did not consider national issues, look at what we say of Burt Williams, the Democratic candidate for governor. Mr. Williams, we know, indorses President Wilson's administration. Yet we say of him, 'Former mayor of Ashland.

His record as such was satisfactory.' Again, in the case of John C. Cudahy, Democratic candidate for lieutenant governor. Mr. Cudahy only a few years ago delivered an attack on the German-American alliance, yet we say of him, 'No legislative record, but believed to be in accord with the principles of the alliance.'"

Perhaps that is all I need read on that particular question; but on the question of lining candidates up—I mean in passing upon them—I might read from Mr. Stern's annual address at a meeting of the alliance at Marshfield, July 22, 1916, in which he said:

"I therefore beg to recommend that your executive committee be directed to appoint a committee on state affairs to take on its own responsibility and subject to the approval of the executive committee such action as may become necessary in reference to affairs of our state. This new committee shall, as was done two years ago, compile an impartial report on all candidates for state offices, regardless of their respective party affiliations. As in the past, no recommendation of any individual candidate is permitted, and it shall be left to the judgment of the individual voter to select from the list of candidates the ones whom he considers best fitted for the respective offices."

The report on candidates, of which I submit a copy, is in accordance with that action.

Senator KING. That is the one which you say came from the alliance?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes.

Senator KING. In which various candidates are recorded as satisfactory or unsatisfactory and so on?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes, sir.

Senator KING. Is that record very long, so that it would be difficult to put in the record?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Do you mean his whole speech?

Senator KING. No; just that reference.

Mr. CAMPBELL. No; it is only three or four typewritten pages.

Senator WOLCOTT. He has given the substance of it.

Senator KING. It is not necessary to put it in, then.

Mr. CAMPBELL. At a meeting of the Wisconsin German-American Alliance at Madison June 16, 1915—I might say here that the date line in an afternoon paper is not always a clear key to the exact time, but it is either that morning or the previous evening—Mr. Stern in his address said:

"Our influence on the political field in our state has been strengthened and is spreading."

"According to the resolution adopted by the last annual convention: That the German-American alliance of Wisconsin shall recommend and support only such candidates for public office, whose attitude in public life, or whose action in the execution of their official duties, have proven that they are in harmony with the principles of our organization, your executive committee has, previous to the primary election, published a report on the stand of every candidate for state or legislative offices, as far as such information was obtainable."

This was in 1915 and referred to the 1914 election. It is not this case.

"And we are glad to say that the German-American voters have taken this report as a guide in making their choice, and have thus far succeeded in bringing about such a change in the composition of the legislative bodies, that the present legislature has as yet created not a single law which we could consider inimical to our principles."

"We did not succeed in the attempt to pass our bill providing for a change in the old blue laws. However, this is quite natural if we consider how difficult it is to change views that have become habitual by their being held for centuries; but let us hope that we will succeed in our next attempt. We may point with pride to the fact, that for the first time in the history of our state there was elected by the people for the highest public office of our state, a man in whose veins German blood is flowing, and of whom we may safely expect a full understanding of our aims and principles, Gov. Philipp."

Then he went on:

"In my last annual report I pointed out that the Alliance should exert its utmost influence in regard to educational matters. I emphasized the duty of every branch association to work for the introduction of the study of German into our public schools, but I am sorry to say that I do not know of any steps taken in that direction."

This regret refers to the situation regarding the study of German out in the State, outside of Milwaukee. It is taught in a number of cities. Their idea is to bring about the study of German in every public school in every part of the State—or of the country, for that matter; but in Milwaukee there was little need to take steps in that direction, because the study of German had been carried about as far as it could possibly be.

In an article published July 22, 1916, there is given in connection with the Marshfield meeting of the German-American Alliance of Wisconsin a review of the political activities of the alliance.

Senator KING. By the way, does the State alliance have an organ?

Mr. CAMPBELL. I am not sure about that, Mr. Chairman. I think not. It is really not necessary for it to have an organ in our State, because nearly all of the German-language newspapers are naturally the organs of the German-American Alliance.

Senator KING. Do you have a number of German newspapers in your State?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes; a great many.

Senator KING. Have they increased since the beginning of the European war?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Since the European war, I would not say that they have increased, and I do not think that they have been reduced in number. I think that some of them have prospered more in the way of circulation since the war began than they did before. With very few exceptions, they took a strong pro-German stand even against the Government of the United States, and the reawakening of old-world consciousness that resulted led to increased interest in the German-language newspapers.

Now, I will read the following:

Prof. Ernest Voss, speaking at a German-American alliance picnic held in Milwaukee during the meeting of the German-American alliance, Sept. 3, 1911, urged all those present to vote for German-Americans on general principles, whether the candidates were Republican, Democrat or Socialist, so long as they did not "belong to that miserable class of German-Americans who deny their noble origin."

At the convention of the German-American Alliance of Wisconsin, July 19, 1914, it was arranged to have a report on State candidates at the ensuing general election, along the lines of those I have indicated, and I have mentioned this also. In his address at that convention, July,1914, President Stern said:

"Now that the war is on, let us form our lines of battle and lead our army to victory, and as the battleground is a political one, the day of the battle is the day of election. No longer—as has been done in the recent past—should we send to the legislative bodies men who in no respect represent our ideals and convictions. Lulled in a sense of security and in the enjoyment of many privileges that have not as yet been taken away from us, we have elected as legislators men that at every occasion have voted for the curtailment of these very rights."

A resolution adopted by the German-American Alliance of Wisconsin at this meeting, July, 1914, reads in part as follows:

"The state alliance will support for election to public office only those candidates whose prior conduct in public life and whose execution of public duties when in office convinces us that they agree with the principles of our alliance."

That is sufficient, I take it, to make it clear that for years the alliance have been very active in politics in Wisconsin.

Senator KING. Mr. Campbell, did the Alliance, directly or indirectly, locally or in a State capacity, take any steps against Senator Husting, condemning his Americanism which he so frequently declared upon the floor of the Senate?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Not to my recollection. All the resolutions and acts of the German-American Alliance during those times showed very clearly that they were opposed to every position that Senator Husting took; but I do not remember that they took any public action against him. They may have done so, but I do not remember it.

Senator KING. Has the State or any local alliance of Wisconsin taken any steps, taken any position whatever, concerning the election of his successor or the appointment of his successor?

Mr. CAMPBELL. No, sir; not to my recollection. Since we entered the war the German-American Alliance has been very passive—very passive, indeed.

Senator KING. Do you know of any meetings having been held recently by it?

Mr. CAMPBELL. No, sir; not for several months.

Senator KING. Who is the president of the State organization?

Mr. CAMPBELL. When I last heard, it was still Mr. Stern; but I am not sure whether he is president now or not. I have not been able to find out.

Senator KING. Proceed.

Mr. CAMPBELL. Personally, I consider the view that is taken in Germany of the German-American Alliance very significant, and while, as I say, I am not sure of the authenticity of the statement made by Mr. Ohlinger, quoting Kaiser Wilhelm, these quotations which I have here are authentic. I can fully vouch for them.

Senator KING. Proceed.

Mr. CAMPBELL. In his book entitled "Imperial Germany" Prince Bernhard von Buelow, formerly chancellor of the German Empire, says:

> About 12,000,000 Germans live in the United States. Since the formation of the "Deutsch-Amerikanischen Nationalbund" (National German-American Union)——

The National German-American Alliance, it means——

> in 1910, they are animated more and more by the desire to maintain and encourage a close connection with their old German home, while at the same time remaining perfectly loyal to their adopted country.

In "Germany and the Next War", written a short time before the pending world conflict began, Gen. von Bernhardi, of the German Army, said:

> The further duty of supporting the Germans in foreign countries in their struggle for existence and of thus keeping them loyal to their nationality, is one from which, in our direct interests, we cannot withdraw. The isolated groups of Germans abroad greatly benefit our trade, since by preference they obtain their goods from Germany; but they may also be useful to us politically, as we discover in America. The American-Germans have formed a political alliance with the Irish, and thus united, constitute a power in the State, with which the Government must reckon.

I would like to say that so far as my knowledge goes the statement that the Irish have entered into any such alliance is wholly wrong. I do know that very earnest efforts have been made by pro-German organizations to enlist the cooperation of the Irish, but so far as any

considerable number of Americans of Irish extraction is concerned, and so far as I know, that movement has utterly failed.

Senator KING. Now, Mr. Campbell, is not this article a little at variance with what you have just stated? I read from The National Hibernian of August 15, 1908:

Report of National President Cummings to the Forty-sixth Biennial Convention of the Ancient Order of Hibernians in America, Indianapolis, Indiana, July 21 to 26, 1908.

* * * * * * *

I am proud to be able to report to this convention that at a conference held in Philadelphia January 22, 1907, between the National Officers of our Society and the National Officers of the German American Alliance, the representatives of both organizations pledged to the following resolutions:

"*Resolved*, That the Joint Conference Committee of the Ancient Order of Hibernians in America and of the National German American Alliance unanimously declares an alliance between the people of both organizations for the good of this republic on the following basis:

"First. Any measure of mutual interest passed by the Executive Committee, or by a National Convention of either organization, shall be presented by its National Officers to the National Officers of the allied association for approval and action.

"Second. To oppose an alliance of any kind, secret or otherwise, with any foreign power on the part of the government of the United States.

"Third. To oppose the enactment, by the Congress of the United States, or the legislatures of the various states, of any sumptuary, or any other law or laws abridging the personal liberties of citizens.

"Fourth. To oppose any and every restriction of immigration of healthy persons from Europe, exclusive of convicted criminals, anarchists and those of immoral character."

There are several other clauses.

Mr. CAMPBELL. Well, Mr. Chairman, I have been under the impression for some time that the Hibernians is the most radical organization of men of Irish blood in the country to-day.

Senator KING. Was not Mr. Jeremiah O'Leary connected with it?

Mr. CAMPBELL. I do not know. He was the president of the American Truth Society, and they attempted to get in a number of leading Irishmen; and we know that Jeremiah O'Leary, and a man like him in San Francisco, Daniel O'Connell, head of the American Independence Union, and also the editors of several Irish publications, have been very much in accord with the pro-German propaganda; but from what I have learned the Ancient Order of Hibernians in its membership is very much divided on that subject; and I know of no other Irish-American organization that leans at all that way. Members of the Ancient Order of Hibernians have told me that their leaders, who were rather radical, have been working along pro-German lines.

Senator KING. I would not have alluded to the matter, because we are not instructed to look into the activities of any other organization than the German-American Alliance, except for the fact that in this paper which I have I saw a reference to the union which it was alleged had been effectuated between the two organizations for political purposes.

Mr. CAMPBELL. Well, I do not doubt that at all, although those resolutions are entirely new to me.

Senator KING. Proceed.

Mr. CAMPBELL. I have spoken of the visit of Prince Henry to this country. In all the cities that he visited the German-American Alliance were very active in entertaining him.

Senator STERLING. What was the year of that visit, Mr. Campbell?

Mr. CAMPBELL. I am sorry I can not give you that. It was somewhere around 1902, however. I mentioned the fact that the German-American Alliance and its branches were active in entertaining Prince Henry, and it is interesting in this connection to recall that the president of the National German-American Alliance possesses a German decoration that came to him—sometime after Prince Henry's visit, I believe.

According to the New York Sun, the Neue Deutsche Zeitung, a newspaper published in Germany, published the following editorial statement a few years ago:

> Perhaps one day the leaders of the destinies of Great Britain and of the United States will see, too late for their own good, what was the real meaning of the American visit of Prince Henry—the work of federation and union of all citizens of German birth or race in the United States under one political hat.

Since the outbreak of the present war the Frankfurter Zeitung has said editorially:

> Suddenly, in the hour of need and peril of their old home, they rallied, and, lo and behold, it is seen that they are a political power of first rank in American life. For these German-Americans comprise more than three million voters. They are splendidly organized through their many associations and they defy the despotism of English opinion.

In a book, "Mobilized German America [Deutsch-Amerika Mobel!]", written and published in Germany by Karl Juenger, the foreword of which is from the pen of Admiral von Knorr, of the German Navy, the author dwells upon the political power and activities of Germans in America, praises the work of the German-American Alliance, asserts that 2,000 church organizations in the United States "stand up for the German motherland", emphasizes the activities of the German-American press in behalf of the fatherland, joyfully speaks of an Irish-German alliance in the United States, and predicts that unless the protests of the Neutrality League (pro-German) and kindred organizations are heeded "the cry of 'On to Washington' will resound throughout the whole country".

Senator STERLING. The cry "On to Washington", how do you interpret that, as a sort of a metaphorical expression? Of course it can hardly mean an invasion, or anything of that kind, or a march upon Washington physically, unless it is through representatives here.

Mr. CAMPBELL. I regard it as an intimation of insurrection. The Germans in Germany have misunderstood the other nations very much. In this way they have deceived themselves time and time again, and they have certainly deceived themselves as to the spirit that prevails in this country. I am very glad to say that in my opinion they have grossly deceived themselves on the subject of the loyalty of American citizens of German extraction in general. I have lived among those people all my life, and I am profoundly convinced that the great body of Americans of German extraction are loyal to the United States. I do know full well, however, that the German-American Alliance and other agencies, including the German-American press, the German exchange professors, and German churches, have done their utmost to keep alive the old-world feeling of these people so far as it was within their power to do so, and to a very considerable extent they have succeeded. They have succeeded to such an extent that a man 47 years of age taken into court in Milwaukee the other day was unable to answer simple questions in English, although he was born in Wisconsin and had spent his life in Wisconsin.

Lacking any education in the language of the country, he could not answer simple questions.

There are other cases of the kind. There are communities in Wisconsin where German is spoken almost exclusively. There are schools outside the public schools that emphasize instruction in German. And, back of all that, and keeping those influences active, are organizations, German in character, that stand for Germanism instead of Americanism; and, high amongst all those, the chief one, in my opinion, because it is the most active, the largest, and most powerful, is the German-American Alliance.

From what I have read of the charter of the German-American Alliance, it seems to me that the German-American Alliance is in honor bound not to engage in political activities and is in honor bound to Americanize men of German blood here. I know, however, that it has been in politics up to its neck for many years; and it is equally clear, from facts at hand, that instead of Americanizing German immigrants it has sought to keep them Germanized.

Senator STERLING. One of the purposes as stated in the charter, as I remember, is the study of American institutions.

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes.

Senator STERLING. Do you think that the insistence upon the study and the learning of the German language, together with their insistence upon German unity, and so forth, would altogether be quite consistent with that declaration of purpose of the study of American institutions?

Mr. CAMPBELL. No, sir; I think it is utterly inconsistent with that purpose and is purposely inconsistent with it. As to the study of the German language in the public schools of America, the underlying purpose is not to teach German merely as a means of culture, but it is to use the study of German to sow the seeds of Germanism, of what their records call "Deutschtum," in the United States.

Senator STERLING. What is your idea as to the numerical strength of the organization in the United States?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Of the German-American Alliance?

Senator STERLING. Yes.

Mr. CAMPBELL. I read one figure there where it stated that they represent 2,000,000 members. It is rather loosely organized. Any German society, whether it is a rifle club or a singing society or a musikverein, or whatever it may be, may become affiliated with the National German-American Alliance. It takes in many hundreds of those societies, some small and some large. I doubt if the chief officers of the National Alliance have figures showing the exact numerical strength of the organization—that is, showing it correctly.

I believe, too, and I would like to make this very clear, as a matter of justice, that the great majority of the members of the German-American Alliance do not grasp the significance of the alien purpose for which the Alliance is working. I think that is kept in mind and carried out by a little inside organization of the leaders and officers, and I believe that a majority of the members of the German-American Alliance who are citizens of the United States are loyal to the United States. But I regard the German-American Alliance and its leadership as the greatest internal menace that we in this country face to-day.

Senator KING. Would not this be a fair statement with respect to some of the affiliated organizations: That when this organization

came into existence it found in various communities organizations of Germans for hunting or shooting, as you have stated?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes.

Senator KING. And singing societies?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes.

Senator KING. And various other organizations, the object of which was not only proper but commendable?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes.

Senator KING. And to be encouraged; and that this organization has sought to ally all of those smaller ones to it, and to make itself the paramount organization?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Beyond question, and with the idea of German unity in the United States.

Senator STERLING. That idea on the part of the leaders?

Mr. CAMPBELL. That is the idea on the part of the leaders.

Senator STERLING. Yes.

Mr. CAMPBELL. And those that fall under that influence work that way unconsciously, because unconsciously their memories of the old land revive; and that spirit is fed and it grows stronger.

Senator KING. There are members of this organization who came in by reason of being in some singing society or some other organization and who regard it as commendable and proper—and I am expressing no opinion as to whether this organization is proper or improper—and they now regard their association with this organization in exactly the same light as they regarded their association with their smaller organization, and they do not know that the larger organization has any different purpose than that of the local organization with which they were, and perhaps still are, affiliated?

Mr. CAMPBELL. That is the truth. I think, in the case of a very great majority of the members of the German-American Alliance, it is exactly that.

Senator KING. Do you think that the organization proper and the leaders of the organization have done anything to promote, among the members of that organization, a spirit of investigation by German immigrants into American institutions; and have the organization and its leaders attempted to indoctrinate them into the spirit of the institutions of this country?

Mr. CAMPBELL. That is something concerning which one can only speak from personal knowledge, from more or less local knowledge, but I would say in reply that I have never heard of any effort to teach Americanism being made in Wisconsin, including Milwaukee, by the German-American Alliance or any of its representatives; while the instances in which they have stood out for Germanism and even for the cause of Germany in the present war, for example, are very numerous.

Senator KING. Is there anything else you desire to submit to the committee, Mr. Campbell?

Mr. CAMPBELL. I think not, Mr. Chairman. I have covered the chief points, I believe. There is other material, a great deal of it, that I could read, and we have very much more in our office records. But I think that the most important points have been covered.

Senator KING. Senator Sterling, have you anything else?

Senator STERLING. No; I think not.

Senator KING. The committee will adjourn.

(Thereupon, at 5.10 o'clock p. m., the subcommittee adjourned subject to the call of the chairman.)

NATIONAL GERMAN-AMERICAN ALLIANCE.

SATURDAY, MARCH 2, 1918.

UNITED STATES SENATE,
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY,
Washington, D. C.

The subcommittee met at 1 o'clock p. m. in the room of the Committee on the Judiciary in the Capitol.

Present: Senators King (chairman), Wolcott, and Sterling.

Senator KING. Mr. von Bosse, I understood that you and Mr. Timm had applied to the Chairman of this Committee, Senator Culberson, or to the clerk of the committee to be heard in respect to this bill. This request was made before any hearings were ordered, and, indeed, before any hearings, so far as I know, were contemplated. Pursuant to your request I wired you, or instructed the clerk to the committee to wire you, that we would hear you. The committee will be ready now to hear you and Mr. Timm, and you may proceed in such way as you desire in this matter.

STATEMENT OF MR. KARL A. M. SCHOLTZ.

Mr. SCHOLTZ. Mr. Chairman, if you will permit me——

Senator KING. Yes.

Mr. SCHOLTZ. As counsel for the German-American Alliance, I wish to offer formally a protest—you might call it a plea to the jurisdiction—and I want to preface that by saying this, that the National German-American Alliance is ready at the call of this committee to offer all its papers, books, and everything else. You can send your committee to our offices, and everything we have is open to its inspection. What we desire to avoid is the appearance of being tried in the public press, which is already done—the damage has been done—and being condemned without having an adequate opportunity of offering a defense, because these publications that have gone out—of course, you are not responsible for that, I understand, but they have gone out—have done incalculable damage not only to the reputation of the Alliance—of course, it is a corporation, and corporations are supposed to have no souls, so that you may say it can not be very well hurt—but to the thousands and thousands of members that have been stigmatized and pilloried as being disloyal to the Government to which they have sworn allegiance; and we wish to offer the testimony of these gentlemen who are here to-day, who have come long distances and at some trouble to themselves to protest against that.

Before we go on with that, I am going to offer, and I hope you will permit us to offer without prejudice, this protest.

Senator KING. What is your name?

Mr. SCHOLTZ. Karl A. M. Scholtz, of Baltimore, Md., attorney at law.

Senator KING. How long have you been the attorney for this organization?

Mr. SCHOLTZ. So far as this particular cause is concerned, I did not become such until after last Monday, when I got in touch with you. I have been counsel for it since the new president entered upon his duties. Before that I had no official employment as counsel.

May I read this protest, Mr. Chairman?

Senator WOLCOTT. Just what is the nature of your request, now? Let us understand the request.

Mr. SCHOLTZ. I think if I may read this, it is very brief and it will take less time than if I were to explain it. It will take only a few minutes.

Senator WOLCOTT. If it will take only a few minutes, probably it will be better if you read it.

Senator KING. Proceed.

Mr. SCHOLTZ (reading):

IN RE BILL TO REPEAL THE ACT ENTITLED "AN ACT TO INCORPORATE THE NATIONAL GERMAN-AMERICAN ALLIANCE" (S. 3529).

THE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY,
United States Senate.

GENTLEMEN: The National German American Alliance, in protest, respectfully says:

1. That a bill was introduced in the United States Senate by Hon. William H. King, designed to revoke the charter given it by Congress.

2. That a subcommittee has been appointed by your honorable body virtually to try and pronounce judgment upon the said Alliance.

3. That the proponent of said bill, Senator William H. King, has been appointed chairman of said subcommittee.

4. That it is a cardinal principle of the law of the land that no man shall sit in judgment in his own cause, therefore common decency would dictate that Senator King should withdraw and that some other Senator be named to act in such capacity.

5. That as the act threatens the very existence of the Alliance it were but right and just for Senator King, or whoever may be its responsible proponents, to offer a bill of particulars specifically reciting in what manner the Alliance or its officers have offended, thus giving it a chance fairly to present its defense.

6. As it is, your subcommittee has proceeded to hear witnesses without notice to the accused and has permitted to be offered as a basis for charges against it testimony so loose and irrelevant, and based upon so flimsy a foundation, that no court in the land would give it weight or value.

7. Under your subcommittee's proceedings it has been helpless to defend itself and great damage and injury has been done its character and reputation, and the thousands of its members in the various States of the Union have had the stigma and infamy of disloyalty put upon them by the publication of excerpts from the testimony of the witness Ohlinger.

At the time this was written Mr. Campbell had not been heard. [Continuing reading:]

It further represents:

1. That unless this proceeding is brought against the Alliance to punish it for the act of some of its constituent bodies in opposing the election of the presidential candidate of the Democratic Party, then, it is respectfully submitted, the Alliance should be proceeded against by due and regular process of law, which would be more fit than for the august Senate of the United States to appear as prosecutor, judge, and jury and so deprive the accused of its right to a fair and orderly trial.

2. In these serious times when the very existence of the Nation is at stake and so much business of grave import must necessarily engage the attention of the Senators, it appears to us, we respectfully submit, that your honorable body, rather than engage in a matter of such comparative insignificance as the dissolution of the Alliance, would

prefer to direct the proper officers of the Department of Justice to institute legal proceedings against it. This would save your time and give the Alliance a fair opportunity to defend itself.

The Alliance, conscious of its innocence of any act of disloyalty, invites the institution of such legal proceedings.

KARL A. M. SCHOLTZ,
Counsel for the National German American Alliance.

Senator KING. That will be received and filed. Proceed.

Senator STERLING. Mr. Chairman, just a word, if you will excuse me.

Senator KING. Pardon me.

Senator STERLING. As a member of the committee I protest against two or three matters contained in the protest of this witness. The reference to the chairmanship of this subcommittee is not pertinent or material. It is impertinent. I think that it is a frequent practice in committees to appoint the author of a bill as the chairman of the subcommittee to consider that bill. I have known of it in many other cases, and I think it is but the common practice that we are following in this instance. The fact that Senator King introduced the bill does not make this "his cause." The introduction of the bill makes it the cause of the Senate, and the committee is conforming to the rules and practice of that body.

Senator WOLCOTT. Will you permit me to interrupt you, Senator?

Senator STERLING. Certainly.

Senator WOLCOTT. Of course, if the author of a bill is to be disqualified to sit as a member of the committee, the logical result of that is that he is disqualified to vote in the Senate on bills that he introduces.

Senator STERLING. Certainly. And then, as to the point that the parties representing the Alliance have not had an opportunity to be heard, I understand that we are following the universal practice. Persons who desire a hearing upon the consideration of any bill are allowed to come, and without any reference to any order in the testimony, and be heard, when hearings are given at all. It is not like the trial of a lawsuit in court where the plaintiff has the burden of proof to begin with and all his evidence is introduced, and then the defendant's evidence is heard, and then rebuttal testimony is taken. That is not the course of procedure followed. No right or interest can be prejudiced by the course we follow.

Senator KING. Oh, it is very clear that any Senator may introduce a bill upon any subject and may urge its passage. This question of the hearing here is a mere matter of courtesy to the parties interested.

Mr. von Bosse and Mr. Timm were the first ones to ask for a hearing. I do not know whether a hearing would have been held if it had not been requested by the officers of the Alliance. You may proceed, Mr. von Bosse.

Senator WOLCOTT. I think it should also be said, in fairness to everybody, that this is a purely legislative question. The Congress, when it granted a charter to this organization, reserved the right to alter, amend, or repeal this charter. This is not a judicial trial at all. Furthermore, it is not to be considered as an indictment against citizens of German birth. That has nothing to do with it. The whole question is whether it is, as a matter of policy, wise to revoke this charter which has been granted.

Mr. SCHOLTZ. I want to say that there is no personal reflection on the chairman in any way in this. This is intended to be a formal protest.

Senator KING. Well, the chairman receives the protest, and it will be filed.

You may proceed, Mr. von Bosse.

Mr. S. G. VON BOSSE. May I introduce Mr. Theodore Sutro, from New York, also an attorney?

Senator KING. I have had the pleasure of meeting him. Are we to understand that Mr. Sutro wants to make some observations before the committee?

Mr. VON BOSSE. Yes.

Senator KING. Is Mr. Sutro one of the attorneys for the Alliance?

Mr. SUTRO. I do not appear formally.

Senator KING. Mr. von Bosse has introduced you as one of the attorneys. Do you appear as an attorney or not?

Mr. SUTRO. Yes.

Senator KING. It is so entered in the record. You may proceed. State your full name.

STATEMENT OF MR. THEODORE SUTRO.

Mr. SUTRO. Theodore Sutro is my name.

Senator WOLCOTT. Where is your residence?

Mr. SUTRO. New York City. [Reading from a typewritten statement:]

As a preliminary statement, in appearing here on behalf of the National German American Alliance in opposition to the bill S. 3529 introduced by Senator King and referred to this committee, I contend that neither this committee nor Congress itself has jurisdiction to enact the said bill——

Senator WOLCOTT. "Enact the said bill"?

Mr. SUTRO. To enact the said bill——

Senator WOLCOTT. Well, go ahead.

Mr. SUTRO (continuing reading):

your bill, on grounds which I will indicate. Whatever, therefore, may be presented before this committee either in the way of statements by myself, or by others, who may be heard, or in the way of proofs of any kind of a general nature on behalf of the Alliance, must be understood to be without prejudice to our plea against the jurisdiction to which I have alluded.

I am well aware that the act of incorporation of the National German American Alliance of the United States of America, being chapter 1190 of the laws of 1907 of the United States, contains in section 7 the reservation "that Congress may at any time amend, alter, or repeal this act." I desire to call attention to the fact that the act of incorporation creates "a body politic and corporate of the District of Columbia." Whatever statutes, therefore, either before or subsequent to the approval of the act of incorporation of the Alliance on February 25, 1907, have been enacted by Congress giving jurisdiction to the District of Columbia to take proceedings for dissolution of such incorporations as ours, must be construed as divesting Congress of that right.

Senator WOLCOTT. What is that?

Mr. SUTRO. I merely call attention to the fact that this is a corporation of the District of Columbia. It was organized and incorporated as a corporation of the District of Columbia. If you will look at the act, you will find that is the case.

Senator KING. And your theory is that, it having been incorporated in the District of Columbia, the District alone could revoke the charter, and that it must be revoked by a judicial proceeding?

Mr. SUTRO. A judicial proceeding.

Senator KING. And that Congress has no right to revoke it?

Mr. SUTRO. That Congress has no right. That is my position.

Senator KING. I understand you.

Senator STERLING. That is, notwithstanding Congress reserved the right to alter, amend, or repeal?

Mr. SUTRO. Yes.

Senator KING. You are going beyond the Dartmouth College case, are you not?

Mr. SUTRO. I know the Dartmouth College case very well, and I am going to cite some other cases that I think are in point. [Continuing reading:]

This is particularly true with reference to the bill here under discussion which proposes to repeal the act of incorporation and, as a sequence to such repeal, directs an action to be brought in any district court of the United States (not in the District of Columbia), among other things, to take charge of the property of the said corporation and wind up its affairs. The steps to be taken in relation hereto we claim are provided by the so-called Code of Law for the District of Columbia, enacted March 1, 1901, as amended up to the present time, and that whatever proceedings in that regard may be decided upon should be commenced by the corporation counsel of the District of Columbia. We claim that the effect of the King bill, if enacted, will be tantamount to a forfeiture of the charter of our corporation and its dissolution. We claim that section 786 et post of the Code of Law for the District of Columbia applies, which provides for the steps to be taken for the involuntary dissolution of a corporation of the District of Columbia, at the suit of the United States.

I concede that there are few cases found in the reports covering our contention against the jurisdiction of Congress to enact the measure under discussion, probably because few, if any, similar attempts have heretofore been made by Congress in an analogous case.

I must also at this point state, on my own behalf, that so little time has been at my disposal to go into this question as deeply and as thoroughly as its importance requires, that I feel considerable diffidence in presenting this legal argument before this distinguished body, as a finality in my conclusions, as might be the case if I had had a chance to prepare myself as I would wish.

Senator KING. Let me say right now, Mr. Sutro, that if Congress has no power to repeal or modify this charter, this committee will be very glad to be advised, and you may have such time as may be necessary to advise us, upon the legal question.

Mr. SUTRO. Then I would respectfully ask for the time to probably file a more satisfactory discussion of it.

Senator KING. The committee will take into account your request. I think there is no doubt you will have ample time.

Mr. SUTRO. Thank you very much. [Continuing reading:]

And I, therefore, already at this point respectfully ask leave to file a more complete and exhaustive brief with this committee, within a reasonable time hereafter, than it has been possible for me to prepare during the few hours that I have had for this purpose previous to this hearing.

I may say, however, that, so far as my examination of the law has gone, my impression is that I am right in the views which I express.

In the case of Metropolitan Railroad Company against McFarland (20 Appeal Cases, D. C., 421), where a similar reservation as contained in the incorporation act of the National German American Alliance "to alter, amend, and repeal" the charter of the railroad company, came under discussion in the Court of Appeals of the District of Columbia, Chief Justice Alvey said:

"It may be conceded that this reserved power of Congress is not without limit and that the power to alter, amend, or repeal must be exercised within reasonable bounds for the preservation of right and justice. It has been said, by high authority, that the power must not be exercised in such arbitrary way as to destroy vested rights acquired in good faith under the chartered powers of the corporation.

Senator KING. Is there any answer here that this corporation has property?

Mr. SUTRO. Yes.

Senator KING. Any property that would be affected?

Mr. SUTRO. I think it would; yes, sir.

Senator KING. Has it property?

Mr. SUTRO. No; not real-estate property, but it has certainly money; and, under this bill, a clause in the bill provides for an application to any district court of the United States to appoint a receiver.

Mr. SCHOLTZ. To appoint a receiver to wind up its affairs and pay its debts.

Mr. SUTRO. The language is, "That the Attorney General is directed to bring an action in any district court of the United States." That, I think, is a decided error, too, because I think that that action would have to be brought in the District of Columbia, under the code which I have mentioned.

Senator KING. If the committee take that view, they will amend the bill.

Mr. SUTRO. But it goes even further than that. It says:

SEC. 2. That the Attorney General is directed to bring an action in any district court of the United States having jurisdiction of the property of said corporation to have a receiver appointed to take charge of such property, pay the debts, and wind up the affairs of said corporation.

[Continuing reading from prepared statement:]

A still better case and in which the principle, for which I contend, was more positively and clearly stated, was the case of United States against the Metropolitan Railroad Company (21 Washington Law Reporter, 787). While this was only a special term decision of the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia, nevertheless the opinion of Mr. Justice Bradley, page 792 et post, is very exhaustive and illuminating. The counsel for the defendant in this case was the firm of Shellabarger & Wilson, eminent and learned jurists, whose brief is well worth studying. As an outline of the decision of Mr. Justice Bradley, I quote from the syllabus the following:

"The right reserved in the act of incorporation to alter, amend, or repeal its provisions does not confer upon Congress the power to declare a legislature forfeiture or to enact a legislative judgment. The legislature may impose upon a body corporate, its creature, a duty, the nonperformance of which would be a cause for forfeiture, but it has no power to enact that upon failure to perform such duty the charter shall be forfeited. Such forfeiture must be judicially ascertained and disclosed upon direct proceedings instituted against the corporation for that purpose. So, the enactment of a legislative judgment is unconstitutional and void, as depriving a defendant of property without due process of law." This case came up in special term upon "information in the nature of a quo warranto."

I think we would have a good cause for applying for that; but that is not anything I want to go into now at length. [Continuing reading:]

I find that the reasoning in the opinion of this case is analogous to the principle announced in decisions in regard to corporations created by State legislatures, where under a similar reservation of the right of the legislative body to repeal a charter granted to a corporation, to the effect that the exercise of such a right is not by any means absolute and should not be exercised in such a way that it would be tantamount to a declaration of a forfeiture and that such a course by a legislative body is unconstitutional.

As already stated, I did not have time to investigate and therefore do not cite these cases, but I find that various articles of the Constitution of the United States were referred to, according to the questions which came up, in regard to the respective cases.

Among these I might mention Article V of the Amendments to the Constitution that "no person shall be deprived of property without due process of law."

Article VII that in such questions "the right of trial by jury shall be preserved." Article VIII that "no cruel and unusual punishment shall be inflicted."

The last-mentioned Article is referred to in some of those cases I have just alluded to in the reports. [Continuing reading:]

I also find that section 10 of Article I of the Constitution is referred to in certain cases that such legislation violates the prohibition against "impairing the obligation of contracts." While this last mentioned reference, according to the letter of the Constitution, applies to the States, nevertheless it seems, by implication, to be also applicable to Congress in cases where it has created a corporation. It certainly seems, according to all rules of construction, to be reasonable that an obligation which should not be violated by a State legislature should all the more be binding on the superior body, the highest legislative body in the land.

Aside from the foregoing considerations I claim that so great and, as I shall later show, so important a corporation as the National German American Alliance, should not be annihilated, except on proof produced under the well established rules of evidence, as administered in courts of justice. "Such cruel and unusual punishment" as is contemplated by this bill should not be inflicted, based upon such a mass of inadmissible matter, consisting of hearsay, of incompetent opinions of laymen, rumors, utterances of third persons, by which the Alliance cannot be bound, denunciation, invective and depreciation, which, as I gather from the only reports which I have been able to procure from the newspapers, has been produced before this committee. If that is a trial which should lead to a legislative judgment of guilty and a sentence of death, it reminds one of the French method of capital trials as exemplified in the cases of Dreyfus and others. Sifting this mass of matter, in support of this bill, to the little that would be admissible in the trial of a case in an American court of justice, under the rules of evidence, the advocates of this measure have made no case worthy of consideration by this committee.

The King bill itself states no reason for the drastic action which it wants Congress to take. I do not find any precedent for a measure in that form of which the object is to destroy a corporation, created by Congress itself, nor do I know of a similar measure passed by any State legislature. It might be compared with an indictment framed by a grand jury recommending the death penalty without charging the accused with any offenses.

Under these circumstances, the reason for such an extreme measure can only be guessed at, if it is to be considered at all. In peace times it would be impossible to solve the mystery, but now while this country is at war with Germany, only one surmise can be made, namely, that the ground for this measure is that the Alliance has the prefix "German American" in its title. Apparently that is now the most heinous crime that an American citizen may be guilty of. In the face of that crime, loyalty to his country does not count for an iota. That thousands upon thousands of sons of members of the Alliance or its members themselves, have taken up arms and are ready to sacrifice their lives and fortunes, counts for nothing; that from the very beginning of its existence the National German American Alliance has devoted itself solely to American patriotic endeavors is not to be considered; that one of its chief aims is to bring up new immigrants to an appreciation of their adopted country by helping them to understand our system of government and facilitate their becoming American citizens; that it has left its footmarks all over the country in creating monuments and records in appreciation of American heroes in the struggle to found our great republic or of the patriots and builders of its greatness; that it has adhered strictly to the principles laid down in its constitution and contained in the charter granted by Congress—all these considerations are naught.

In the Mohawk Valley in the State of New York, stands the renovated and beautifield homestead from which Gen. Nicholas Herkimer sallied forth to meet and rout the English army and its Indian allies, on the battlefield of Oriskany on August 6, 1777. So great and important was this victory to the waning fortunes of the American Army that Gen. George Washington wrote about it: "It was Herkimer who first reversed the gloomy scene. He served from love of country, not for reward. He did not want a continental command or any army." This homestead with the surrounding land ranks, as a patriotic souvenir of the Revolution, with Mount Vernon and Monticello and was preserved for all time to come mainly through the efforts of the New York branch of the National German American Alliance in causing the State to buy it for the people of the State and Nation.

In Washington stands the monument to Gen. Baron Friedrich Wilhelm von Steuben, the great drillmaster of the American Army, who was called by Washington himself his "right arm," erected through the efforts of the National German American Alliance

by taking steps towards that end, and inducing Congress to make the necessary appropriation.

Through the efforts of the National German American Alliance also, a replica of this monument has been placed at Valley Forge where, at the request of Congress and of Gen. Washington in the spring of 1778, Gen. Steuben wrought wonders by transforming the raw recruits of the continental army into real soldiers.

It is due to the local branch of the National German American Alliance of Utica that in that city now stands another splendid statue of Gen. von Steuben, not many miles away from where lies his tomb at Steubenville, in Oneida County, and nearby is Hamilton College, with which he was identified from its foundation.

In Germantown, Philadelphia, there is now almost completed a superb monument to the memory of Franz Daniel Pastorius who led the German immigrants who settled there in 1683. There was established the first paper mill in the colonies and from there emanated the first printed Bible and the first protest against negro slavery.

Also in Philadelphia stands the statute of Gen. Peter Muehlenberg the patriotic pastor of the Revolution, who in the pulpit discarded his clerical robes for the uniform of a continental officer and whose brother Friedrich August Muehlenberg was Speaker of the House in the first United States Congress.

Senator KING. You might add, while you are reciting the splendid achievements of the early Germans, that Pastor Muehlenberg, pastor of one of the early German churches, after he had delivered a passionate address in behalf of patriotism, threw aside his priestly robes and stood forth in the garments of a Continental colonel and led forth hundreds of splendid, loyal Germans into the contest for American liberty.

Mr. SUTRO. I am very glad you are so well posted, Mr. Chairman.

Senator KING. I know about their early part in the history of the country.

Mr. SUTRO. I will connect that later on. [Continuing reading:]

These are some of the achievements of the National German American Alliance in one direction only and it would take volumes to enumerate, both in the foregoing respects and also in every other worthy endeavor for the good of our country, all the beneficent deeds it has accomplished.

But all its patriotic achievements, all its patriotic aspirations are, in the eyes of the men who are behind such a measure, as the one against which we are now protesting, treason and hostility against our country and, according to the views of those people, deserving death. Whether it is an individual or a firm or even, like us, a beneficent and patriotic membership corporation, matters not, only annihilation must be the watchword!

Senator KING. Of course this is not testimony.

Mr. SUTRO. No; but I am giving you all this, because I can not come here again.

Senator KING. You were just now denouncing hearsay evidence, which, by the way, consisted largely of excerpts from the Official Bulletin, the official publication of the National German-American Alliance, and yet you are now indulging in a speech here, which I am very glad to hear; but I want you to understand that we can discriminate between evidence and declamation.

Mr. SUTRO. I will be glad if you will allow me to finish now, because I can not possibly come down here again—unless you want me, and then I will come down again. I only wanted in a general way to outline what the position of the Alliance is in regard to this whole proceeding, and I think it is probably the only opportunity that I will have to present it. [Continuing reading:]

For three and a half years not only we, the members of our great National German American Alliance, but all the American citizens of German origin or even of German names, have been the targets for insult and vilification on the part of these people and now also Congress is asked to stamp its seal of approval upon this unreasonable and contemptible persecution.

And yet there has been and there is still no body of men in the land which has been so devotedly attached to this our country as the members of the National German American Alliance. At the same time it is, in fact, looked upon as a representative of the millions of citizens who sprang from German ancestry, so that the war upon it is tantamount to war upon every citizen who has a drop of German blood in his veins.

And I feel that, myself. [Continuing reading:]

What is the object of such a measure and what must necessarily be the effect of such a measure upon these millions of people that I speak of?

Does Senator King suppose that if his bill should be passed and approved by the President and if the contemplated action to be brought in any district court of the United States should be successful, "to have a receiver appointed to take charge of" the property of said corporation "and wind up its affairs," this would make more devoted and more patriotic citizens of the members of the National German American Alliance? Does Senator King and the men who are behind this iniquitous measure believe that he and they would become more attached to their country or imbued with greater admiration for its institutions, if, for example, by an act of Congress his and their property should be sequestered and sold under the hammer by a receiver, on the suspicion that they might be dangerous to the country because his name would be Koenig instead of King, and the supporters of this bill would be called Schmitt instead of Smith or Mueller instead of Miller or Schneider instead of Taylor or Braun instead of Brown, or whatever English sounding names they may now have? Or would he or they look upon themselves as less patriotic citizens if, in addition to the German origin of their names, they should possess the educational accomplishment to speak the German language in addition to English? Would Senator King and his followers become better citizens if, because of these German names and of the knowledge of the German language, he and they had been pounded for three and a half years, by the public press, by public speakers, and even by officials throughout the country, with insult, invective and epithets implying lack of confidence in their loyalty?

What does the Senator and his followers and their predecessors, in supporting this kind of policy, suppose would be the effect, for example, upon myself, if I may be pardoned for a few personal allusions? Do you suppose that I would be a better American citizen if my name was Root or Cravath or Putnam instead of Sutro or if I spoke the German language with an English accent or not at all, instead of being equally efficient in both languages? Do the 68 of my 73 years, during which I have been a permanent resident of this country, or does the public work which I have done most conscientiously and to the best of my ability, or the work which I have done as a member of the National German American Alliance, as laid down in its Constitution and in its Charter to which I will refer later, unfit me to continue as a patriotic American citizen, because my name is spelled S-u-t-r-o and because I can speak in German as well as in English, or because during all these 68 years I paid two visits abroad, including a brief stay also in Germany?

Senator STERLING. You appear to proceed on the theory, Mr. Sutro, if you will allow me to say so, that this bill is aimed at all the Sutros and all the Schneiders and all the Brauns, and so forth, that there may be, whereas it has no such purpose at all. It is aimed at the record of the National German-American Alliance.

Mr. SUTRO. It is not accepted that way by the American people.

Senator WOLCOTT. That is unfortunate.

Mr. SUTRO (continuing reading):

Is it not about time, Mr. Chairman, that this un-American and anti-patriotic spirit in this country should cease?

That is what I refer to, and that is why I also referred to myself. [Continuing reading:]

Is it not about time that these constant attempts to sow discord among our citizens by stirring up anti-race or anti-national feeling, should be crushed? Just at this critical time in the history of our country, harmony and fraternal feeling among our conglomerate population is indispensable and should be the aim and object of every real American patriot. It is during such times as these; that "try men's souls," that American citizens, such as constitute the body of the National German American Alliance, should not be hounded in such a manner as is indicated in this King bill but, on the contrary, the advocates of such measures should be the ones that should be looked upon with suspicion as the real enemies of their country.

I stand here, as an American citizen since 44 years, and as a member of the Bar of the State of New York and of the United States Supreme Court for about the same number of years, as a high public official for a number of years in the City of New York, as one who, since he has attained "man's estate," has devoted himself to the best interests of his country unflaggingly, at the sacrifice of personal interests on innumerable occasions, who has religiously adhered to the vow of allegiance which he has taken at least five different times, and whose immediate family has been, for over half a century, known by its achievements in various spheres, strictly in the interest of American progress.

Senator STERLING. Are you a member of the National German-American Alliance?

Mr. SUTRO. I am, and an honorary president of the State Alliance of New York. [Continuing reading:]

I also stand here as a man, four of whose nephews are now wearing the uniform of American soldiers and lastly, with all that, I nevertheless stand here as an enthusiastic member of the National German American Alliance almost from its foundation, to protest with every fiber of my being and with all the energy that I possess, against reporting this iniquitous measure favorably to the Senate of the United States. I go even further and declare it as my conviction that even the introduction of such a measure is an almost unpardonable insult to the hundreds of thousands of our members throughout the United States, each one of whom I am sure, the same as myself, knows only one country, one flag and one unadulterated and unwavering patriotism.

What can be the motive or the object of such a measure? There can be only one answer to this question, namely that it must have sprung from either malice or ignorance. Malice, engendered by the prevailing and regrettable spirit which has been spread throughout this country by means of a vicious propaganda against everything that is German either in name or in origin, without reason or scruple. Or else ignorance, because the aims or objects of the National German American Alliance or the very reason for its existence are not understood or are intentionally distorted.

Here are the very words contained in our congressional charter:

"The conservation of the principles of representative government and the protection and maintenance of all civil and political rights; the protection of German immigrants against imposition and deception and to assist in their naturalization; the study of American institutions and the publication of American history; the cultivation of the German language, literature, and drama, and the perpetuation of the memory and deeds of those early German pioneers whose influence has been of incalculable benefit to the intellectual and economic development of this country and whose loyalty in times of stress and strife is a matter of history."

And here are the aims and objects, stated more in detail in the printed Constitution and By-laws of the National German American Alliance, which have been conscientiously followed since its foundation, 18 years ago, and from which its activities have never strayed from that time to this and which I file both in the English and German languages with the committee as a part of this statement, or if it has already been filed, would like to have considered as part of my statement.

As far back as in 1883 two patriotic American citizens, Dr. Gottlieb T. Kellner and Prof. Oswald Seidenstricker, suggested and arranged a celebration of the two hundredth anniversary of the landing of the first German settlers who founded Germantown under the lead of a German jurist by the name of Franz Daniel Pastorius, and also others, especially Dr. C. J. Hexamer, contributed to the idea of repeating such a celebration annually, similar to the annual exercises observed by other patriotic Americans, for example, by the Society of Mayflower Descendants, by organizing the National German American Alliance in 1900.

Unfortunately, however, during all the period that has elapsed, since the war with Germany burst forth upon the now stricken world, three and a half years ago, but even before that time, malicious attacks have been made by sensational scribblers or demagogues upon the Alliance, on the charge that it was allied with or even governed and directed by the Imperial German Government. These absurd insinuations have been refuted again and again. Let me, however, on this occasion and in this presence, add my own statement and proof that there is not the slightest reason, nor even an iota of justifiable suspicion, for such an accusation.

Let me state that during the whole winter from October 15, 1913, to the end of February, 1914, just before the war, I spent uninterruptedly in Germany, in the interest of the then contemplated Panama Pacific World's Exposition in San Francisco, and most of my time at the seat of the Imperial government at Berlin. I made a round of all the principal cities, addressing selective audiences, by invitation,

about the greatness and achievements of the United States and especially the history and magnitude of the Panama Canal and how the interest and participation of the German people in the Exposition would be appreciated in this country and strengthen the friendly feeling which until then had always existed between the two nations.

Incidentally, I took occasion to emphasize in all my addresses, that also we would especially recognize it as a graceful act towards us, if the German people would take part in the celebration of the completion of the Panama Canal, as we, although loyal and patriotic Americans to the core, yet necessarily felt a certain responsibility to invite our kinsmen abroad to join us in rejoicing in this great American achievement. From the highest to the lowest citizen, I had the most cordial response to my patriotic appeals and if the war had not intervened, there undoubtedly would have been a splendid representation at San Francisco of the industrial, municipal, and social achievements of the German people.

I found, however—and that is the main point I want to bring out—also a surprising lack of knowledge, among all the German people, of what American citizens of German antecedents had accomplished in this country. Instead of any influence or direction from German Imperial sources, I found that German statesmen and public men were eager to learn what the aims and objects of the National German American Alliance really were. I found this great Alliance was practically unknown to the German government and German people and that they rather looked upon it askance and with suspicion, until I explained that its chief aim was to preserve the German language and literature besides English and all the other cultural ideals which it had written in its Constitution and By-laws and in its Charter.

And now comes a man called Gustav Ohlinger before you, who speaks of his German maternal ancestors and at the same time befouls his own nest by bespattering with the poison of his false and vitriolic tongue the millions of members of our great patriotic alliance by trying to stamp them as traitors to their country, directed and controlled and financed by the Imperial German Government.

Senator WOLCOTT. In that statement you are slightly in error.

Mr. SUTRO. Well, that is——

Senator WOLCOTT. Not slightly, but greatly.

Mr. SUTRO. Then I must wait until I have the official report, and I will correct that.

Senator WOLCOTT. Mr. Ohlinger took particular pains to explain to this committee that he did not assail German-American citizens of this country. What he had to say was only against this organization, which he claimed had been perverted by those in charge of it, and he thought as a matter of fact that if the rank and file of its membership were aware of what it was actually doing they would disapprove of it because of their genuine Americanism. That, as I recall it, was his attitude.

Senator KING. Yes.

Senator STERLING. I recall distinctly the statement Mr. Ohlinger made, and it was to the effect that he thought the overwhelming majority of German-American citizens in this country were wholly and genuinely loyal.

Mr. SUTRO. Then I will say, in answer to this, that I do not think it is an exaggeration to say that the hundreds of thousands, I will say—I do not believe in exaggeration in anything; I may say, going into a million or two millions—of the German-American citizens, of the German-American Alliance, would reduce that large majority of the Germans to which Mr. Ohlinger has alluded, to a minority if our members are stamped as traitors to the country and not patriotic citizens.

Senator STERLING. He did not even stamp the membership of the German-American Alliance as traitors.

Mr. SUTRO. He did not?

Senator STERLING. No.

Mr. SUTRO. Then, whatever he did say——

Senator WOLCOTT. You are not advised accurately as to what he said. You have gotten a wrong impression.

Mr. SUTRO. Well, I respectfully ask to correct that if I get a copy of the official report here. Of course I could only get that from the press.

Senator KING. I ought to say to you, Mr. Sutro, that Mr. Ohlinger's testimony consisted largely—indeed the overwhelming portion of his testimony consisted—of quotations from the official organ of this organization.

Mr. SUTRO. Well, I think that will be disproved by our records when we come to put in our proofs, which I presume we will have a chance to do. Of course it is only an incident, but at the same time, as one of the oldest and I think as perhaps a representative of the Germans, knowing what the general feeling and the thought and the mind of the German-American Alliance is, I want to say [continuing reading]:

Fie upon such a patriot, and shame on such an American citizen who claims some remote affiliation with the country of my birth. We renounce and spurn such a renegade, of whom no one has ever heard until he projected himself into the limelight in such a disreputable and dishonorable propaganda. He is really too insignificant to be answered even with a syllable, or to be taken seriously, if unfortunately a committee of the most august body of men in the country had not seen fit to stoop to listen to his talk.

Senator STERLING. Now, Mr. Sutro, there is a very ugly implication against the committee.

Mr. SUTRO. I do not intend that.

Senator STERLING. This is a subcommittee appointed by the Judiciary Committee of the United States Senate to hear this testimony in regard to this bill.

Mr. SUTRO. I do not reflect upon you at all, in that respect.

Senator STERLING. Your words certainly do. They refer to us as stooping so low as to hear him.

Mr. SUTRO. I did not say "so low". I said, "stoop to listen". Well, I will erase the "stoop". I will do it right now.

Senator STERLING. All right, go ahead. I do not object to it. I think you had better read it just as you have it. I wanted to call attention to it.

Mr. SUTRO (continuing reading):

had not seen fit to listen to his talk.

I want to say that I have all respect for this committee. I know you men; I know what your careers have been as lawyers, and what I say here is in no way a reflection upon your listening to whatever you see fit to. But at the same time I exercise the right, which right I have, of criticizing the testimony that has been presented before you. [Continuing reading:]

Under the circumstances, however, we can not ignore his delirious utterances, and I must therefore ask your consideration and patience to give us an opportunity at a further hearing, after his full official statement shall be available, and not mere newspaper talk about it, to answer the so-called arguments of this unworthy scion of German maternal ancestors.

That is all I want to say about Mr. Ohlinger, and I will be through in a few minutes. [Continuing reading:]

I have already, I think, exploded and disproved his main assertion that the Alliance is affiliated in any manner, directly or indirectly, with German officialdom. Let

me, before I close, confront another of his false statements, as I am informed, that the better American citizens of German descent are not members of this Alliance and despise and oppose our aims and objects——

Senator KING. He did not use that expression; but let it go. He did not use the word "despise" in any connection.

Mr. SUTRO. I got that from the newspaper. I want to confront that [continued reading]:

with this pamphlet (which I also desire to file as a part of my statement, and which is marked "Schedule B") containing a list of our 373 life members from all parts of the country, among whom you will find many names of the most honored citizens of the United States and I challenge Mr. Ohlinger to direct his aspersions to them individually instead of attacking them, in his cowardly way, as a body as a whole.

I only want to call your attention, if I may, for a minute to a few of the names that are contained in this list. Certainly what Mr. Ohlinger said was directed to these men who are directly connected with the German-American Alliance. I find in this list the name of Cuno H. Rudolph, who, I think, was chairman of the Board of Commissioners of the District of Columbia. Of course, a great many of these people you do not know, but I know who they are. There are men here from California, Colorado, the District of Columbia, Kentucky, Maryland, Massachusetts, New Jersey, New York, and New York City, etc., and I may mention some of the gentlemen that I know perfectly well. Mr. Pagenstecher is one of the greatest merchants of the country. Mr. Hasslacher is one of the greatest chemists of the country. Mr. Erbslöh is one of the greatest importers in New York. Dr. Hugo Schweitzer, who died recently, was known in all European countries as one of the greatest chemists in the world. Dr. Stadtmueller is one of the best known physicians in New York. Then, there is Mr. George Ehret. I do not know whether this committee knows what the Ehrets brew, but they brew a liquid which is known all over the country, and its name is lager beer. Then there is Jacob Agne; and John Schwaab is one of the judges in Ohio. Blankenburg was mayor of Philadelphia. I will not take up your time any further with this.

There is C. B. Wolffram, who was appointed by Mr. Taft to present a replica of the Steuben Monument to the German Government. There is Dr. Louis Haupt, who is well known in New York and is connected with societies which do not belong immediately with our Alliance, like the Liederkranz and the Arion Societies. There is William Knauth, the well-known banker; Lindemann, a well-known engineer, and so forth. I could mention dozens and hundreds of those names. [Continuing reading:]

But let me say that, aside from this particular list, our active members consist of citizens of every craft and profession from out of our entire population, from the richest to the poorest, from the most learned to those with only an elementary education, from the merchant prince to the humblest trader, from the greatest manufacturer to the simple mechanic, from university professors to the modest primary teacher, from high officials to the obscurest citizens—of not one of whom Mr. Ohlinger, in my opinion, is worthy to unloosen the shoe latchets, when it comes to the question of genuine, earnest, unadulterated and honest American patriotism.

And now finally, it is unnecessary to repeat here, what has been said so often, that our country is not in war against the intellectual or moral achievements of the German people. Our war is against the German war and its consequences and not against the German peace and its results—a peace which had reigned unbroken between America and Germany, and ever since the foundation of our government, until April, 1917.

Senator KING. Is not this war, and is not this Government, against the autocratic form of government which is dominating Germany to-day?

Mr. SUTRO. Yes; it is against that.

Senator KING. And against the ideals of Germany, which has built up an autocracy and a military machine which have tried to dominate the world?

Mr. SUTRO. That may be a mistaken view. That is a matter of opinion.

Senator KING. Do you approve of the ideals of Germany as reflected in the civilization manifested in Germany?

Mr. SUTRO. The civilization—yes; I do.

Senator KING. Do you approve of the course of Germany which has led to her maintaining large standing armies and building up a military machine for the domination of the world?

Mr. SUTRO. I do not believe in large armies in any country, anywhere. I am opposed to them.

Senator KING. Do you believe that the civilization—no, the culture; I will strike out the word "civilization"—the culture of Germany is superior to the spirit of democracy which lies at the foundation of our institutional life?

Mr. SUTRO. No, I do not think that, at all; but I think that what is called German kultur is not understood in this country.

Senator KING. Are you in sympathy with the proclamation over and over again in the Bulletin that there should be German solidarity, in this Nation, of the German people; that they should maintain their racial, ethnic, and linguistic peculiarities and characteristics; that they should separate themselves?

Mr. SUTRO. If that is the case, I certainly should be opposed to it. I claim, and the constitution of the Alliance which I am going to file here and make also a part of my statement——

Mr. SCHOLTZ. That is already in.

Mr. SUTRO. Well, I will file it, anyway, because I want it in as a part of my address. As far as ethnic solidarity is concerned, I certainly am opposed to it. I, myself, married an American wife, and I have always said that the Germans should mix with the Americans, generally—what is called the American people. Of course, we are American people, ourselves.

But I want to answer also, in regard to the linguistic aims and objects of the Alliance, that I am absolutely in sympathy with them. I think a man who knows two languages has two souls. The Greeks used to say that with every new language we acquire a new soul, and I think that as furthering civilizing and cultural ideals the learning of another language is one of the best methods of accomplishing that.

And so it is, also, with other languages. We have the French Alliance which tries to keep up the French language. I am in favor of having, the same as our Alliance, the French-American Alliance and the Italian-American Alliance, which exist, and all the other hyphenated—as they call them—societies, to keep up their own language; but first of all, as I preach to the German-Americans, learn the language of this country. But so far as linguistic characteristics Mr. Chairman, is an object, I think I am entirely, enthusiastically in favor of that as one of the aims that is laid down in our constitution of the German-American Alliance.

Senator STERLING. Let me ask you, Mr. Sutro, right there, Has the German-American Alliance in any way sought to inculcate the idea that the Germans should learn the English language?

Mr. SUTRO. Well, I do not know that it is down in the constitution or by-laws, but they learn it, anyway.

Senator STERLING. But, on the other hand, has not the German-American Alliance discouraged the learning of the English language?

Mr. SUTRO. No; absolutely not.

Mr. VON BOSSE. On the contrary.

Mr. SUTRO. I have again and again, in my addresses to the Alliance—to the New York State Alliance and the city alliance—always advocated that the first thing they should do would be to learn the English language.

Senator STERLING. Now, has it not rather emphasized things that the Germans in this country should retain and speak their own language to the exclusion of the English language?

Mr. SUTRO. No. On the contrary, we have the constant struggle, especially with the growing generations, that they should not forget the German language. They never will speak German; and you know, Senator, from your education, if you want to keep up a language you have to practice it now and then; and I think that the aims of the Alliance in that respect are an advantage to the country, because it makes more educated citizens.

Senator KING. Has it not been stated by representatives of your organization, Mr. Sutro, especially Dr. Hexamer and some of the German professors who were also members of your Alliance, that we ought to have the German language as the language of this country?

Mr. SUTRO. Oh, well, that is nonsense. I do not think that Dr. Hexamer ever said anything of that kind.

Senator KING. Has it not been published in the Bulletin, which is the organ of your organization?

Mr. SUTRO. I do not think it has.

Senator KING. If it has, that is a perversion of one of the objects of your organization?

Mr. SUTRO. I do not think that that ever was advocated in the monthly bulletin.

Senator KING. If it is, that would be a perversion of the object for which this organization was effected?

Mr. SUTRO. I think it would; and I think we can show that that has not been the case, because it is an absurdity on its face for anybody to say that, because we know it is absolutely ridiculous to change the language of the country. It would be absolutely impossible.

Mr. VON BOSSE. Senator King, is it possible to make a little allusion there to the Bulletin?

Senator KING. Probably we had better get through with Mr. Sutro first.

Mr. SUTRO. I will be through in one minute.

Senator KING. Proceed.

Mr. SUTRO (continuing reading):

So also, our country is not at war—I was speaking of the fact that the country is not at war against the German people, but is at war against the German war—so also, our country is not at war, or contemplates war, against the high aims and objects, in order to achieve which the German American National Alliance was organized. In

fact, not only successive Presidents of the United States but also all the highest federal officials and the governors and members of the State governments were a few years ago full of praise of our aims and objects and gladly joined us frequently in our public celebrations and patriotic endeavors.

I need only refer to the von Steuben Monument up near the White House, where President Taft made the principal address and the highest officials of the War Department made addresses. I have not that record here.

Senator KING. I am familiar with it.

Mr. SUTRO. Yes. [Continuing reading:]

Whatever opposition has sprung up against our Alliance since then is unquestionably due mainly to the fact that its aims and objects have not been understood by its adversaries. But surely no man who has a single drop of German blood in his veins should, least of all, be influenced by reason of the prejudice, through ignorance or misrepresentation, against everything that savors of German origin, no matter how commendable it may be, or however much it may be imbued with genuine American patriotism. For not only our aims and objects remain the same as heretofore, but our actual achievements in the past for the good of our country should not be forgotten.

And so we say, fight for our country, and through this for our homes, our firesides, our families and all that is dearest to us on earth, but also fight, but not with arms, against the unreasoning and invidious prejudice and narrowmindedness which has obsessed so many people in this country against us, simply because they do not understand either for what the National German American Alliance was founded, nor why it still exists or why it should continue to exist for the future, for the best interest and highest ideals of our country.

Remember, gentlemen, that President Wilson himself has frowned on the unreasoning onslaught on loyal citizens of whatever original nationality, and has, at Buffalo, characterized the vast majority of citizens of German origin as among the most loyal in the land.

[Note by the clerk.—The following supplemental brief was received from Mr. Theodore Sutro on March 25, 1918:]

Supplemental brief on behalf of the National German-American Alliance, filed by Theodore Sutro with the Committee on the Judiciary of the Senate of the United States as part of the hearing on S. 3529 on March 2, 1918, in accordance with the permission granted by the committee.

Whatever authority or precedents there may be for my contention, in view of all the circumstances, against the jurisdiction of Congress to repeal our charter, may be found to a large extent in Volume I, Thompson on Corporations, page 378, section 341, and the cases cited in the footnotes.

I quote from that section the following extracts:

"Where the power reserved is simply to amend a charter, the problem is not difficult because, under a right to amend, an entirely new and different charter could not be substituted, nor could the existing charter be taken away. But under a reserved right to amend, alter, or repeal the question is more difficult. However, in such case the corporation is entitled to some protection. On reason and authority the corporation is entitled to protection as against any amendment or repeal under such reserved right that would amount to a confiscation of property; that would deprive incorporators of the control of the corporate property; that would authorize a disturbance of vested rights; that would take from the corporation its funds or property without compensation or due process of law; that would annul or dissolve contracts already executed; that would amount to punishment for acts lawful when committed. These principles are also supported by the leading law writers."

See also Thompson, Volume I, section 342:

"Thus in a recent Federal case it was pointed out that the provisions in a constitution, providing that charters might be altered or repealed, should be construed in pari materia with the section of the same constitution which prohibited the legislature from passing any law impairing the obligations of contracts, and that upon familiar principles the two provisions must be read and construed together; and that when so read they meant that the legislature could make an alteration or repeal of any general law involving the charters

of corporations which did not impair the obligation of any contract. (Omaha Water Co. *v.* Omaha, 147 Fed. Rep. 1.) The same principle was adopted in a United States Supreme Court case where a constitutional provision reserving the right to alter, amend, or repeal any charter of a corporation was limited by a clause to the effect that no injustice should be done to the stockholders." (Vicksburg *v.* Vicksburg Water Works Co., 202 U. S. 453.)

So far as my examination goes, I do not find that the question how far the power of Congress extends to repeal a charter granted by it to corporation has ever been directly raised before the United States Supreme Court. (See sec. 134, Thompson.)

The cases that have any bearing at all, and reported in the Supreme Court Reports, relate to the power of the legislatures of the States to exercise the reserved power to repeal. For the purpose of the present argument these cases are most relevant. The reason for this is that in chartering corporations of the District of Columbia, such as the National German-American Alliance, Congress bears the same relation to the District of Columbia that the respective legislatures bear to the States. Therefore the following few citations from many decisions by the United States Supreme Court or by the highest courts of the States as to the extent of the power of the legislatures to repeal charters granted by them, under a reservation to repeal contained either in the charter itself or in the general law, are proper precedents for Congress to follow in the matter now before this committee.

In Berea College *v.* Kentucky (211 U. S., 57) it was held that "it is settled that a power reserved to the legislature to alter, amend, or repeal a charter authorizes it to make any alteration or amendment of a charter granted subject to it which will not defeat or substantially impair the object of the grant, or any rights vested under it, and which the legislature may deem necessary to secure either that object or any public right."

In Manheim Borough *v.* Manheim Water Co. (229 Penn., 177, 180) it was said that "where the legislature is given the constitutional power to alter, revoke, or annul a charter the charter is still accounted a quasi contract, and in exercising this power the legislature must act in such manner that no injustice shall be done to the corporators. Whether injustice has been done in any particular case is inherently and necessarily a judicial question." (Penn. R. R. *v.* Philadelphia County, 220 Penn., 100.)

The reserved power of repeal of charters is subject and subordinate to the provisions of the Federal Constitution, which forbid the State to deprive any person of life, liberty, or property without due process of law. (Water Power Cases, 148 Wis., 124.)

However, if the committee should overrule my plea to its jurisdiction, as argued in my original and in this brief, nevertheless I submit that it should not repeal the charter in question, which would be in effect a forfeiture, except after a hearing, at least akin to one by a judicial tribunal in a proceeding to decree a forfeiture.

On this point I quote from volume 10, Cyclopedia of Law and Procedure, "Corporations," also written by Seymour D. Thompson, page 1279C:

"It may be collected not only from what the courts have judged but from what the judges have said that the courts are disinclined to forfeit the charters of corporations, especially those created for purposes of public utility, which it is the policy of the State to encourage and foster. The reason for declaring such a forfeiture must be solid, weighty, and cogent; there must have been a violation of a positive prohibitory statute or a plain abuse of power, by which the corporation fails to fulfill the design and purpose of its creation; some act of misuser or nonuser touching matters which are of the essentials of the contract between the sovereign and the corporation, and the act or neglect must be willful and repeated; and the information must state with precision every fact which constitutes the abuse of the franchises on which the demand for a forfeiture is predicated." (Examine cases in footnotes 77 and 78; also those in Annotations to the Cyclopedia of L. & P., Part I. 1901–1913.)

In closing this mere outline of a brief I want to submit to the committee, under the general principle laid down in the cases, that the reserved right to repeal is limited by the higher principle that no injustice should be done.

Congress should not in the case before it act as if, in the language of ex-President Taft, it needed "a firing squad to take care of spies in America."

When the enemies of the National German-American Alliance raise a doubt

about the loyalty of its immense number of members and cry traitors, the Senate should not follow their example, but, to quote Arthur Brisbane, "only absolute proof, without doubt in the mind of any fair man, should precede action by the 'firing squad.' It is important also to convince millions of Americans of German birth or descent—a great majority loyal to this country—that the country will be loyal to them, and treat them as patriotic brothers—as long as they remain loyal to the country.

"A hasty 'firing squad,' firing on suspicion or on anything but the most convincing, overwhelming proof, would do a great deal more harm than good in the United States."

Senator KING. You are not under oath as Mr. Ohlinger and other witnesses were, Mr. Sutro. You have appeared here as an attorney and have submitted a legal argument, and then you proceeded into a speech, if I may use that term in that way—not offensively, but complimentarily—in behalf of the German-American Alliance.

Mr. SUTRO. With your leave.

Senator KING. Oh, surely; no objection. I say you have made a number of statements. In order that we may understand your attitude, because you have appeared both as a lawyer and as a witness, have you any objection to answering a few questions?

Mr. SUTRO. I have no objection, no; although I do not know that the Alliance is necessarily bound by what I say.

Senator KING. It is more to get your point of view, because you have stated a great deal about the purposes of the organization.

Senator WOLCOTT. Will you let me ask one question?

Senator KING. Yes.

Senator WOLCOTT. A while ago you said it was the purpose of the German-Americans in this country to merge themselves and become a part of the American people—become Americans—as distinguished from retaining their identity as Germans. Did I understand you to say that?

Mr. SUTRO. I do not know whether I stated it just in that way.

Senator WOLCOTT. Is that the substance of it? I understood that to be the substance.

Mr. SUTRO. I think that I said that I had inculcated in the members that they should first of all learn the language of the country, and that they should identify themselves with what you call the American people, either through marriage or association, or whatever it may be.

Senator WOLCOTT. Is it your belief that a German coming to this country ought to attempt to merge himself into an American citizen and to lose his identity as a German citizen?

Mr. SUTRO. Oh, absolutely; no question about that.

Senator WOLCOTT. Now, I want to read to you the remarks of Dr. Hexamer. He said:

We have before us a bitter struggle, and we can wage it successfully only if we are united—a united race of brothers. The period of misunderstanding and jealousies in our societies and organizations must cease. Every disturbing influence must be set aside, and every one of us must enter upon the battle for our ideals with his whole heart and soul. Whoever casts aside his Germanism from him like an old glove, is not worthy to be spit upon.

He goes on further than that:

Such a rascal is a deserter, but I would prefer to use in place of this French expression a good German word which the great Blücher used, "such a rascal is a contemptible hound." We have long suffered the preachment that "you Germans must allow yourselves to be assimilated, you must merge in the American people;" but no one will ever find us prepared to descend to an inferior culture.

No, we have made it our aim to elevate the others to our level. We have in this land experienced different historical epochs, epochs which I may compare with the days of the week.

I will not read the rest of that paragraph, but further he continued:

We will not allow our thousand-year culture to be trodden down in this land. Many are giving our German culture to this land of their children, but that is possible only if we stand together and conquer that dark spirit of muckerdom and prohibition, just as Siegfried slew the dragon. Let us stand up for our good right and hold together.

Do you approve of that doctrine?

Mr. SUTRO. Part of what he said there I approve. I think what he meant—without quoting the words, which I can not remember as you read them—when he speaks of the German-Americans who do not stand together with us he means, if I can interpret what, in my opinion, he did mean, yet I do not think it is good evidence—he meant the things that I have alluded to; that if the German-American citizen is opposed to commemorate the historical monuments or the deeds of revolutionary heroes, by men of German descent, or who deny that they are of German origin or even that they were born in Germany or deny their knowledge of the German language or are ashamed to use the German language, when they have an opportunity to speak it, then I agree, in that respect, with Hexamer. If Mr. Hexamer said, in the last part of what you read there, that the German-Americans should keep up their culture, that I agree with. But if he said we ought to frown or look down upon the American culture, I am absolutely opposed to any such proposition. In my opinion, according to my conviction, every country has a certain cultural superiority over other countries. I think Germany has that, America has that, France has that. I do not know whether Russia has or not.

Senator WOLCOTT. Let me call your attention to this sentence again. He says:

We have long suffered the preachment that "you Germans must allow yourselves to be assimilated, you must merge in the American people;" but no one will ever find us prepared to descend to an inferior culture.

Do you approve of that?

Mr. SUTRO. No; I said that I think there are superiorities that belong to every country. I spoke of the superior American culture.

Senator WOLCOTT. That was uttered by Dr. Hexamer at a mass meeting in Milwaukee.

Senator KING. And was published in the Official Bulletin.

Senator WOLCOTT. In 1915.

Mr. SUTRO. If I had been there, Senator, I would have spoken against that.

Senator WOLCOTT. What would you say to this, if I should inform you further that that speech containing that language was published by the organization, incorporated by the organization in its Official Bulletin?

Senator KING. And sent out.

Senator WOLCOTT. And sent out to its members?

Mr. SUTRO. I do not know. When we come to put in our proofs they may dispute that. I do not know.

Senator WOLCOTT. Let us assume that the fact is that the Official Bulletin, it being the organ of this corporation, did publish it. Let us assume that.

Mr. SUTRO. Yes.

Senator WOLCOTT. What have you got to say as to the conduct of the organization in publishing such a doctrine in America?

Mr. SUTRO. Well, I disapprove it.

Senator KING. Do you not think that the charter of the organization ought to be revoked immediately if it does that?

Mr. SUTRO. No; I do not think so. That is simply an assertion, you know, just probably in the heat of argument or by the editor of a paper, the same as what you read in the press now, generally, that I am sure not a member of this committee will approve. I do not think that the body of so large an alliance should be held responsible for it.

Senator STERLING. But it is the Official Bulletin in which this speech is published, and that has to be authoritative—it must be.

Mr. SUTRO. Well, the Times considers itself the official bulletin of the administration, while there are many things in the Times that we do not approve of.

Senator STERLING. Well, now, that is rather a far analogy, is it not? This Official Bulletin is put out by this organization, published by the organization.

Mr. SUTRO. Now and then there have been, I think—I think that the governing board of the Alliance frequently does not approve of things that appear in the Bulletin. I suppose that even things appear occasionally in the Congressional Record that the Senators do not approve of.

Senator WOLCOTT. If you can find where the Official Bulletin has plainly repudiated the doctrine stated there, I wish you would let the committee have the citations.

Mr. SUTRO. Well, if we can prove that we will produce it.

Senator WOLCOTT. If the authoritative organ of the German-American Alliance has repudiated any such doctrine as that I wish you would let us have it—let us have that information.

Mr. SUTRO. I think that in all large fraternities, in all large bodies, things are sometimes said by individual members, not on behalf of the large body, which the majority of the members do not approve of. I have had that experience again and again. And as you say, on this particular point, with respect to this particular citation, Dr. Hexamer was addressing a mass meeting. He happened at the time to be the president of the organization, but he was not addressing this meeting, as I gather it, as an official of the German-American Alliance; he was addressing a mass meeting.

Senator WOLCOTT. You might say these words were uttered in the heat and excitement of the moment, but the editors of this Bulletin, or the compilers of this Bulletin, are sitting down in their office and see these words, and in a cool moment they insert them in the Bulletin for circulation among the members of the National German-American Alliance.

Mr. SUTRO. I think that is very foolish.

Senator STERLING. Does it argue folly, or does it argue a belief among the members of that organization in that sort of doctrine?

Mr. SUTRO. I do not believe so.

Senator STERLING. Since he uttered these words as an official of the organization and since they were published in the Bulletin of the organization, would not the inference be that they reflected the aims and objects of the organization?

Mr. SUTRO. No; I do not think so, Senator; I do not think so at all. I think that the members of any organization indulge in foolish remarks frequently that are not a reflection of the real aims and convictions of the members.

Senator STERLING. As a lawyer, would you not regard it as a pretty good piece of circumstantial evidence?

Mr. SUTRO. Well, no; I do not think I would. I think if there had been a convention of the German-American Alliance, for example, and they had adopted resolutions to that effect, that, I think, would be something that would bind the Alliance as an admission, under the rules of evidence.

Senator STERLING. Yes; but convictions are had on circumstantial evidence sometimes, you know.

Mr. SUTRO. Well, this is not a murder trial.

Senator STERLING. If you will excuse me, I want to read a little from the testimony that was mentioned while Mr. Sutro was testifying, from what was said by Mr. Ohlinger in regard to the great body of the German people. I stated it was my recollection that Mr. Ohlinger said that he thought that the great body of the German people were loyal and patriotic. The chairman asked Mr. Ohlinger this question on page 105 of the typewritten record:

Senator KING. It is a fact, is it not, that the overwhelming mass of the German people of the United States are just as loyal and just as devoted to our institutions and our institutional life as anybody else?

To that Mr. Ohlinger replied:

Absolutely. There is no question about that; and, in fact, I stated that a long time ago, and it is for the very reason that the majority of them are so loyal that the existence of this organization is so undesirable.

I thought in view of your attack upon Mr. Ohlinger that it was no more than fair that this should go in the record in connection with your statement.

Mr. SUTRO. Well——

Senator KING. Mr. Sutro, do you think that this organization under its charter ought to become a political organization?

Mr. SUTRO. No; I am absolutely opposed to that.

Senator KING. Or to take part in politics as an organization?

Mr. SUTRO. Not as an organization—certainly not in party politics.

Senator KING. Or to urge solidarity of action upon the part of its members in political activity?

Mr. SUTRO. If it advocates what I would call impartial politics, in the line of its aims; for instance, its linguistic aims; for instance, that officials should be appointed that were not opposed to the study of another language besides English, I do not care whether it is French, German, or Italian, in the schools. I think that the Alliance would be justified in indorsing such candidates, not whom it puts up, from any party that agrees with that, which I consider a proper aim, as I explained.

Senator KING. Do you think that this organization ought to enter the political field and urge the German-Americans, and particularly members of the organization, to maintain an unbroken front in political activity on any line?

Mr. SUTRO. Only in the field that I have indicated in what I have already said in my answer to you.

Senator KING. Do you think that this organization ought to take part in trying to preserve the breweries and the saloons in our country?

Mr. SUTRO. Well, I——

Senator KING (continuing). As an organization, either as a State organization or as the national organization?

Mr. SUTRO. That is, now, a question that is before the people, and there are various views on that subject.

Senator KING. I am speaking of it as an organization, not as individuals. Do you think that your organization ought to enter this domain of politics—because it is a political question, or a moral question in a way, according to the views of some—and try to maintain the solidarity of the members of that organization?

Mr. SUTRO. I think, from the point of view which I have advocated for many years, that the best way of preventing intoxication would be the encouraging of the mildest fermented drinks.

Senator KING. There is a great deal in favor of that view. But the point I am trying to get at is, Do you think that this organization as such should enter the political arena as an organization to try and control the elections in the various States or counties or cities, on the prohibition question or on any other question?

Mr. SUTRO. Unfortunately, this has become a political question. It ought not to be a political question, because it is really an economic question and a moral question; and I do think that, for instance, as I have read in the Times the other day, when Edward G. Cullen, who was chief judge, one of the ablest judges, of the State of New York Court of Appeals, whom I know very well——

Senator KING. I know him.

Mr. SUTRO. Has written a strong argument against the amendment to the Constitution; and Mr. Hughes, who was the presidential candidate at the last election, has deputed one of the well known lawyers to go to Albany to oppose the approval of that amendment, and acting in line with those men and the opinions of a very large number of citizens, or I might say a very large minority—an enormous minority—if the Alliance in such cases does what you have stated, it is justified.

Senator KING. I just want to get your view. I am not quarreling with it or stating whether it is right or wrong, but I just want to get your view.

Mr. SUTRO. Certainly.

Senator KING. Then, under your view, the Alliance would have a right under its charter to enter into political activity, to take sides and urge the German-American Alliance members to vote against prohibition in any city, county, or State election?

Mr. SUTRO. Well, I think——

Senator KING. Answer that yes or no, if you can, please—if you care to.

Mr. SUTRO. I would like to have the question repeated.

(The stenographer read the question.)

Mr. SUTRO. Do you want me to give a categorical answer?

Senator KING. No; not unless you care to do so.

Mr. SUTRO. If I may explain my answer I would like to do so; yes.

Senator KING. You may do so.

Mr. SUTRO. It is not outside of the charter of the German-American Alliance to advocate what it believes honestly, namely, in moderation, because I think the word "temperance" is a mistaken word. I think that ought to be superseded by the word "moderation".

Senator KING. I see.

Mr. SUTRO. Now, if I may call your attention to the fact, there was a society in New York City for many years under the presidency of Rev. Dr. Alpheus Crosby—you remember him?

Senator KING. Yes.

Mr. SUTRO. Which was called "The Moderation Society," and I think the principles which Dr. Crosby advocated and the principles which were written in the constitution of that society are beneficial to the country.

We are absolutely opposed to the excessive drinking of alcoholic beverages—absolutely; and I can say that it is practically unknown among the members of the German-American Alliance.

Senator KING. I am expressing no opinion as to the relative merits or demerits of prohibition or the moderate use of intoxicants or excessive use. I am just trying to get your point of view as to whether or not, under your charter, you would justify any activity upon the part of this organization in getting into the elections where the question of the sale of intoxicating liquors was involved; and, as I understood you to say, under the charter of the Alliance that would be a legitimate function of this organization.

Mr. SUTRO. I think so; yes.

Senator WOLCOTT. What would you think of the propriety of Congress incorporating a body with this sole power, namely, to oppose all movements in behalf of prohibition in the United States? Do you think Congress would grant a charter to an association or society whose purpose was to do that?

Mr. SUTRO. Well, I——

Senator WOLCOTT. Or to do the opposite, to favor prohibition?

Mr. SUTRO. No; I think that is an improper thing for Congress to do; but that is an impossibility, because Congress could not do that, anyway.

Senator WOLCOTT. Congress has granted this charter to this organization, and it is doing it, is it not?

Mr. SUTRO. Well, but that is only an incidental activity of the Alliance, to further objects that are within the charter, as I explained.

Senator WOLCOTT. Which powers or objects in the charter do you think that particular activity is designed to promote?

Mr. SUTRO. I will have to look at the charter [examining charter].

Senator WOLCOTT. There is authority there to protect civil and political rights, or something like that.

Mr. SUTRO. I think this is it:

> The conservation of the principles of representative government and the protection and maintenance of all civil and political rights.

Senator WOLCOTT. You think that clause is ample authority to indulge in this antiprohibition propaganda?

Mr. SUTRO (after further examination of charter). I think it could do it under that.

Senator WOLCOTT. I just wanted to get your view on that.

Mr. SUTRO. Of course, I do not think, in incorporating a society like this, that any legislative body could make a list of what the society should do and should not do.

Senator WOLCOTT. Of course not.

Mr. SUTRO. Like a bill of fare in a restaurant.

Senator WOLCOTT. No.

Mr. SUTRO. There are many implied aims that spring from the enumerated rights that are granted to a society like that.

Senator WOLCOTT. I hope you do not think any member of the committee thinks that a bill could be drawn in that way.

Senator KING. Of course, as a lawyer you are acquainted with section 83 of the Criminal Code, which prohibits contributions by corporations for political purposes. Do you think that right in the face of an act of Congress which prohibits contributions of that character this organization would be justified in carrying on an anti-prohibition propaganda and making contributions thereto, and joining with the brewers and with an organization which was projected by the brewers for that purpose?

Mr. SUTRO. So far as the question of contributions is concerned, to which I think that part of the section of the Criminal Code of the United States that you allude to particularly refers, I am absolutely sure that the Alliance, if it has done that as an alliance, would be guilty of an infraction of that section; but I do not think that the Alliance has done that, so far as I am informed. But if the State alliances have done that, or branches of the National Alliance have done that, any of them, I think that that is an offense on their part, because I think that the Alliance, even in the Bulletin which you refer to, has advised State alliances that it would not be responsible for anything of that kind in the way of contributions.

Senator KING. Do you not think that the National Alliance ought to punish, and excise from their standing in the national alliance, State alliances that violate this section, to show that they do not approve of it?

Mr. SUTRO. I think we can not do that exactly under our by-laws or constitution. If I can find it, there is somewhere there a section to the effect that the local alliances, which are generally incorporated bodies like, for instance, the German-American Alliance of the State of New York, which is a New York corporation, cannot be controlled by us in that respect. We can only advise them; and that, I think, they have done. I do not think we can control them or punish them.

Senator KING. You could refuse them membership, could you not, in your parent organization and cast them out?

Mr. SUTRO. We could not cancel their charter, though.

Senator KING. But you could sever any connection that they had with the national organization?

Mr. SUTRO. If such a case came up, I think they would do it, very likely; but such a case never came up that I know of.

Senator KING. Would you justify the placing in the treasury of the National Alliance, and the disbursement by the National Alliance, of funds from breweries for the purpose of fighting prohibition? Would that be one of the purposes within the objects of your organization?

Mr. SUTRO. Of course, from the point of view which the United States Supreme Court has taken in a case which I can not now refer to, but which I cited when I made an argument against prohibition before this august committee some years ago, the brewing interest has been characterized as a legitimate industry by the Supreme Court of the United States. I think you will probably remember that, Senator.

Senator KING. Yes; I do. There is no doubt about it.

Mr. SUTRO. I think you will remember that case.

Senator KING. I remember the case.

Mr. SUTRO. And if it is a legitimate industry, and the imbibing of these mild fermented liquors is a moral aim and a correct aim, which is my opinion, while I say at the same time I respect the opinions of other, then I do not think a subsidy by the brewers to help along those objects of the Alliance would be improper. It certainly would not be a reason for the repeal of a charter if the Senate even had power to do that, which I have stated in my legal argument I do not think it has.

Senator KING. I understand your position in that regard. Do you approve of the Alliance, either directly or through any of its local organizations, sending questionnaires to men who are to be candidates for election as to whether or not they have favored the introduction and use of the German language in the lower grades of the public schools, and do you think that is within the purposes of this organization?

Mr. SUTRO. I think that is proper, Senator.

Senator KING. I just want to get your view, not in any critical spirit at all—and to oppose those who might answer in the negative, and to use the organization for that purpose?

Mr. SUTRO. If it does that, or has done it, I think it is working within its objects as I explained it. I think that is a good thing, for children to learn two languages. But I want to say that I can not say—and I can not admit, because I do not remember it—that anything of that kind was ever done by the National Alliance. Now, if the State alliances did it, I do not think that the National Alliance would be responsible for it, because they are separate corporations in nearly all the States.

Senator KING. The local or State alliances are affiliated with the parent organization and stand responsible to it?

Mr. SUTRO. But not in the means they may adopt to further the objects of the Alliance.

Senator KING. Would you think that it was within the purposes of your organization to take part in national conventions and to try to use the organization to secure delegates to national conventions who would be favorable to what is denominated "Germanism"?

Mr. SUTRO. Germanism?

Senator KING. Yes.

Mr. SUTRO. That word "Germanism"—before I answer that question I must explain what, in the view of the Alliance, Germanism means, and then I will answer the question. I have used that word "Germanism" myself in speeches. But that does not mean the Germanism of Germany.

Senator KING. I understand.

Mr. SUTRO. That, in my interpretation, the way I use it, is practically, I will say, equivalent to a word which includes many cultural aims; and Germanism has many attributes which I think are an advantage to this country. For instance, the linguistic I have already explained. Also, for example, the method of gymnastics, which are included in Germanism, which I think is the best kind of gymnastics in the world. And now the great German gymnastic societies, the turnvereins, of which you know, I think are pursuing Germanism in that respect; and I could think of a great many other kinds.

Senator KING. Let me ask you this question.

Mr. SUTRO. I gladly answer your questions.

Senator KING. I will narrow it. Do you think it is within the purposes of your organization to try to influence national conventions and to try to select men for delegates to the national conventions?

Mr. SUTRO. I think that if it furthers party politics it is outside of its functions. I would be opposed to it. But I do not think that it has ever done that, Mr. Chairman.

Senator KING. You are acquainted with what is denominated "the Wisconsin idea," promulgated by Leo Stern, president of the Wisconsin Alliance and a former vice president of the National Alliance, are you not?

Mr. SUTRO. I do not recall that. What was that?

Senator KING. The attempt to send delegates, using the National Alliance throughout the Nation, to the Republican National Convention.

Mr. SUTRO. If it did that, I think that would be a matter I would have opposed if I had been there; but I do not think that the Alliance is bound by that, at all. I have already explained that the German-American National Alliance has broad objects and aims, and can not be bound by what the State alliances, which are separate bodies, frequently do or may do—I will not say "frequently do"—that they may occasionally do.

Senator KING. Reading from volume 7, No. 9, page 4, of the Official Bulletin, I will ask you if you approve of this:

> The National Alliance leads the battle against Anglo-Saxonism, against the fanatical slaves of political and personal liberty. It battles against narrow hearted, dark know-nothingism * * *.

Do you think that is one of the objects of your organization?

Mr. SUTRO. No; I do not think it is. I do not think that the Bulletin was justified to publish anything of that kind. I explained that in my general remarks, that we can not be held responsible for everything they say in the Mitterilungen or so-called Bulletin.

Senator KING. Reading again from the Bulletin of 1917, for the month of February, on page 7, I will ask do you approve of this, and do you say that this is within the spirit and letter of your charter:

> Also in the field of political activity we must learn to obtain for ourselves elbow room.

Do you believe that it is good Americanism and it is within the purposes of your organization to maintain the Germans in a solid bloc and to teach that the Germans here must have elbow room?

Mr. SUTRO. Only for the purpose of carrying out the objects which are stated in its charter. I think it is entirely justified in making what you would call a bloc for that purpose.

Senator KING. This article is headed "The Bulwark of Germanism." Do you think there should be a bulwark of Germanism in this country?

Mr. SUTRO. Only in the sense that I have explained what Germanism means.

Senator KING. Do you think it is the object of your organization and within the purposes of the charter to maintain a bulwark of Germanism?

Mr. SUTRO. Well, not Germanism, if that means the political constitution or the political system of Germany; then of course that would be a different thing. But the word "Germanism" has been used frequently, even by American speakers, as referring only to the cultural and educational aims which I have explained. For that purpose I think that any body can—I think any number of people can—associate themselves, the same as it is with the associations of which so many exist in this country, which I applaud and which I approve of, for instance like the Daughters of the American Revolution, and the Sons of the American Revolution, and the Society of the Pilgrim Descendants, or whatever they are called. I think thay all work en bloc for worthy objects, and I think that any number of citizens may associate themselves for those purposes.

Senator KING. Do you approve of these terms found in the same article:

> Only in vigorous unity does the welfare of American Germanism rest. Every division of our powers is a betrayal to the cause of German kultur.

Do you approve of that, and is that one of the objects of your organization?

Mr. SUTRO. German kultur is not understood in this country. German kultur simply means what I have already stated in my general address. German kultur is expressed in the literature of Germany of the great thinkers and poets, the same as culture is contained in the English great writers, Shakespeare, and the poets and essayists.

Senator KING. Has it not been given a new and broader meaning by the Pan-Germanic League, and did they not use that term "kulturpolitik" in their efforts to Germanize Austria and to sow the seeds of discontent in Austria, for years?

Mr. SUTRO. I think pan-Germanism is an absurdity, and we have always frowned upon pan-Germanism. There are even societies, branches, here in this country of pan-Germanism. I think that any nation or any country that wants to foist its culture upon other nations is guilty of an absurdity. I do not think that applies any more to Germany than it applies to England or any other country. I explained already that every nation has a culture, if you want to call it that—because after all, in spite of what has been said against it, it is culture. That is exactly what it means. If the pan-Germanists want, which I believe they do want, to spread their German kultur all over the world, I believe that is an absurdity, if it is political or in any way connected with political aims.

Senator STERLING. That is the aim, is it not, of the Prussian autocracy and pan-Germanism, to spread the German kultur throughout the world?

Mr. SUTRO. Now, I can not give a positive opinion on that subject. The people I knew and talked with and came in contact with in Germany when I was there before the war, to which I have alluded—I found that the great officials there rather frowned upon the pan-

German societies, and I do not think the Emperor is in sympathy with those societies. That is my opinion from the conversations and from the conferences I have had with those men.

Senator KING. What does it mean here in this quotation, which I will read again:

> Only in vigorous unity does the welfare of American Germanism rest. Every division of our powers is a betrayal to the cause of German kultur.

What do you understand your organization in its Official Bulletin meant by that?

Mr. SUTRO. They certainly did not allude to the pan-German aims or objects, but they alluded, if anything, to the matters that I have already referred to, the German language, the German literature, gymnastics, and matters of that kind, that we are advocating within our charter.

Senator KING. Then you understand that to promote the cause of German kultur is one of the objects of your organization?

Mr. SUTRO. In the sense in which I have explained it only.

Senator STERLING. Is it not a fact that there are two schools in Germany, the pan-German school—those who believe in pan-Germanism—and those who are somewhat opposed to it? Is it not the fact?

Mr. SUTRO. Yes; I think that is the case.

Senator STERLING. Is it not true, too, that the pan-German element is the ruling element in Germany now—the Prussian autocracy?

Mr. SUTRO. I am not thoroughly familiar with the present conditions over there, but when I spoke before I alluded to the time when I was over there just before the war. At that time, from the utterances of the high officials over there, they were not in sympathy with the aims of the pan-Germans.

Senator STERLING. Do not the papers now, almost from day to day, recognize those two schools and point out the fact that the ruling element in Germany is the pan-German?

Mr. SUTRO. The trouble about that is, as I said about the press—I was identified with the press myself, so that I know I am speaking out of school—you can not rely entirely upon what the opinions of American newspapers are at the present time.

Senator KING. Do you approve of this statement, and do you think it is within the purposes of your charter? If you can abbreviate your answers I will abbreviate my questions, and we will get along faster.

Mr. SUTRO. I can give you categorical answers.

Senator KING. I do not ask you to do that. I read this quotation from an article in the Bulletin:

> For the first time the gigantic strides which the National German-American Alliance made in the few years of its existence and the fact that it has united with itself no fewer than 2,000,000 votes have given to Germanism in actuality a political significance, in spite of the fact that the Alliance as such has no politics.

Do you approve of that, of its having political significance?

Mr. SUTRO. What is that in?

Senator KING. That is from the Bulletin, your official organ.

Mr. SUTRO. Well, I will answer it just the same as the other assertions in the Bulletin. We are not bound by that.

Senator KING. Do you approve of that statement?

Mr. SUTRO. No; I do not.

Senator KING. Can you find in the Bulletin a single expression in favor of Americanism?

Mr. SUTRO. Yes; I have seen a good deal.

Senator KING. And urging Germans to Americanize and to be assimilated and not to maintain the solidarity of German people or to maintain themselves in a mass, en bloc?

Mr. SUTRO. In answer to that, Mr. Chairman, I want to say this, that I think Germans assimilate probably more rapidly with the country of which they are citizens than any other nationality, and to the extent that they really do, in my opinion, we can not hold them to the linguistic and other aims that we promulgate.

Senator KING. I was asking whether you approved of any such statements as that.

Mr. SUTRO. I do not remember that. If they were there in the Bulletin in opposing Americanism I think that we were not bound by them.

Senator KING. Do you approve of this, found in a pamphlet issued by the Alliance—it is stated that it was issued by it—in December, 1911, entitled "The Chronological History of the National German-American Alliance of the United States, by Albert Godsho, the secretary of the National German-American Alliance"; do you approve of this statement contained therein:

The National German-American Alliance aims to awaken and strengthen the sense of unity among the German people in America, to check nativistic encroachments.

Do you approve of that?

Mr. SUTRO. That word "nativistic" is, in my opinion, a mistaken term, because there are a great many members of the Alliance that were born in this country. I think I will not say the majority, but I will say pretty nearly the majority, or certainly hundreds of thousands, were born in this country; and what they mean by that term "nativistic" is the onslaught upon everything that is German that certainly has been the case more or less, even before the war with Germany. There has been a kind of opposition to the German citizens in this country on many occasions. There is some prejudice, I think.

Senator KING. Upon what do you base that statement? My observation has been that the German-American citizens have come out conspicuously as leaders in our various communities and have been honored with the trust of their fellow citizens. Why do you think that prior to this European war there was an onslaught upon Germans?

Mr. SUTRO. If I could get the papers, I could——

Senator KING. Let me supplement that. I know in my State that it is absolutely untrue. We nominated and elected my personal friend, a German, as governor of my State. Those born in Germany and those of German descent in my State have been honored and are among our best and most reputable citizens, and there never has been the slightest distinction at all. They have been honored, as anybody else, as they deserve to be, because of their loyalty, patriotism, and their splendid Americanism. I think it is unfair for you to make that statement.

Senator STERLING. Let me add that I do not know when there has been a State election in the State of South Dakota in which the Germans have not been represented on the State ticket.

Mr. SUTRO. Out west I think that is the case; but I think that in New England and the Eastern States there has been, for what reason I do not know, more or less——

Senator KING. Nativistic encroachment?

Mr. SUTRO. No; I will say an antagonism against the German population. For instance, if you will think, certainly it was years ago and I think it is even so now in certain parts of the country, if you remember, that the Germans have always been honored with the epithet "Dutchman," you know, and many times with a hyphen before it, too, a word which I need not express—with a "d" and an "n." They have been made fun of by thousands.

Senator WOLCOTT. Yes; and also the Irish have been made fun of and so have the Yankees.

Mr. SUTRO. No——

Mr. SCHOLTZ. May I just be permitted to say, Mr. Chairman, a word that may tend to simplify the entire question as to this term "nativistic"? The translation probably should be, as the German word "nativistiche" means, by the English word, literally "know-nothingism". That is, "nativistic" does not mean "to the manner born", but it means simply that spirit of "know-nothingism" as against anything in power.

Senator KING. Yes; that is all right. We just want to get at the truth.

Mr. SUTRO. That is what I say; and I think the way it is being interpreted here, as being opposed to people born in this country, is giving it a meaning which is incorrect. That is not the meaning at all.

Senator KING. What I had directed your attention to was more particularly this:

The National German-American Alliance aims to awaken and strengthen the sense of unity among the German people in America * * *.

Do you approve of that, and is that one of the objects of your organization?

Mr. SUTRO. Not in a political sense; I think only in the sense that I have explained, that bodies of citizens have a right to associate themselves to work together, as far as possible unanimously, for certain worthy objects.

Senator KING. Do you approve of this statement made in this chronological book put out by your organization, stating among other things the objects of the organization, as follows:

The compulsory study of German.

Mr. SUTRO. May I ask from what——

Senator KING. This is a chronological record put out by your organization, by the secretary, stating among other things the objects of it. Do you approve of that?

Mr. SUTRO. Well——

Senator KING. And is that one of the objects, as you understand it, under the charter?

Mr. SUTRO. I do not think you can compel a person to learn a language who does not want to do it. I think that is an improper attitude.

Senator KING. Do you approve of this, in the next paragraph in the same statement:

Furthermore, the National German-American Alliance aims to bring about this unity of feeling among the population of German origin in America, and if it only approximates its aim, the centralization of the German-American element, it will, nevertheless, have accomplished as great a work as was performed in 1871 by Bismarck.

Do you approve of that?

Mr. SUTRO. Well, no. I think that comparison is incorrect.

Senator KING. Do you approve of the following, in the same article?

The National German-American Alliance has succeeded in consolidating the German element in the United States * * *. For years, quietly but steadfastly, German-American ideals have thus been brought to the foreground by the unification of the German-American efforts in American public life * * *.

Mr. SUTRO. I think if they have consolidated themselves for German ideals, in the sense I have stated, it was the proper thing to do.

Senator KING. You think that an effort to consolidate the Germans, the teaching of German kultur, could not possibly be misunderstood by anybody else? Would it not look to you, to get my meaning——

Mr. SUTRO. Yes; I know what you mean, Senator. I can answer that.

Senator KING. Supposing that some Italians should go out here and say, "Let us organize the Italians and keep them together en bloc and teach Italian culture and compel the teaching of the Italian language in the first-grade schools, and maintain the organization so that it can be used in political matters and in social and economic matters"; do you not think that it would lead to misunderstandings as to the objects of the organization?

Mr. SUTRO. Yes; I think that is very likely. I think that is one of the reasons that there has been this antagonistic feeling against the German-American Alliance—because its aims and objects have not been understood. I think most of the people in this country do not understand why such an organization should exist. And still, we know that there are similar organizations of other nationalities. There is an Italian-American Association—a very large one—a Bohemian-American Association, and others, and they are not attacked. I do not know why this should be.

Senator KING. Do you approve of this and do you think this is one of the objects of the organization:

As German-Americans, we are people who can look back upon a glorious past and who can look forward confidently to no less glorious future; as Americans, on the other hand, we are nothing but an unknown quantity in a great racial scramble of this land. Let us, therefore, with united strength and with all means that are at hand battle for the preservation of our racial individuality and its cultural achievements.

Do you approve of that?

Mr. SUTRO. The cultural aims, yes, I approve of, but not the racial aims. I do not believe in racial aims at all, of any country.

Senator WOLCOTT. It is too bad that you have not been an editor of this Bulletin, censoring the stuff that went into it.

Mr. SUTRO. I think that I would have left most of that out. But we are not bound by what the Bulletin says. We are bound only,

gentlemen, as you know very well as lawyers, by the formal action of the corporation by resolution at a convention or at a meeting of the Alliance. We can not be bound by what an editor in what is called an official organ of the society says, or what a president of the society says in his individual capacity, or by what I am saying to-day to you. This is not a formal action of a corporation; it is merely an opinion of individuals, that is all.

Senator KING. Mr. Sutro, Dr. Hexamer was the president of the unincorporated organization, was he not?

Mr. SUTRO. Yes; he was.

Senator KING. In 1902?

Mr. SUTRO. Yes.

Senator KING. And when the incorporated organization was created, in 1907, he was elected president?

Mr. SUTRO. Yes.

Senator KING. And Mr. Adolph Timm was elected secretary of the incorporated organization?

Mr. SUTRO. Yes. Dr. Hexamer has been the president up until recently.

Senator KING. He has been really the active organizer and propagandist of the organization?

Mr. SUTRO. Well, he was the executive officer.

Senator KING. And he has made speeches frequently which have been reported in the Bulletin?

Mr. SUTRO. I suppose they were. Whether they were correctly reported, I do not know.

Senator KING. The Bulletin was put out as the official organ of the organization?

Mr. SUTRO. To a certain extent, yes. But a great many men wrote for that Bulletin things which in my opinion were not in any way the views, the formal and official views, of the Alliance.

Senator KING. It contained a record of the meetings of your State organizations and a record of the meetings of the national organization?

Mr. SUTRO. Yes; I think it did, frequently.

Senator KING. Do you approve of this statement by Dr. Hexamer, which is one that has been read to you:

> We will not allow our thousand-year culture to be trodden down in this land. Many are giving our German culture to this land of their children, but that is possible only if we stand together and conquer that dark spirit of muckerdom and prohibition, just as Siegfried slew the dragon. Let us stand up for our good right and hold together.

Do you approve of that, and do you think that is within the purposes of this organization?

Mr. SUTRO. From what publication is that?

Senator KING. That is from Dr. Hexamer, and it was published on page 3 of the Official Bulletin of the Alliance for December, 1915.

Mr. SUTRO. Those are epithets that I do not believe in. I do not know what "muckerdom" is, anyway. I think that the presidents of societies often say foolish things that they ought not to say.

Senator KING. Do you approve of the statement that your attention was called to, in which he reprobates the idea of being assimilated by Americans?

Mr. SUTRO. Opposed to assimilation?

Senator KING. Yes.

Mr. SUTRO. Who said that?

Senator KING. Dr. Hexamer.

Mr. SUTRO. If he said that, I think that is another thing he should not have said. I believe in assimilation, absolutely. I told you about my wife, who was of the well-known Clinton family, and I think everybody ought to follow my example.

Senator KING. I will read now from the fifth volume of the Official Bulletin, No. 11, on page 19, and I will ask you if you approve of this and if this is within the purposes of your organization:

For that reason alone we should take part in the elections, and secure the election of those only who are definitely pledged to favor the teaching of German.

Do you approve of that and is that within the purposes of your organization? -

Mr. SUTRO. Well, I think that is a harmless statement. I think it is within our aims not to forget German, and I think it is a good thing to have German taught in the schools with other foreign languages.

Senator KING. Do you approve of this and is this within the purposes of your organization? I read from what your president sent to the members of the Alliance through the January number of the Official Bulletin, 1915, as follows:

Never before has the call for unity been presented to us with such insistent power as in the last few months of the last year.

Do you believe that that is one of the objects of your organization, to secure unity?

Mr. SUTRO. What date is that?

Senator KING. That is in the number for January, 1915, of the Official Bulletin.

Mr. SUTRO. I do not know what he meant by that.

Senator KING. Do you believe that this is one of the objects of your organization?

It has produced great things, and even more glorious fruits will spring from the example which the German people in arms in its unity and in the solidarity of its interests has shown to the Germanism of the entire world.

Is that a part of the object of your organization?

Mr. SUTRO. I think what he means by that is that we ought to be united in our aims here, as I have explained that, the same as the German people are abroad; but that does not follow that we should follow the aims of the German people abroad. He only referred, as I should think, to union in working for the aims that I have explained.

Senator KING. Do you approve of this:

The German people has advanced itself from that and proves daily by its sacrifices of blood and money that German unity is no longer a hollow mockery, but has become an accomplished fact, and has driven the strata of the population of our old home to the union of all other powers for the defense of the honor of the German name and of the national existence of our fatherland.

Mr. SUTRO. Well, I do not know what he means by the word "strata". Does he mean the German-Americans by that? What does he mean? I would like to ask you, too, what you think of it.

Senator KING. I think he means this: I think it is very clear that he is eulogizing the war machine of Germany as an example to the Germans here, and that there should be solidarity of the Germans here as there is solidarity of the Germans in Germany, and that their example of military power and military unity should be the example which the German people should follow in this country.

If that was the meaning, do you approve of that?

Mr. SUTRO. Well, it does not mean that there should be solidarity in taking up arms in this country. He means the same as you would make that comparison with anything that is unanimous; that we should stand together for the aims that we have laid down in our constitution and by-laws.

Senator KING. All right.

Now, do you approve of this, and was this within the objects of your Alliance:

This brilliant example of the home land should be a mighty incentive to us German-Americans to cast aside all separate interests and to show ourselves worthy of our fatherland by showing to our fellow citizens of other races that for us also unity is not a hollow mockery.

Do you believe in that? Do you approve of that?

Mr. SUTRO. So far as unanimity is concerned, I think it is correct. I think that even the unanimity of Germany has often been held up as an example of what our country here ought to be; that we ought to be unanimous in our position in this war.

Senator KING. Do you not think it would have been better for him——

Mr. SUTRO. It is only a comparison. I do not agree exactly with the way he stated it; but we can not always say things as we ought to do.

Senator KING. Speaking for the organization, do you not think it would have been better if he had stated that in this way: "We German-Americans should cease to be German-Americans and be Americans and worthy of our adopted land instead of our fatherland"?

Mr. SUTRO. I would like to elect you president of the German-American Alliance, so that you could put that as from the Alliance. I would approve it, absolutely, as a substitute for Mr. Hexamer's version.

Senator KING. Do you approve of this?

The National German-American Alliance has also in this critical time in which Germany and Austria-Hungary are warring against a world of enemies, given proof that its founders sought the proper aims * * *.

Do you think these are critical times for German-Americans in this country because Germany is waging a world war against the nations in Europe?

Mr. SUTRO. That is also a matter of comparison.

Senator KING. Yes.

Mr. SUTRO. It is not artistically expressed; that is all. I think what he means is practically in the same class as I have explained.

Senator KING. Do you approve of this——

and that they performed a tremendous service to the Germanism of this entire land when they sent forth the slogan of unity through all German-America.

Do you approve of receiving your slogan from Germany?

Mr. SUTRO. Well, I think within the narrow limits that we have confined our activities to realize our aims. We have from Germany the German language and German gymnastics and German literature, and so forth. That is stated in our platform.

Senator KING. Do you approve of this, stated in the same article:

In conclusion let me bring to your hearts a warning which should serve as a guide line for the conduct of every German-American. It is this: Read your German newspapers.

Do you approve of maintaining German newspapers here in the United States?

Mr. SUTRO. Yes; I think it is a very good thing, because of the immigrants who come here and who were, of course, much more numerous formerly than they have been during the last five or ten years.

Senator KING. Yes.

Mr. SUTRO. They learn from the German newspapers what the duties of an American citizen will be; and I think that most of the German newspapers of this country are absolutely patriotic and loyal in every respect.

Senator KING. Do you approve of this:

Only in the mutual support and the mutual advancement of the interests of the German press and of the different branches of the National German-American Alliance can there be the assurance of the great and permanent results which the German task prescribes, namely: To provide in our new home a secure support for German kultur and German life for the greater glory of our race * * *.

Do you approve of that?

Mr. SUTRO. I think, within the word "kultur" as I explained it and within the social life of Germany there are many good features, which it would be an advantage in this country to adopt.

Senator KING. Do you think that is the principal thing; that is—

the great and permanent results which the German task prescribes, namely: To provide in our new home a secure support for German kultur and German life for the greater glory of our race, for the accomplishment of friendly relations between our home and our new fatherland, and the preservation of their achievements in science and art.

Do you think that is the principal thing, the permanent task, to which the Germans who come here should be dedicated?

Mr. SUTRO. No, not the principal task; but as a task—as also a task—I think it is proper.

Senator KING. Then you approve this statement of Dr. Hexamer, this last one I have just read?

Mr. SUTRO. I do not think I would have worded it just that way.

Senator KING. But the spirit you approve?

Mr. SUTRO. Yes; so far as—I would have said, if I had made a statement like that, what is best and moral and desirable in German life or German kultur, would be a good thing to cultivate here in this country for the benefit of the country. That is what I would have said, and I think that is probably what he meant. I do not think everything German is perfect by a long sight. There are a great many things in Germany that we ought not to imitate.

Senator KING. Do you approve of this, which is found in the Official Bulletin, in volume 7, No. 9, page 15:

In German-American circles in Pennsylvania, not only are German ideals and customs being faithfully maintained, which have contributed so much to the ethical development of a nation, but, through united cooperation under the ægis of the German-American Alliance, our German-American citizens have become a political factor with which the ruling political powers must deal.

Do you approve of that and is that within the purposes of your organization?

Mr. SUTRO. That is a statement by the president, which I do not think is founded absolutely on fact. I think that the Pennsylvania Germans are as good Americans as the other members of the German-American Alliance.

Senator KING. Is that within the purview of your organization?

Mr. SUTRO. Not the way that is stated; no. If he makes a comparison, then as a matter of comparison I think it is correct.

Senator KING. You belong to the New York branch, do you?

Mr. SUTRO. Yes.

Senator KING. Of which Mr. Weismann was president?

Mr. SUTRO. Yes; he was my successor. No; he was not; there was another man who succeeded me, and then came Weismann. I was president of the alliance for five years, up to—I do not know, now, just the time; I think up to about five or six years.

Senator KING. Did that alliance urge that steps be taken to prevent the nomination of Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Wilson?

Mr. SUTRO. No; I do not think they did.

Senator KING. Did not Mr. Weismann write letters to that effect, and did not your organization adopt a resolution, "Everything against Roosevelt and Wilson"?

Mr. SUTRO. I do not think I was present, if they did adopt that. If they did, I differ in many respects from Weismann.

Senator KING. You take the Official Bulletin, do you not—subscribe for it?

Mr. SUTRO. Yes; I have taken that.

Senator KING. And it was sent to you as president of the State organization?

Mr. SUTRO. No; I paid for it.

Senator KING. All right. Now, in the April (1916) number of the Official Bulletin, on page 18, was there not a reference to that?

Mr. SUTRO. About this Weismann business?

Senator KING. "Everything against Roosevelt and Wilson"?

Mr. SUTRO. There are many people who are opposed to Roosevelt and Root.

Senator KING. Did not your organization stand—now, I have no objection to anybody being opposed to Mr. Wilson or to Mr. Roosevelt or to anybody. That is not my point.

Mr. SUTRO. Certainly not.

Senator KING. I am trying to ascertain whether or not your organization in New York entered into political activities.

Mr. SUTRO. Yes; I know what you are driving at.

Senator KING. And if they did, if you would consider that within the charter.

Mr. SUTRO. Yes.

Senator KING. I am not criticizing. I am just trying to ascertain what your views are as to those activities.

Mr. SUTRO. Yes; I understand.

Senator KING. Did you know that a meeting was held in Chicago, to which various alliances sent representatives, to deal with this political question?

Mr. SUTRO. I heard of it, but I really can not say anything about it. I took no interest in it at all.

Senator KING. If your organization, national or State, or a number of State organizations, took part, in the way I have indicated, at a convention and resolved in that convention, and resolved in their State organizations, that they would urge the members of the German-American Alliance to work against the nomination of Mr. Wilson or against Mr. Roosevelt, do you think that that would be within the purposes of your organization?

Mr. SUTRO. If the Alliance did that as a formal act, I think it would be outside our aims and objects.

Senator KING. Yes.

Mr. SUTRO. But I think that could only be done by a convention of the Alliance. We have conventions—biennial conventions—every two years, and there have been no conventions now for I do not remember how long; perhaps for two years or four years.

Senator KING. Let me read from your Official Bulletin, under the heading "Illinois: Session of the State Executive Committee in Chicago." The next heading is: "The committee occupied itself with political questions, and sent out the password, 'Everybody against Roosevelt and Wilson.'" That was sent out by your organization.

Mr. SUTRO. Was that the Illinois Alliance?

Senator KING. Yes; and published in the official organ.

Mr. SUTRO. No; but I mean that it was not the National Alliance.

Senator KING. It was the Illinois branch of the National Alliance.

Mr. SUTRO. Well, I would be opposed to any such action as that. I do not know anything about it, and I do not think that the Alliance indorsed it.

Senator KING. Would you approve of this:

There was a thorough discussion of the political situation, and the following resolution was adopted unanimously: That the executive committee of the State Alliance of Illinois send this password to all branch alliances: "Everybody against Roosevelt and Wilson."

Would you think that that was within the purposes of the State organization or the national organization?

Mr. SUTRO. It would not be within the National Alliance, and I do not know whether the Illinois Alliance has anything in its platform which would prevent it from doing this, because I think it is also a corporation. I do not know. I only know something about the New York corporation and about the national corporation.

Senator KING. The balance of that resolution reads:

That the local organizations and societies are ordered to take all necessary measures n their particular localities to accomplish this result; that all societies shall be notified by the executive committee as quickly as possible of this task; and that copies of the resolution adopted by the Chicago City Alliance and by the executive committee of the National Alliance as well as by the Illinois Alliance are to be indorsed and referred to all local societies.

Mr. SUTRO. I think if they did that as a formal resolution, I would be opposed to it, because it is absolutely not within our charter. If they did that informally and told their members outside of the corporation to take that position, I think even the Illinois corporation would not be bound by it; and I think they did only what is done every day in this country, what you gentlemen do and what I do when we make speeches and tell the people to go against this fellow or the other fellow or in favor of this fellow or the other fellow.

Senator STERLING. Do we organize societies, however, and get charters for them from the Federal Government for the purpose of promoting those things?

Mr. SUTRO. No; I say if they did it formally, as a society—a formal action—it must be a curious charter, the Illinois charter, if they could do that.

Senator WOLCOTT. In ascertaining whether or not a corporation is confining its activities to its corporate purposes and ascertaining whether it is going outside of its corporate purposes in its activities, do you hold that the only thing from which information upon those points may be had is formal action by way of resolutions?

Mr. SUTRO. I think so, yes; if the Alliance is to be bound by it.

Senator WOLCOTT. If that be true, then, all that a society enjoying a Federal charter would have to do to avoid a forfeiture or repeal of its charter would be simply to never "resolute," would it not?

Now, let me put a hypothetical case to you. I want you to understand that I am not saying that the German-American Alliance has done anything like that, but let me put a strictly hypothetical case: Suppose that the German-American Alliance in its national convention, we will say, was addressed by all of its executive officers and that it had a full representation from all the subordinate alliances there—delegates there—and a thoroughly seditious speech was made against the United States, right now, in this war, and it was, if we could take the poll around there, applauded by every delegate present and that they thereby expressed the unanimous feeling on the part of the officials of the parent Alliance and the subordinate alliances, but they took no resolution or adopted no resolution; do you mean to say that upon inquiring into the activities of that organization and the propriety of its conduct it would be entirely irrelevant to refer to that behavior; and, if that happened, ought not its charter to be revoked?

Mr. SUTRO. No; I do not think its charter ought to be revoked; but I think it is relevant testimony, but I do not think it is conclusive testimony at all.

Senator WOLCOTT. You understand I do not say that anything of the kind ever happened, but I am putting that hypothetical case.

Mr. SUTRO. I do not think it would be conclusive testimony, but it would be relevant, I think.

Senator WOLCOTT. It would be relevant and very persuasive, would it not?

Mr. SUTRO. Well, I think if it was really a seditious speech, under the word "seditious," and if it was applauded, and even if it was the unanimous sentiment and no one spoke against it, I think it would be a very improper expression of the people present; but I do not think that it would be in any way conclusive. I do not think it is even good testimony—good proof—from a lawyer's point of view.

Senator STERLING. Would it not be admitted in evidence on the trial of a case?

Mr. SUTRO. Well, I do not know. I do not think that the manifestation of applause on matters of this kind should necessarily conclude people, especially in times such as these.

Senator WOLCOTT. Of course the corporation is bound by the action of its officers.

Mr. SUTRO. If, as it was reported, in Canada they hissed Bryan from the platform the other day—it appeared in the newspapers—if that is true, I do not think that would conclude the audience that was there and I do not think it would be relevant testimony to show that those people there were either pro or against prohibition. I do not think that those kinds of manifestations are good proof or legal proof.

Senator KING. You remember at the trial of Lord George Gordon in England about 200 years ago the cries of the multitude were received as convincing evidence of the situation.

Mr. SUTRO. But that is something like the French trials that I have alluded to, where each witness makes a speech, and the audience hoots, and the judges allow all that; and they read extracts from newspapers, and all that kind of thing. I do not think that is a judicial trial or even a judicial examination.

Senator STERLING. The Bryan case and the case supposed by Senator Wolcott are not parallel. In the Bryan case it was evident, from the newspaper account I saw of it, that the majority of the audience were probably opposed to the disturbers of the meeting, but the disturbers were so loud that they prevented the meeting from going on.

Mr. SUTRO. Yes; my remarks apply to the disturbers.

Senator STERLING. Only to the disturbers?

Mr. SUTRO. Yes.

Senator STERLING. Do you know the book entitled "Historical and Political Essays and Speeches," by Herman Oncken?

Mr. SUTRO. What is that name?

Senator STERLING. Oncken. I am not sure that that is the correct pronunciation, as I give it.

Mr. SUTRO. No, sir.

Senator STERLING. You do not know the book?

Mr. SUTRO. What is his name?

Senator STERLING. Oncken; he is a German writer.

Mr. SUTRO. No; I do not. I never heard of him.

Senator STERLING. He wrote a book with the title I have given.

Mr. SUTRO. He is certainly not a well-known writer.

Senator STERLING. I quote one passage from that book, as follows:

We should clearly understand that yonder Americanism—

That is, yonder German-Americanism—

is a part of our national body * * *. We should learn the great lesson that the German nation extends beyond and will extend beyond the German state in which we live.

He uses those words without commenting upon the German-American Alliance. Do you approve of the proposition involved there and the spirit of it?

Mr. SUTRO. No; I certainly do not. I do not know that I ever heard of this man. He is not a well-known writer, and I do not think his reference to the Alliance would be in any way relevant in an investigation in a court. I do not think that we are bound by what anybody writes about us.

Senator STERLING. Do you know a book entitled "Das Grössere Deutschland" (The Greater Germany), published in Germany in 1915?

Mr. SUTRO. Yes.

Senator STERLING. Do you know that book, Mr. Sutro?

Mr. SUTRO. I do not know that I have seen it.

Senator WOLCOTT. That is the book that was recommended by the Official Bulletin, is it not?

Senator STERLING. Yes; I think so.

Mr. SUTRO. Probably as a matter of information. Those books are very interesting, but there are thousands of them in every country now, and you can not follow them.

Senator STERLING. I quote as follows from that book:

For if the German who intends to remain there does not become a citizen, he has no vote at the elections, no influence of any kind on the conduct of the nation's political affairs. He must become an American; he is permitted, however, and can and ought in heart, thought, nature, and act to remain a German.

Do you believe that and approve of it?

Mr. SUTRO. That is absolute nonsense.

Senator STERLING. You think, then, that the author of this book, "The Greater Germany," is nonsensical when he writes that?

Mr. SUTRO. Who wrote that?

Senator STERLING. What is that?

Mr. SUTRO. Who is the man who wrote that?

Senator STERLING. The name is not given, but the quotation I have read is found in that book. The witness on the stand at the time could not remember the name of the author.

Mr. SUTRO. The Germans produce such authors as well as any other people.

Senator STERLING. Let us see if we can find one other that is pertinent. Do you know the book the title of which translated means "Germany as a World Power" (Deutschland als Weltmacht)? Do you know that book?

Mr. SUTRO. I may have that and have not looked at it. I have many books that I have not looked at. I have a couple of thousand books in my library, and I do not think that I have looked at one-third of them.

Senator STERLING. You know that book as one that is read extensively in Germany and is regarded there as quite an authority, do you not?

Mr. SUTRO. I really can not say.

Senator STERLING. Here is the motto of that book:

Germany, Germany over everything; over everything in the world.

Do you remember that book?

Mr. SUTRO. May I say something about that phrase, "Deutschland über Alles"?

Senator STERLING. Yes.

Mr. SUTRO. That does not mean what people here think, that Germany considers itself over all nations or over the whole world. It simply means this, "Germany over all other countries in devotion to the nation", the same as it is a perfectly proper maxim for this country to adopt "America, America over all other nations." That is true patriotism, and it does not mean that you are better than all nations but that you are over all nations in spirit Americans. That is what it means.

Senator STERLING. Is it not exactly in line with these quotations from the Bulletin, with the speech of Dr. Hexamer in regard to

German unity and German solidarity in this country, and their absorption of German notions and ideals all through, so that Germany may actually dominate in this country?

Mr. SUTRO. No; I do not think it means that.

Senator STERLING. You do not think it means that?

Mr. SUTRO. No; I do not think it means that.

Senator STERLING. Let me call your attention to another quotation from this book, and then I am through.

Mr. SUTRO. What book are you quoting from?

Senator STERLING. From the book entitled "Germany as a World Power."

I read—

the Deutschtum in the United States was more mindful of its position and its power, and that the German societies bound themselves together more closely, in fact, more than had been the case theretofore, that they might cultivate German ideals and life, and also enter upon political campaigns with a fixed purpose.

Mr. SUTRO. Well, I think that what that man says there is to a certain extent true. I think the German citizens are rather neglectful of their political duties. I think the German-American citizens ought to go to the polls more. I have advocated that all the time. They ought to go to the primaries; and, as a matter of fact, they do not do that at all. A great many of them seem to be indifferent about it, not because they are not attached to the country, but somehow or other, I do not know, they are very poor politicians; and the proof of that is that in comparison with the population here in this country, the German-American population—I will say the American population of German descent—plays a comparatively small rôle in this country.

Senator STERLING. Have you noticed that as a fact over the country generally or just in the particular part where you are acquainted?

Mr. SUTRO. For instance, I would like to ask this committee, when was there a United States Senator in Congress born in Germany or of parents of German birth? Can you answer that question? And how many Representatives have there been in the House of Representatives of German birth or German parents, during the last 10 years, in comparison with what we will call Anglo-Saxons or Irish-Americans, or any kind of hyphenates you want to mention, or Scotch-Americans, or, if I might even use the hyphenated word, American-Americans?

Senator STERLING. Do you take that as evidence that they have not participated in elections generally, because there have not been Germans elected to the Senate?

Mr. SUTRO. Yes. I think what the Alliance does in that respect is a good thing. I think if it stirs up the members to exercise the franchise they have here, as citizens, they become better Americans. I think Germans are very neglectful in that respect. They do not go to the primaries and they do not go to the polls; and I think that is the reason they have so little influence in this country.

Senator STERLING. Do you think that the German-American Alliance should stir up German-American citizens to act as a unit always?

Mr. SUTRO. No, not at all in political questions; certainly not in party political questions. But I think that is a different phase again. Now, that is a different affair. I think they are perfectly

justified in stirring up the members and going after our ideals and our objects. I think that is perfectly proper, as I have said a number of times. But I think if the Alliance would stir up its members to become a political body, like, for instance, there have been many times in various States, what they call a Democratic-German society or a Democratic-Italian federation, all those things I am opposed to. I think all these national political party epithets or foreign hyphenated qualifications of political parties should be absolutely dropped. But we never had that kind of a name, and we never have followed that kind of an object.

Senator WOLCOTT. I understand that your idea or your position is this, that it is perfectly legitimate for the German-American Alliance to incite its members to take an interest in public affairs, but you do not think it would be proper for the Alliance, while it was in that work, to try to corral them into a political group? That is your idea?

Mr. SUTRO. Yes; but I would not use the word "incite".

Senator WOLCOTT. Encourage, then, to take an interest in public affairs, I will say.

Mr. SUTRO. Yes; I think that would be very desirable.

Senator WOLCOTT. You think it would be entirely improper for them to encourage them to become Democrats or Republicans, or members of any particular party?

Mr. SUTRO. Yes; I think so; and I think they have never done that.

Senator WOLCOTT. Well, I think your idea is all right on that. It agrees with mine, anyhow.

Mr. SUTRO. Of course, the people of German descent here ought to take an interest in public affairs and become a part of the Nation.

Senator WOLCOTT. Are you through, Senator?

Senator STERLING. I am through.

Senator WOLCOTT. I just want to ask you a few questions. Among the purposes set out in the charter I find this, "the study of American institutions". What has the National German-American Alliance done to promote the study of American institutions?

Mr. SUTRO. Well, I know that they have published—I do not know whether it was in this Bulletin or not—frequently the rules and the laws which are necessary for a foreigner, whether he is a German or of some other nationality—of course they directed it to the Germans—to become a citizen, and they have assisted them in becoming citizens.

Senator WOLCOTT. Have they done anything else in the pursuit of that study of American institutions that you know of?

Mr. SUTRO. Yes; I think they have. For instance, I think even in the line of those records and monuments that they have promoted, I think those are all American historical matters. Of course the fact that they took more particular interest in the great men of this country, like Carl Schurz and others, who are of German descent, is natural, quite natural.

Senator WOLCOTT. Yes.

Mr. SUTRO. And all that is in connection, of course, with the study of history generally.

Senator WOLCOTT. Now, just pardon me a moment.

Mr. SUTRO. Yes.

Senator WOLCOTT. I find three things in this charter—the study of American institutions, the publication of American history, and rendering of assistance in the matter of naturalization.

Mr. SUTRO. Yes.

Senator WOLCOTT. Those three things are stated: When I asked you to detail some of the things that they have done in the matter of the study of American institutions, you mentioned naturalization?

Mr. SUTRO. Yes.

Senator WOLCOTT. Well, you can not cite that as a thing done in pursuit of this object of the study of American institutions, because that falls under another of these three branches, namely, naturalization. That is specifically set out by itself.

Mr. SUTRO. Yes.

Senator WOLCOTT. When you mention the erection of monuments to Germans and study of their lives you can not cite that as study of American institutions, because that falls under another of these classes, the publication of American history. Let us have what they have done in the way of study of American institutions.

Mr. SUTRO. Here is something I have in my hand [indicating small pamphlet]; this is the Constitution of the United States of America, published by the German-American Alliance of Pennsylvania. I think that that has been distributed broadcast by the Alliance. I would like to put that in as an exhibit. That, I believe, has been distributed not only among the German-American population but among the foreign population in general. I think that is a very good thing.

Senator WOLCOTT. Let me make an inquiry about this particular publication you have just mentioned.

Mr. SUTRO. Yes.

Senator WOLCOTT. Do you know in what particular way that has been circulated? Before you answer, let me explain the question.

Mr. SUTRO. That I can not tell you.

Senator WOLCOTT. It may be that that was distributed among those who contemplated naturalization.

Mr. SUTRO. May I put that in as an exhibit on our side? I do not know how it was circulated.

Senator WOLCOTT. Do you know when that was published?

Mr. ADOLPH TIMM. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, it is the second edition of 5,000. The first edition of 5,000 has been used up.

Senator WOLCOTT. When was it published?

Mr. TIMM. We had that printed last year.

Mr. SUTRO. I find also, on the last page, on the outside, this heading: "Information for foreigners who may read this Constitution."

May I refer to another thing—another paper that I have in my hand?

Senator WOLCOTT. Yes, sir.

Mr. SUTRO. Although it is not answering that particular division that you refer to, it does bear upon what it has done to make American citizens of foreigners. This was copyrighted in 1915 [referring to pamphlet]. This is a little leaflet entitled "How to become a citizen." This consists of questions and answers. It was apparently issued and copyrighted by the National Alliance.

Now, I see also that this little leaflet, which was about how to become a citizen, which has been issued in English, has also been is-

If that was the meaning, do you approve of that?

Mr. SUTRO. Well, it does not mean that there should be solidarity in taking up arms in this country. He means the same as you would make that comparison with anything that is unanimous; that we should stand together for the aims that we have laid down in our constitution and by-laws.

Senator KING. All right.

Now, do you approve of this, and was this within the objects of your Alliance:

This brilliant example of the home land should be a mighty incentive to us German-Americans to cast aside all separate interests and to show ourselves worthy of our fatherland by showing to our fellow citizens of other races that for us also unity is not a hollow mockery.

Do you believe in that? Do you approve of that?

Mr. SUTRO. So far as unanimity is concerned, I think it is correct. I think that even the unanimity of Germany has often been held up as an example of what our country here ought to be; that we ought to be unanimous in our position in this war.

Senator KING. Do you not think it would have been better for him——

Mr. SUTRO. It is only a comparison. I do not agree exactly with the way he stated it; but we can not always say things as we ought to do.

Senator KING. Speaking for the organization, do you not think it would have been better if he had stated that in this way: "We German-Americans should cease to be German-Americans and be Americans and worthy of our adopted land instead of our fatherland"?

Mr. SUTRO. I would like to elect you president of the German-American Alliance, so that you could put that as from the Alliance. I would approve it, absolutely, as a substitute for Mr. Hexamer's version.

Senator KING. Do you approve of this?

The National German-American Alliance has also in this critical time in which Germany and Austria-Hungary are warring against a world of enemies, given proof that its founders sought the proper aims * * *.

Do you think these are critical times for German-Americans in this country because Germany is waging a world war against the nations in Europe?

Mr. SUTRO. That is also a matter of comparison.

Senator KING. Yes.

Mr. SUTRO. It is not artistically expressed; that is all. I think what he means is practically in the same class as I have explained.

Senator KING. Do you approve of this——

and that they performed a tremendous service to the Germanism of this entire land when they sent forth the slogan of unity through all German-America.

Do you approve of receiving your slogan from Germany?

Mr. SUTRO. Well, I think within the narrow limits that we have confined our activities to realize our aims. We have from Germany the German language and German gymnastics and German literature, and so forth. That is stated in our platform.

Senator KING. Do you approve of this, stated in the same article:

In conclusion let me bring to your hearts a warning which should serve as a guide line for the conduct of every German-American. It is this: Read your German newspapers.

Do you approve of maintaining German newspapers here in the United States?

Mr. SUTRO. Yes; I think it is a very good thing, because of the immigrants who come here and who were, of course, much more numerous formerly than they have been during the last five or ten years.

Senator KING. Yes.

Mr. SUTRO. They learn from the German newspapers what the duties of an American citizen will be; and I think that most of the German newspapers of this country are absolutely patriotic and loyal in every respect.

Senator KING. Do you approve of this:

Only in the mutual support and the mutual advancement of the interests of the German press and of the different branches of the National German-American Alliance can there be the assurance of the great and permanent results which the German task prescribes, namely: To provide in our new home a secure support for German kultur and German life for the greater glory of our race * * *.

Do you approve of that?

Mr. SUTRO. I think, within the word "kultur" as I explained it and within the social life of Germany there are many good features, which it would be an advantage in this country to adopt.

Senator KING. Do you think that is the principal thing; that is—

the great and permanent results which the German task prescribes, namely: To provide in our new home a secure support for German kultur and German life for the greater glory of our race, for the accomplishment of friendly relations between our home and our new fatherland, and the preservation of their achievements in science and art.

Do you think that is the principal thing, the permanent task, to which the Germans who come here should be dedicated?

Mr. SUTRO. No, not the principal task; but as a task—as also a task—I think it is proper.

Senator KING. Then you approve this statement of Dr. Hexamer, this last one I have just read?

Mr. SUTRO. I do not think I would have worded it just that way.

Senator KING. But the spirit you approve?

Mr. SUTRO. Yes; so far as—I would have said, if I had made a statement like that, what is best and moral and desirable in German life or German kultur, would be a good thing to cultivate here in this country for the benefit of the country. That is what I would have said, and I think that is probably what he meant. I do not think everything German is perfect by a long sight. There are a great many things in Germany that we ought not to imitate.

Senator KING. Do you approve of this, which is found in the Official Bulletin, in volume 7, No. 9, page 15:

In German-American circles in Pennsylvania, not only are German ideals and customs being faithfully maintained, which have contributed so much to the ethical development of a nation, but, through united cooperation under the ægis of the German-American Alliance, our German-American citizens have become a political factor with which the ruling political powers must deal.

Do you approve of that and is that within the purposes of your organization?

Mr. SUTRO. That is a statement by the president, which I do not think is founded absolutely on fact. I think that the Pennsylvania Germans are as good Americans as the other members of the German-American Alliance.

Senator KING. Is that within the purview of your organization?

Mr. SUTRO. Not the way that is stated; no. If he makes a comparison, then as a matter of comparison I think it is correct.

Senator KING. You belong to the New York branch, do you?

Mr. SUTRO. Yes.

Senator KING. Of which Mr. Weismann was president?

Mr. SUTRO. Yes; he was my successor. No; he was not; there was another man who succeeded me, and then came Weismann. I was president of the alliance for five years, up to—I do not know, now, just the time; I think up to about five or six years.

Senator KING. Did that alliance urge that steps be taken to prevent the nomination of Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Wilson?

Mr. SUTRO. No; I do not think they did.

Senator KING. Did not Mr. Weismann write letters to that effect, and did not your organization adopt a resolution, "Everything against Roosevelt and Wilson"?

Mr. SUTRO. I do not think I was present, if they did adopt that. If they did, I differ in many respects from Weismann.

Senator KING. You take the Official Bulletin, do you not—subscribe for it?

Mr. SUTRO. Yes; I have taken that.

Senator KING. And it was sent to you as president of the State organization?

Mr. SUTRO. No; I paid for it.

Senator KING. All right. Now, in the April (1916) number of the Official Bulletin, on page 18, was there not a reference to that?

Mr. SUTRO. About this Weismann business?

Senator KING. "Everything against Roosevelt and Wilson"?

Mr. SUTRO. There are many people who are opposed to Roosevelt and Root.

Senator KING. Did not your organization stand—now, I have no objection to anybody being opposed to Mr. Wilson or to Mr. Roosevelt or to anybody. That is not my point.

Mr. SUTRO. Certainly not.

Senator KING. I am trying to ascertain whether or not your organization in New York entered into political activities.

Mr. SUTRO. Yes; I know what you are driving at.

Senator KING. And if they did, if you would consider that within the charter.

Mr. SUTRO. Yes.

Senator KING. I am not criticizing. I am just trying to ascertain what your views are as to those activities.

Mr. SUTRO. Yes; I understand.

Senator KING. Did you know that a meeting was held in Chicago, to which various alliances sent representatives, to deal with this political question?

Mr. SUTRO. I heard of it, but I really can not say anything about it. I took no interest in it at all.

Senator KING. If your organization, national or State, or a number of State organizations, took part, in the way I have indicated, at a convention and resolved in that convention, and resolved in their State organizations, that they would urge the members of the German-American Alliance to work against the nomination of Mr. Wilson or against Mr. Roosevelt, do you think that that would be within the purposes of your organization?

Mr. SUTRO. If the Alliance did that as a formal act, I think it would be outside our aims and objects.

Senator KING. Yes.

Mr. SUTRO. But I think that could only be done by a convention of the Alliance. We have conventions—biennial conventions—every two years, and there have been no conventions now for I do not remember how long; perhaps for two years or four years.

Senator KING. Let me read from your Official Bulletin, under the heading "Illinois: Session of the State Executive Committee in Chicago." The next heading is: "The committee occupied itself with political questions, and sent out the password, 'Everybody against Roosevelt and Wilson.'" That was sent out by your organization.

Mr. SUTRO. Was that the Illinois Alliance?

Senator KING. Yes; and published in the official organ.

Mr. SUTRO. No; but I mean that it was not the National Alliance.

Senator KING. It was the Illinois branch of the National Alliance.

Mr. SUTRO. Well, I would be opposed to any such action as that. I do not know anything about it, and I do not think that the Alliance indorsed it.

Senator KING. Would you approve of this:

There was a thorough discussion of the political situation, and the following resolution was adopted unanimously: That the executive committee of the State Alliance of Illinois send this password to all branch alliances: "Everybody against Roosevelt and Wilson."

Would you think that that was within the purposes of the State organization or the national organization?

Mr. SUTRO. It would not be within the National Alliance, and I do not know whether the Illinois Alliance has anything in its platform which would prevent it from doing this, because I think it is also a corporation. I do not know. I only know something about the New York corporation and about the national corporation.

Senator KING. The balance of that resolution reads:

That the local organizations and societies are ordered to take all necessary measures n their particular localities to accomplish this result; that all societies shall be notified by the executive committee as quickly as possible of this task; and that copies of the resolution adopted by the Chicago City Alliance and by the executive committee of the National Alliance as well as by the Illinois Alliance are to be indorsed and referred to all local societies.

Mr. SUTRO. I think if they did that as a formal resolution, I would be opposed to it, because it is absolutely not within our charter. If they did that informally and told their members outside of the corporation to take that position, I think even the Illinois corporation would not be bound by it; and I think they did only what is done every day in this country, what you gentlemen do and what I do when we make speeches and tell the people to go against this fellow or the other fellow or in favor of this fellow or the other fellow.

object of your organization, to maintain those racial antipathies, to keep the German people aloof, to use them politically en bloc, to keep them separated and prevent assimilation with the American people; because, if that is the object of the organization, I do not see how you as an American citizen could defend it?

Mr. SUTRO. Well, I do not think that is the object, or even culturally an object, of the German-American Alliance. I think that they are absolutely American in spirit, and I think that is understood as a matter of course. I do not think that those other alliances that exist here among the French and the Italians and the Bohemians and all these other people, the Hungarians, and so forth, in any way deteriorate their Americanism.

Senator KING. Did you take part, in your organization, in the movement to prevent the shipment of munitions, and do you justify that as a part of your organization?

Mr. SUTRO. I think at the time when that question was up before the Senate of the United States, when Senator O'Gorman was chairman of the committee that heard the argument in regard to that, I made an address myself.

Senator KING. I am speaking about the organization. You can have your individual views, and I have no quarrel at all with what your views are. It would be impertinent for me to inquire about them, except in so far as you identify yourself with your organization and become an exponent of it; and when you have submitted yourself as the spokesman of it, then I have the right to inquire of you, because you have done it or attempted to do it, rather, in your address here. I want you to clearly understand that your personal views would be immaterial, and you could oppose—personally I have no objection to your opposing—any political policy of the Government. But what I want to know is whether your organization took a stand in opposition to the Government in regard to the shipment of munitions.

Mr. SUTRO. I do not think it did. I do not remember, but I do not think it did.

Senator KING. Did not your organization call or favor the calling of the alliances for the purpose of organizing to prevent action by Congress, or to secure by Congress the passage of a bill preventing shipments, or to influence the President to interdict shipments, of munitions?

Mr. SUTRO. No; I do not think it did. If I remember, Congressman Vollmer, who I think was a Member of the House of Representatives in 1915, or around there—the early part of 1915—introduced a resolution, so far as I remember, opposing the shipment of arms to the allies or to any country, and I do not know whether that was indorsed by the Alliance or not. I do not think it was; not by them as a body, or not as an alliance. That is the only measure that I remember that related to that subject. There may have been some others.

Senator KING. Did your organization advocate the boycotting of those banks or institutions that purchased the bonds of the allies?

Mr. SUTRO. No, absolutely not; I would say not. On the contrary, I think they rather encouraged the purchase of the American bonds—the war bonds or the Liberty Bonds.

Senator KING. I mean before we went into the war.

Mr. SUTRO. Before we went into the war?

Senator KING. Yes; the Anglo-French bonds.

Mr. SUTRO. Did they encourage——

Senator KING. No; did your organization take any action with regard to that matter?

Mr. SUTRO. I do not know. I do not think they did.

Senator KING. Did your organization take any action with reference to the sinking of the *Lusitania?*

Mr. SUTRO. I am quite sure it did not.

Senator KING. Did not an organization of the German-Americans, members of the Alliance, in a meeting held at St. Louis, applaud and pass resolutions of thanks to Bernstorff for having warned Americans to keep off the *Lusitania?*

Mr. SUTRO. That I do not know. I do not think so.

Senator KING. In a meeting at which Congressman Bartholdt spoke?

Mr. SUTRO. Well——

Senator KING. You do not know anything about that?

Mr. SUTRO. I do not know anything about that. I read something in the paper, I think, during the last week or so, while this investigation has been going on, that somebody said something of that kind, but I have no recollection of anything of that kind.

Senator KING. Have you anything else that you want to submit, of your own volition, now?

Mr. SUTRO. I have nothing special, except that I would like to have the right, if necessary——

Senator KING. Will 10 days be sufficient for you to file your brief?

Mr. SUTRO. Yes.

Senator KING. We would like to have it as soon as you can conveniently furnish us the authorities.

Mr. SUTRO. I am so awfully busy in New York.

Senator KING. Any time before the hearings are closed we will receive it, and will be glad to get it at your earliest convenience.

Mr. SUTRO. All right.

Senator WOLCOTT. I think you would be safe in going on the theory that we will be at least 10 days more on these hearings.

Mr. SUTRO. That is, from to-day?

Senator WOLCOTT. Yes; so that if we have not concluded the hearings after that time, you will still have the opportunity to file it.

Mr. SUTRO. You mean the introductory part?

Senator KING. Yes; we want it to go in the record, that is all.

Mr. SUTRO. It is a question on which it is very hard to find anything. At the bar association library I found very few books that treated on that subject.

Senator KING. Speaking for myself, we shall welcome any information you can give us on that.

Mr. SUTRO. Very well.

Senator KING. Now, Mr. von Bosse, we will hear you.

Mr. VON BOSSE. How long will you give me?

Senator KING. Do you want to be sworn?

Mr. VON BOSSE. If necessary, yes.

(Mr. von Bosse was here duly sworn by Senator King.)

Senator KING. How long will it take you to make your statement?

Mr. VON BOSSE. Possibly one hour and possibly two hours.

Senator KING. It is obvious that we can not conclude this evening. We are all three of us members of the Committee on the Judiciary and of other committees which are working steadily. We are working many hours a day. I am sorry to inconvenience all of you, but I am not just sure when we can go on again.

Mr. VON BOSSE. I can come any time, Senator.

Senator KING. If we stand in recess until 2 o'clock on Monday, will that suit you?

Mr. VON BOSSE. I would prefer it on Tuesday, if you could make it Tuesday, or Wednesday; but I will just leave it to you. I can be here.

Senator KING. If you will be here Tuesday it will be all right. We can take up some of the others.

Mr. VON BOSSE. Are you going on anyhow on Monday?

Senator KING. Yes.

Mr. VON BOSSE. I will be here on Monday, then.

Mr. Chairman, there are several who are here from a distance, one man from Florida and one from Texas, who want to speak on the subject briefly this afternoon before you adjourn.

Senator KING. Do they wish to go home?

Mr. VON BOSSE. Yes; they wish to go home, being here from that distance.

Senator KING. As to the Texas man, there are some questions which make it doubtful about hearing him now, but we will hear the Florida man now.

TESTIMONY OF MR. JOHN A. SCHNEIDERS.

(The witness, John A. Schneiders, of Jacksonville, Florida, was duly sworn by Senator King.)

Senator KING. Just proceed, Mr. Schneiders, and make such statement as you deem relevant to the bill before the committee.

Mr. SCHNEIDERS. Well, Senator, our State club only belongs to the Alliance for the last three years and I can not give you much information on it. I have here a copy of the action we took as soon as war was declared and I want to file it as evidence.

We have an elegant club house in Jacksonville, valued at $100,000, and we offered that to the Red Cross free of charge. I have all the letters pertaining to that, right here.

Senator KING. Do you want to file that?

Mr. SCHNEIDERS. Yes; I think I would like to, as showing that we were loyal to the country.

Senator WOLCOTT. This is the Germania Club?

Mr. SCHNEIDERS. The Germania Club, yes, sir, which is part of the Alliance.

Senator WOLCOTT. Just how is it connected with the Alliance?

Mr. SCHNEIDERS. We have several societies in Florida that constitute the State of Florida Alliance, and the Germania Club is a part of it.

Senator STERLING. By what process do you become a member of the National Alliance?

Mr. SCHNEIDERS. By being a member of the club.

Mr. SCHOLTZ. I could explain, if you say so.

Senator STERLING. We would like to get his view, and then you can give such explanation as you like.

Mr. SCHNEIDERS. You do not have to be a member of any organization. If you are an American citizen, you can join independently.

Senator STERLING. You mean join the National Alliance?

Mr. SCHNEIDERS. Join the National Alliance as a member. But if you belong to an organization, then you do not have to join individually; then you join as a whole, as a society.

Senator STERLING. How does the society become attached to the organization, the National Alliance?

Mr. SCHNEIDERS. By making application to the National Alliance.

Senator STERLING. Is there a charter issued then to the local alliance by the National Alliance? Do they issue a charter?

Mr. SCHNEIDERS. No; they do not issue a charter.

Senator STERLING. On application to the National Alliance?

Mr. SCHNEIDERS. They only furnish us with some books, the charter of the Alliance to go by, and we make our by-laws independent—the State by-laws.

Senator STERLING. The State alliance is received into the membership of the National Alliance by just making an application to belong to the National Alliance?

Mr. SCHNEIDERS. Yes.

Senator STERLING. Is that the way it is done?

Mr. SCHNEIDERS. Yes, sir.

Senator KING. Was there an organization in Florida of the National Alliance before three years ago?

Mr. SCHNEIDERS. No, sir.

Senator KING. Were you the first president of the Germania Club?

Mr. SCHNEIDERS. Not of the Germania Club, but of the State Alliance.

Senator KING. You are the president of the State Alliance?

Mr. SCHNEIDERS. Yes.

Senator KING. Who elected you president of the State Alliance?

Mr. SCHNEIDERS. The different societies of the State came together in convention at Jacksonville.

Senator KING. Did you have a charter for your State Alliance?

Mr. SCHNEIDERS. We do not.

Senator KING. You have no charter?

Mr. SCHNEIDERS. No.

Senator KING. Do you have any by-laws or rules?

Mr. SCHNEIDERS. We made our by-laws in the first convention, and we had them printed in book form.

Senator KING. Have you a copy of them?

Mr. SCHNEIDERS. I have not.

Senator KING. Will you kindly send a copy of them to the clerk of the committee?

Mr. SCHNEIDERS. Yes, sir.

[NOTE BY THE CLERK.—The document referred to was received on March 29. It is a pamphlet of 8 pages, in covers, printed in the German language and type, dated 1915.]

Senator KING. Were they adopted at the time your State organization was formed?

Mr. SCHNEIDERS. Yes.

Senator KING. Have you been the president constantly since then?

Mr. SCHNEIDERS. Yes.

Senator KING. Who is the secretary?

Mr. SCHNEIDERS. Fred H. Frahm.

Senator KING. Who, if anybody, went to the State of Florida for the purpose of organizing your organization?

Mr. SCHNEIDERS. Nobody at that time.

Senator KING. Later did somebody come there from the national organization?

Mr. SCHNEIDERS. No. There was somebody there several years previous; I do not remember when, exactly. It must have been about seven or eight years ago.

Senator KING. You are just an independent organization, then, are you not? That is to say, you had various clubs there organized, and those clubs came together and formed your State organization?

Mr. SCHNEIDERS. Yes.

Senator KING. Have you had much to do with the parent organization, of which Dr. Hexamer was president?

Mr. SCHNEIDERS. Well, we paid dues. We had to pay our dues, as such.

Senator KING. Each member paying so much?

Mr. SCHNEIDERS. Yes; each club paying so much per head.

Senator KING. How much?

Mr. SCHNEIDERS. I think it is 1 cent a head.

Senator KING. Did you make a special contribution?

Mr. SCHNEIDERS. No, sir.

Senator KING. At any time?

Mr. SCHNEIDERS. No, sir.

Senator KING. Under no circumstances?

Mr. SCHNEIDERS. No, sir.

Senator KING. For political purposes or activities?

Mr. SCHNEIDERS. Not for any; nor have we received any.

Senator KING. Were there any brewing organizations there—breweries—that made contributions through you to the national organization?

Mr. SCHNEIDERS. No, sir.

Senator KING. Have you taken any part whatever in political contests down there?

Mr. SCHNEIDERS. Not as an organization.

Senator KING. As an organization, I mean.

Mr. SCHNEIDERS. Not as an organization; no, sir.

Senator KING. You have not sought to do that?

Mr. SCHNEIDERS. No; we have not.

Senator KING. Did you believe that you had the right to do that or the power to do that under your charter, as Germans to hold yourselves en bloc and take part in political contests?

Mr. SCHNEIDERS. We never had any meetings for that purpose.

Senator KING. Have you indorsed candidates or opposed candidates as an organization?

Mr. SCHNEIDERS. No, sir; never.

Senator KING. Has Dr. Hexamer visited you?

Mr. SCHNEIDERS. Some seven or eight years ago.

Senator KING. Not since.

Mr. SCHNEIDERS. No. Maybe it is longer than that. I think maybe it is 9 or 10 years.

Senator KING. Do you take the Bulletin?

Mr. SCHNEIDERS. Yes.

Senator KING. Do other members of the organization take it?

Mr. SCHNEIDERS. I presume they do, some of them.

Senator KING. Do you know what the circulation is in Florida?

Mr. SCHNEIDERS. I do not, sir.

Senator KING. Is it enjoined as a duty upon every member of the organization to take the Bulletin?

Mr. SCHNEIDERS. No, sir; not at all. We have to pay for it if we want it.

Senator STERLING. About what is the membership of your Germania Club now?

Mr. SCHNEIDERS. We have about 200 members—active members—in that club.

Senator STERLING. Do you know what the membership of the other local organizations is?

Mr. SCHNEIDERS. When we organized our State Alliance we had, all told, I think it was, 561 members.

Senator WOLCOTT. Schneiders is your name?

Mr. SCHNEIDERS. Yes.

Senator WOLCOTT. I have been looking over these papers. You want to get those in the record?

Mr. SCHNEIDERS. I do not know.

Senator WOLCOTT. If you do, I will help you segregate them and put them in the way you want them to go.

Mr. SCHNEIDERS. All right. We would like to keep those, as they are records. These are the originals that I brought up.

Senator WOLCOTT. Yes. Here is a copy of the letter from your board of directors to the chairman of the local chapter of the Red Cross at Jacksonville, tendering this clubhouse to the American Red Cross.

Mr. SCHNEIDERS. To the American Red Cross; yes, sir.

Senator WOLCOTT. Then here is a letter from the chairman of the Red Cross chapter, Mr. Frink, accepting the clubhouse and expressing their gratitude.

Mr. SCHNEIDERS. Yes, sir.

Senator WOLCOTT. Do you want those two to go in the record?

Mr. SCHNEIDERS. Yes, sir.

Senator KING. I think it is proper to show their contents.

Senator WOLCOTT. I think these other papers have to do with the mass meeting.

Mr. SCHNEIDERS. Yes, sir.

Senator WOLCOTT. Here is a call for a mass meeting to be held at the Germania Club.

Mr. SCHNEIDERS. Yes.

Senator WOLCOTT. A mass meeting called by the order of the Germania Club?

Mr. SCHNEIDERS. Yes.

Senator WOLCOTT. The mass meeting was to be held Sunday afternoon, April 22, of what year? Last year, I suppose.

Mr. SCHNEIDERS. Last year, just after the war was declared.

Senator WOLCOTT. Then, I notice another paper here, dated April 18, which seems to be a circular letter inviting people to attend this patriotic meeting at the Germania Club, signed by the Germania Club.

Mr. SCHNEIDERS. Yes.

Senator WOLCOTT. That meeting was held, was it, on the date specified?

Mr. SCHNEIDERS. Yes, sir; and resolutions were passed.

Senator WOLCOTT. I am trying to abridge this so that we will not encumber the record with too many documents. If I omit anything, will you mention it?

Mr. SCHNEIDERS. Yes, sir.

Senator WOLCOTT. Here is what seems to be a copy of a little speech.

Mr. SCHNEIDERS. Yes.

Senator WOLCOTT. Made by the president of the club?

Mr. SCHNEIDERS. Explaining the purpose of the meeting; yes, sir.

Senator WOLCOTT. Would you like that to go in the record—what the president said?

Mr. SCHNEIDERS. Well, it is a patriotic speech; that is all it is.

Senator WOLCOTT. It is for you to say whether you want to ask that it go in the record.

Mr. SCHNEIDERS. I think so.

Senator WOLCOTT. Here is a copy of resolutions, I take it, adopted at this meeting?

Mr. SCHNEIDERS. Yes.

Senator WOLCOTT. You would like them to go in the record, I take it.

Mr. SCHNEIDERS. Yes.

Senator KING. Is there anything else you want to say, Mr. Schneiders?

Mr. SCHNEIDERS. I want to say for myself, Mr. Chairman, that we have been all working, since the war broke out, for the cause. I personally went out and sold $11,000 of the Liberty Bonds, took $1,000 of it myself, and I went out for the Red Cross and got 36 members for them; and I know, of course, that there has been a whole lot of work done outside of mine, by individuals, besides what I have done.

Senator STERLING. Did the members of your organization subscribe to the Red Cross and to the Liberty Bonds proportionately as others of your citizens?

Mr. SCHNEIDERS. Yes; they are members that I went to for contributions and members that I got as members of the Red Cross.

Senator WOLCOTT. If the charter of the National German-American Alliance were revoked, of course that would not abolish your organization in Florida, would it?

Mr. SCHNEIDERS. I do not know, sir.

Senator WOLCOTT. Well, it would not, of course.

Senator KING. No; it would not affect your organization, or any State organization.

If there is anything else you want to submit, we will be glad to hear you.

Mr. SCHNEIDERS. I think that is all I want to say.

(The papers mentioned above, submitted by Mr. Schneiders, are here printed in the record in full, as follows:)

ADDRESS OF PRESIDENT GERLACH.

My reasons for calling this meeting together was for the purpose of explaining to our German-American citizens of this city and vicinity how necessary it is in these extraordinary times, after—I wish to use the term—unfortunately a state of war has been

declared by the United States of America against Germany, to give your support in every way possible to our adopted country, the United States of America.

Some of you will say, why it is necessary to again declare our loyalty to the country, of which we have become citizens, when we already have done so. I agree with you that such should not be necessary for the reason that when we became full-fledged American citizens it became our everlasting duty to uphold the laws of this country and to be loyal to her at all times; and, ladies and gentlemen, I am sure I voice the sentiment of all here present when I say we certainly will be loyal to our adopted country, the United States of America.

APRIL 5TH, 1917.

Dr. CARROLL H. FRINK,
Chairman local chapter, American Red Cross,
Jacksonville, Florida.

DEAR SIR: In response to the resolution passed by the United States Senate, declaring a state of war existing between the United States and Germany.

The board of directors of the Germania Club of Jacksonville, Florida, in special meeting held this 5th day of April unanimously passed following resolutions:

"Whereas the United States Senate declared a state of war existing between the United States and Germany, the Germania Club of Jacksonville, tenders the use of their beautiful clubhouse and grounds on Riverside Ave. to the American Red Cross and our Government, for the purpose of establishing hospital service for the American Red Cross."

The property consists of a four-story modern brick building and grounds having 100 feet frontage on Riverside Avenue, and extending 500 feet to St. Johns River Channel, and representing an investment of over $100,000. In the basement is located a fully equipped kitchen where meals can be cooked for several thousand people; also porch enclosed with glass making an ideal sun parlor. First floor large and small rooms; also large porch enclosed with glass for use as a sun parlor. Second floor auditorium 60 × 95 feet and open porch facing river front. Third floor smaller rooms and assembly room 22 × 45 feet.

The building is thoroughly ventilated throughout, and equipped with hot and cold running water, and steam heated.

It is our earnest desire and wish that our offer be accepted, and our property be used for the benefit of the American Red Cross. The board of directors wish Dr. Frink set a date when most convenient to him and they be pleased to go over the club building with him.

Very truly yours,

THE GERMANIA CLUB BOARD OF DIRECTORS.
A. P. GERLACH, *President.*
F. H. FRAHM, *Secretary.*
J. M. WELLBROOK, *Chairman.*
WALTER NICOLAS.
R. KLOEPPEL.
F. N. WIENBERG.

JACKSONVILLE, FLORIDA, *U. S. A., April 6, 1917.*

To the Officers, Board of Directors and members of the
Germania Club, Jacksonville, Florida.

GENTLEMEN: It was with mingled feelings of admiration and pride that your esteemed communication was received to-day—admiration for the loyalty and patriotism so beautifully displayed, and pride in the thought that the City of Jacksonville, the State of Florida, and our beloved United States of America possess such citizens as is represented by your officers, your board of directors and your members.

At a meeting of the executive committee of the North Florida Chapter of the American Red Cross, a unanimous vote of appreciation and thanks were given and extended you.

The national headquarters of the American Red Cross, Washington, D. C. were immediately notified of your magnificent offer indicative of loyalty to the flag.

In behalf of the American Red Cross we sincerely thank you.

Yours sincerely,

AMERICAN RED CROSS—NORTH FLORIDA CHAPTER.
CARROLL H. FRINK, *Chairman.*

TESTIMONY OF MR. PAUL MEERSCHEIDT.

(The witness, Paul Meerscheidt, of San Antonio, Tex., was duly sworn by Senator King.)

Senator KING. You may proceed.

Mr. MEERSCHEIDT. I am vice president of the State organization in Texas, and have been the local president in San Antonio and the duly elected delegate to the conventions. We have a regular standing delegate. I attended the conference at Chicago. Since the war broke out we have had no meetings of any kind or conventions at home, neither State nor local. We have been very inactive.

I have with me here the constitution of the State organization, which follows the constitution, in the main, of the national organization.

We have German societies there in Texas, and a great many of them are members of the county organization; and the county organizations send delegates to the State organization, and they have a meeting, once a year usually, according to the by-laws.

Senator STERLING. Is your State organized in that way, by counties?

Mr. MEERSCHEIDT. By counties.

Senator STERLING. So that in each county there is a German-American Alliance?

Mr. MEERSCHEIDT. The local organizations comprise the county organization, and the county organizations send delegates to the State organization.

Senator STERLING. Do those local organizations take in the different German societies, such as have been named here?

Mr. MEERSCHEIDT. Nearly all of them. The singing societies, fraternal societies, and shooting clubs, and the Sons of Hermann, and all the different German organizations.

Senator STERLING. And do you have county organizations, aside from these very well-known German societies?

Mr. MEERSCHEIDT. Yes.

Senator STERLING. You have county organizations separate from those?

Mr. MEERSCHEIDT. Yes. Of course those organizations are not very largely attended. There are only a few of the leading men there that attend to the business, and the rank and file do not really know very much about what is going on.

Senator STERLING. That pertains to your county organizations?

Mr. MEERSCHEIDT. To the county organizations.

Senator STERLING. It does not pertain to these other German clubs and societies, does it?

Mr. MEERSCHEIDT. Yes; it does to them. They just send delegates to the county organization, and if they have a meeting they report back what has been done. Now, of course, really the object of the organizations is more in a social way, the way we understand them. Of course in Texas nobody ever heard of the organization being in conjunction with any other organization—foreign organization—and it was news to us when we read that in the paper. Our organization and the members of our organization would resent anything of the kind.

Senator STERLING. Anything of what kind? I do not understand exactly what you are talking about.

Mr. MEERSCHEIDT. The charge was made that we were in conjunction with an organization in Germany. Of course nobody in Texas ever heard of anything of that kind. That is the reason I am here. Of course I would not have come here but to state that main fact. Our people in Texas would resent anything of that kind. There is nothing in it, so far as we know down there. If there is anybody connected with the organization that is guilty of any such thing, we do not know it.

Senator STERLING. Has there been any propaganda in your State, either coming from the National Alliance or from your local alliance, advising your organization and members to stick together and maintain unity among the Germans?

Mr. MEERSCHEIDT. We have been advising that, all along, for political reasons—for political purposes.

Senator STERLING. You say you have advised it for political purposes?

Mr. MEERSCHEIDT. We always have been in politics, and we have a regular organization that way that has been used locally in that way.

Senator STERLING. You have said that the Germans should stand together for political purposes and for the election of men to offices?

Mr. MEERSCHEIDT. That is according to their charter.

Senator KING. Let me see it.

Mr. MEERSCHEIDT. For instance, we use it in local elections. The school board is elected. About one-half of the population of San Antonio is German, and we always want to be represented by Germans on the school board.

Senator STERLING. Did you regard that as necessary for the protection of German interests?

Mr. MEERSCHEIDT. Yes; we do, because occasionally an effort is made to abolish teaching the German in the public schools, and we are opposed to that.

Senator STERLING. What is your idea in regard to having German taught in the public schools and as to when that teaching should begin?

Mr. MEERSCHEIDT. Of course I think that the English language is, of course, the language that is taught everywhere and ought to be taught; but if a man in addition can learn another language he is so much better off.

Senator STERLING. But you do not believe or hold out the idea that the German language should take precedence over the English?

Mr. MEERSCHEIDT. Never. Of course not; would not do such a thing at all.

Senator STERLING. When do you advise through your society there the beginning of the teaching of German in the schools; at what age of the pupils or in what grades?

Mr. MEERSCHEIDT. It has always been taught there. The Germans there had a school of their own. Since 35 years ago they always had a school of their own where they sent their children. Now, since the free schools were started, the Germans send their children to the free schools because it does not cost anything, and it was difficult to maintain that school and they finally abolished it.

Senator STERLING. The German school?

Mr. MEERSCHEIDT. The German school; but they do insist upon German being taught in the public schools.

Senator STERLING. Does that begin below the eighth grade?

Mr. MEERSCHEIDT. It begins, I think, in the eighth grade.

Senator STERLING. In the eighth grade?

Mr. MEERSCHEIDT. Yes. The trouble about it is with the Germans themselves. The children do not want to learn German; that is, they do not want to take German. I had that trouble with my own children. Whenever they make out a list of what they want to take, they do not want to take German; and I insist upon their taking German, but they really do not want to do it.

Senator STERLING. You insist on their taking German?

Mr. MEERSCHEIDT. Yes.

Senator STERLING. That is not to make them different from American citizens in any respect?

Mr. MEERSCHEIDT. Not at all; but they are so much better off in this world if they know German. Its value to them is inestimable. For instance, I think I mentioned to you, Senator, that I have a son who is in Camp Upton now. He is a young lieutenant. He wrote me the other day that the captain came to him and wanted to know whether he was up on German, and he said "No; I am not," and he said to me, "I am afraid because I was not up on German I have lost a pretty good position of some kind." So that shows to me, you know, the value of speaking one or two other languages. With us they teach the Spanish language. That is very important there, too.

Senator STERLING. You say there are a great many Germans in San Antonio?

Mr. MEERSCHEIDT. Yes; a great many.

Senator STERLING. That is your home?

Mr. MEERSCHEIDT. That is my home. I was born and raised in Texas.

Senator STERLING. How many organizations have you in the State, do you think—local organizations?

Mr. MEERSCHEIDT. Oh, we have hundreds of them.

Senator STERLING. Do you know about what the membership is?

Mr. MEERSCHEIDT. Yes; we have one organization alone, in San Antonio, of 2,000.

Senator STERLING. Do you take the Official Bulletin of the National Alliance?

Mr. MEERSCHEIDT. They send it to me. That is the Mitteilungen, is it not?

Senator KING. Yes.

Mr. MEERSCHEIDT. They send me that paper. The local organization has subscribed for five copies, which are sent to the president, vice presidents, secretary, and treasurer.

Senator STERLING. That is the local organization?

Mr. MEERSCHEIDT. That is the local organization.

Senator STERLING. Do you know how extensively it is taken by the other organizations?

Mr. MEERSCHEIDT. It is not taken at all.

Senator STERLING. Your organization is the only one that gets it?

Mr. MEERSCHEIDT. Yes.

Senator STERLING. And the five copies are subscribed for for your organization?

Mr. MEERSCHEIDT. Yes.

Senator STERLING. And not for individual members?

Mr. MEERSCHEIDT. No, sir. We have taken no part in national politics at all.

Senator STERLING. Have you read some of the speeches of Dr. Hexamer, the former president of the association?

Mr. MEERSCHEIDT. Yes, sir.

Senator STERLING. Have you read his appeal to the Germans for German unity and looking after their own interests politically and otherwise, and his speaking disparagingly of American culture?

Mr. MEERSCHEIDT. Yes; I have heard read some of them.

Senator STERLING. Do you approve of them?

Mr. MEERSCHEIDT. Well, no; not literally, of course not; but I suppose those speeches were made, you know, for political purposes. I do not think there is much in them.

Senator STERLING. They having been made by him as president, and afterwards published in the Official Bulletin, would it not seem to give them a kind of official character?

Mr. MEERSCHEIDT. Well, yes; it would.

Senator STERLING. And as reflecting the purposes and aims of the organization?

Mr. MEERSCHEIDT. Yes; but our people there in Texas are very independent, you know. They are Democrats, and these people up here are mostly Republicans, and we do not pay much attention to what they say. [Laughter.]

Senator STERLING. Do you not think there are any independents except Democrats?

Mr. MEERSCHEIDT. They could not do any good down there. Of course we have occasionally letters, you know, but we pay no attention to them.

Senator STERLING. You are not influenced by statements of that kind?

Mr. MEERSCHEIDT. It is the social purposes that this Alliance and the other German-American organizations want to continue, you know.

Senator STERLING. Have you felt that there is any antagonism between the Germans and American citizenship?

Mr. MEERSCHEIDT. No antagonism; only socially, you know, the Germans are different from Americans. They like to have their dances and entertainments, and have their clubs and dances, which the Americans have not, and they keep those up, the songs and singing societies, and in that way they are separate; but otherwise, politically and in a business way, there is no difference between the Germans and the Americans in our State.

Of course, they feel like if this charter was taken away from them they are antagonized to some extent, because they are Germans and because we are at war with Germany; that they are antagonized to some extent by the so-called Americans, and they would hate to see this charter taken away from them on this account. They would feel bad about it.

Senator KING. You had organizations there before this National Alliance?

Mr. MEERSCHEIDT. Long before; but if this charter is taken away from them they have the same organizations. If they want to do anything they can do it just as well.

Senator KING. Do you understand that Dr. Hexamer and others, through this Bulletin, have been agitating that the German people should maintain themselves racially separate from the Americans?

Mr. MEERSCHEIDT. Well, we understand that to mean socially—their social entertainments.

Senator KING. Would you approve of a German organization that had for its object the fastening upon this country of what is called German kultur as against American institutions and the American spirit?

Mr. MEERSCHEIDT. No; I think it would be better otherwise. Of course, when we talk about German kultur we take it to mean the highest state of civilization, and we would like to adopt everything that is good from over there and maintain it here.

Senator STERLING. Do you believe that the German kultur is the highest state of civilization?

Mr. MEERSCHEIDT. Well, that is such a broad question.

Senator STERLING. I rather infer that from what you have just said.

Mr. MEERSCHEIDT. Yes.

Senator STERLING. Your statement to Senator King suggested my question.

Mr. MEERSCHEIDT. Yes.

Senator KING. You heard the question which Senator Wolcott put to Mr. Sutro, quoting from a speech made by Mr. Hexamer in which he stated in effect that the Germans had been asked to be assimilated into American life but they refused to do it; they were not going to drag down the civilization or the culture of Germany to the level of Americanism. That was the substance of it. Do you approve of that?

Mr. MEERSCHEIDT. Certainly not.

Senator KING. And if that is the object of this national organization as exploited and explained through the pages of this national organ, would you want it?

Mr. MEERSCHEIDT. No, sir.

Senator KING. Would you want to belong to an organization the object of which was to superimpose upon the people of this country German kultur of that character?

Mr. MEERSCHEIDT. I would not; no, sir.

Senator KING. Do you believe that the German people of this country ought to be kept apart from the American people?

Mr. MEERSCHEIDT. I do not see any harm, in a social way, for them to continue their social entertainments.

Senator KING. To be kept apart, as one race would be from another?

Mr. MEERSCHEIDT. Of course, if it could be done, it would be better if there was no separation. If they all assimilated, it would be better for this country.

Senator KING. Do you not think that all the people in this country should assimilate? Do you think that the Italians and the Scandinavians and the Greeks should be separate in this country?

Mr. MEERSCHEIDT. They always will be until the third, fourth, or fifth generation. Then it may be different.

Senator KING. Do you not think that the Scandinavians are assimilated in one generation; that the English, the Irish, and the Scotch are assimilated in one generation?

Mr. MEERSCHEIDT. Yes; but in their social ways they are all separate, more or less, in some way, and there is always a separation in their societies and fraternities. There are the Knights of Columbus and the Elks, and so on.

Senator STERLING. You would not compare separation of races and peoples of different nationalities with separation of different church denominations, would you?

Mr. MEERSCHEIDT. No; but in a social way they are always more or less separate.

Senator KING. Would you favor a separatist movement in this Nation by which the Irish would be together in one group, the Italians would be together in another group, the English would be together in another group, and the Greeks together in another group, and so on?

Mr. MEERSCHEIDT. No; I think it would be better if it would not be.

Senator KING. Do you not think that that would lead to disturbance and discord and ultimately to the destruction of this Republic?

Mr. MEERSCHEIDT. No; but politically they always use them. Politicians always use the different organizations.

Senator STERLING. Do you believe that that condition of things ought to exist?

Mr. MEERSCHEIDT. No.

Senator STERLING. Whereby politicians are allowed to appeal to one nationality and then to another nationality?

Mr. MEERSCHEIDT. No; it would be a great deal better if that did not exist. It really ought not to exist; but it exists.

Senator STERLING. Does not any organization that teaches German unity and German kultur over and above everything else have that tendency?

Mr. MEERSCHEIDT. Well, so far as I have been able to see they have never done any harm. Nobody here wants to make a Germany out of America.

Senator KING. Do you not think we ought to Americanize the Germans that come here?

Mr. MEERSCHEIDT. Certainly.

Senator KING. Instead of Germanizing Americans who are here?

Mr. MEERSCHEIDT. Certainly.

Senator KING. Do you not think that if you maintained organizations that teach that there should be racial distinctions maintained, or that want to preserve German unity or Italian unity or English unity, that would prevent assimilation of the races here, unification of the peoples here?

Mr. MEERSCHEIDT. It depends on how far they go. If they do not go too far, I see no harm in it.

Senator KING. Did not your alliance take on new life in 1914, growing out of the election of Gov. Ferguson, and did not your alliance under the leadership of national organizers become exceedingly active in that campaign?

Mr. MEERSCHEIDT. They tried, but they did not—you mean headquarters here; national headquarters here?

Senator KING. Yes.

Mr. MEERSCHEIDT. No; they had no success with that.

Senator KING. Organizers came down there, did they not?

Mr. MEERSCHEIDT. No, sir.

Senator KING. Did Mr. Haxthausen, Mr. Hugo Moeller, Mr. Wirmel, and Mr. Soergel come there?

Mr. MEERSCHEIDT. No, sir.

Senator KING. Did not some of those men come there?

Mr. MEERSCHEIDT. No, sir; Hugo Moeller lived there in San Antonio.

Senator KING. He is a member of the National Alliance, is he not?

Mr. MEERSCHEIDT. He is the State president.

Senator KING. And did not Mr. Wirmel come there?

Mr. MEERSCHEIDT. No.

Senator KING. Did Mr. Robert Soergel come there?

Mr. MEERSCHEIDT. No, sir.

Senator KING. Who came there representing the National Alliance?

Mr. MEERSCHEIDT. Hexamer was there at one time, but that has been 10 or 12 years ago.

Senator KING. No; but I mean last year in the Ferguson election.

Mr. MEERSCHEIDT. No; they took no interest in Texas politics, the National Alliance did not.

Senator KING. Did not some persons come there——

Mr. MEERSCHEIDT. No. sir.

Senator KING. Representing the National German-American Alliance?

Mr. MEERSCHEIDT. No, sir.

Senator KING. For the purpose of getting your organization very actively interested in the prohibition question?

Mr. MEERSCHEIDT. No, sir. They are active enough down there on this question without having any representatives sent down there.

Senator KING. Your organization as an organization took part in the political contest?

Mr. MEERSCHEIDT. In the prohibition election?

Senator KING. Yes.

Mr. MEERSCHEIDT. No.

Senator KING. As an organization?

Mr. MEERSCHEIDT. No.

Senator KING. As a State organization, under Mr. Hugo Moeller?

Mr. MEERSCHEIDT. No, sir. There is no necessity, because they know how every German there is going to vote, and there is no necessity of doing anything. They do not have to do anything.

Senator KING. Then you state that your organization did not, as an organization, take any part in that election?

Mr. MEERSCHEIDT. No, sir; took no part in politics.

Senator WOLCOTT. Are you acquainted with the work of the National German-American Alliance?

Mr. MEERSCHEIDT. No, sir.

Senator WOLCOTT. You do not know anything about their activities?

Mr. MEERSCHEIDT. No; except from the literature that I get and circular letters occasionally.

Senator WOLCOTT. Did you ever get any circular letters from officers of the National Alliance to write or telegraph to your Senators or Congressman with respect to any measures pending here in Congress?

Mr. MEERSCHEIDT. Yes, sir; before the war.

Senator WOLCOTT. How is that?

Mr. MEERSCHEIDT. Before the war.

Senator WOLCOTT. Before our entrance into the war?

Mr. MEERSCHEIDT. Yes, sir.

Senator WOLCOTT. Just what did those telegrams and letters bear on?

Mr. MEERSCHEIDT. Well, we had, for instance, one telegram—I had one telegram—to organize or call meetings for the purpose of maintaining peace, and to write to Congressmen favoring an election whether or not this country should enter the war with Germany.

Senator WOLCOTT. A referendum?

Mr. MEERSCHEIDT. Yes. We paid no attention to it.

Senator WOLCOTT. Where did that telegram come from?

Mr. MEERSCHEIDT. That came from the National Alliance.

Senator WOLCOTT. The national organization?

Mr. MEERSCHEIDT. Yes.

Senator WOLCOTT. Do you know who sent it?

Mr. MEERSCHEIDT. Hexamer.

Senator WOLCOTT. Dr. Hexamer?

Mr. MEERSCHEIDT. Yes; that is, it was signed personally. It was not——

Senator WOLCOTT. When was that, about?

Mr. MEERSCHEIDT. Well, it was, say, three or four weeks before war was declared.

[NOTE BY THE CLERK.—Mr. Meerscheidt, on March 23, 1918, in revising proof sheets of his testimony, submitted the original telegram received by him at San Antonio on February 5, 1917, from C. J. Hexamer and a copy of the reply made thereto, as follows:]

PHILADELPHIA, PA.

P. MEERSCHEIDT, *San Antonio, Tex.*

Arrange peace meetings adopting resolutions requesting Congress to submit question of declaring war to a referendum and send resolutions to Members of Congress by wire and letter.

C. J. HEXAMER.

C. J. HEXAMER, *491 Walnut Street, Philadelphia, Pa.*

We are opposed to the course suggested by you and urge you not to press the matter.

HUGO MOELLER.
PAUL MEERSCHEIDT.

Senator WOLCOTT. Had you received any communications from the national organization prior to that time, urging the organization in Texas to communicate with Senators or Congressmen on any other matter pending in Congress?

Mr. MEERSCHEIDT. No.

Senator WOLCOTT. For instance, when the question was up of whether or not there should be an embargo laid on the exportation of munitions——

Mr. MEERSCHEIDT. Yes.

Senator WOLCOTT (continuing). Were you asked to communicate with your Senators or Congressman?

Mr. MEERSCHEIDT. No, sir.

Senator WOLCOTT. When the question was up of whether or not we should arm our ships, did you get any communication from the national organization?

Mr. MEERSCHEIDT. No, sir.

Senator WOLCOTT. Then the one that you just mentioned a moment ago is the only communication you ever got from the National Alliance in which you were asked to bring influence to bear on Congressmen or Senators here in Washington?

Mr. MEERSCHEIDT. That is the only one I can recall just now.

Senator WOLCOTT. Did you ever get any communications from the National Alliance seeking your support for or against any particular candidate for nomination for the Presidency?

Mr. MEERSCHEIDT. Well, yes; I had a private circular letter from Dr. Hexamer in which he stated that it was not officially but he gives his private opinion that the Germans should support Hughes for President.

Senator WOLCOTT. You say that came from Dr. Hexamer?

Mr. MEERSCHEIDT. Personally.

Senator WOLCOTT. Did he sign it as president of the German-American Alliance?

Mr. MEERSCHEIDT. No, sir.

Senator WOLCOTT. Was that addressed to you officially, as president of the local body?

Mr. MEERSCHEIDT. No; just addressed to me, as I remember.

Senator WOLCOTT. Addressed to you in your individual capacity?

Mr. MEERSCHEIDT. Yes; as near as I remember.

Senator WOLCOTT. Are you sure about that in your memory?

Mr. MEERSCHEIDT. No; I would not be sure. Of course, they had my name, and I was president at that time, and that was probably the reason I got it.

Senator KING. President of the State organization?

Mr. MEERSCHEIDT. No; locally. That is why they sent it to me and also these telegrams.

Senator WOLCOTT. Did you get any communication from any officer of the national organization urging you to use your influence to defeat the renomination of President Wilson, for instance? I ask that question, not because of any interest in President Wilson but because there has been some testimony that the national organization adopted some measures against the renomination of President Wilson and also, on the Republican side, against the nomination of Mr. Roosevelt.

Mr. MEERSCHEIDT. No; they knew it was useless to do anything in Texas, and they did not bother Texas.

Senator WOLCOTT. Texas has cut quite a figure in nominations. You do not recollect anything about whom the German-born in Texas should support for the Democratic nomination?

Mr. MEERSCHEIDT. No, sir.

Senator KING. Did you receive any communication from Mr. Leo Stern or from the president of the Illinois State Alliance?

Mr. MEERSCHEIDT. None at all.

Senator KING. Did you send any delegate to the Chicago conference that was called?

Mr. MEERSCHEIDT. Yes, sir; I went to Chicago.

Senator WOLCOTT. You went yourself?

Mr. MEERSCHEIDT. Yes.

Senator KING. Why did you go?

Mr. MEERSCHEIDT. I was anxious to know what they were going to do.

Senator KING. Why did you want——

Mr. MEERSCHEIDT. It was not called officially by the Alliance. It was a conference of Germans. That is the way the invitations read, asking to send delegates.

Senator KING. To send delegates to the convention or conference there?

Mr. MEERSCHEIDT. Yes.

Senator KING. And Mr. Leo Stern was there?

Mr. MEERSCHEIDT. No, sir.

Mr. VON BOSSE. No.

Mr. MEERSCHEIDT. I do not think Stern was there at all.

Senator KING. Was the president of the Illinois Alliance there?

Mr. MEERSCHEIDT. What is his name?

Mr. VON BOSSE. Kirschman. He is sitting here [indicating].

Mr. MEERSCHEIDT. I do not remember. He might have been.

Senator KING. Was Mr. Hexamer there?

Mr. MEERSCHEIDT. No, sir.

Senator KING. And was the question discussed there as to who should be supported for the Presidency?

Mr. MEERSCHEIDT. Yes; the committee on platform thrashed that out.

Senator KING. And resolutions were adopted there which were sent to the official organ and published in the official organ, were they not?

Mr. MEERSCHEIDT. I did not see it in the official organ.

Senator KING. Resolutions were adopted there, were they not?

Mr. MEERSCHEIDT. Yes, sir; they were signed——

Senator KING. Have you a copy of them?

Mr. MEERSCHEIDT. I have not.

Senator KING. Do you recall what they stated, in substance?

Mr. MEERSCHEIDT. Well, yes; I do.

Senator KING. What did they say?

Mr. MEERSCHEIDT. Well, they did not mean much. They said they would not support a Democratic candidate for President—they should not—unless he had certain views, and they stated the same thing about——

Senator WOLCOTT. What were those views—pro-German?

Mr. MEERSCHEIDT. No, sir.

Senator WOLCOTT. What were they?

Mr. MEERSCHEIDT. They were antagonistic——

Senator KING. To Germanism?

Mr. MEERSCHEIDT. No, sir; no; I do not really recall. Have you not got them?

There is that letter that Hexamer sent, that I spoke of [handing paper to the chairman]. This is a part of it [handing a printed leaflet to the chairman].

Mr. VON BOSSE. That is the letter he sent out before the election.

Senator KING. Is this what occurred at that meeting? I read from page 46 of the typewritten report of these hearings:

There was a thorough discussion of the political situation, and the following resolution was adopted unanimously: That the executive committee of the State Alliance

of Illinois send this password to all branch alliances: "Everybody against Roosevelt and Wilson."

Mr. MEERSCHEIDT. We did not get that.

Senator KING. What is that?

Mr. MEERSCHEIDT. Was such a resolution passed?

Senator KING. Was not that passed?

Mr. MEERSCHEIDT. I suppose it was passed, but it was not while I was there.

Senator KING. What is that?

Mr. MEERSCHEIDT. I say I suppose it was passed, but not while I was there. I was in the committee room, you know, when those things were done.

Senator KING. How many were there?

Mr. MEERSCHEIDT. They had about 500 delegates there. It was a large gathering.

Senator KING. Was Koelble there?

Mr. MEERSCHEIDT. Koelble?

Senator KING. Or Mr. Weismann, of New York?

Mr. MEERSCHEIDT. No, sir.

Senator KING. You adopted resolutions to oppose the nomination of anybody that was supposed to be not friendly to Germans?

Mr. MEERSCHEIDT. Well, yes; who was antagonistic to their views, and expressed sentiments that they favored Washington's idea of keeping aloof from foreign entanglements, and general language on that scale.

Senator KING. Neutrality?

Mr. MEERSCHEIDT. Yes.

Senator KING. Was your State chairman there?

Mr. MEERSCHEIDT. No. There was one other party from Texas there. The State chairman was not there.

Senator KING. Did you transmit to the State organization or the local branches the action of that convention?

Mr. MEERSCHEIDT. I certainly did it, to the State president.

Senator KING. That is, to the president of the State Alliance?

Mr. MEERSCHEIDT. Yes.

Senator KING. What was his name?

Mr. MEERSCHEIDT. Hugo Moeller.

Senator KING. Do you know whether or not he is a member of the National Alliance? Is he an officer or in any way connected with it?

Mr. MEERSCHEIDT. No, sir; he is not.

Senator KING. Do you know what action he took with respect to the local——

Mr. MEERSCHEIDT. He took no action at all.

Senator KING. He did not?

Mr. MEERSCHEIDT. No, sir. We have not had a State convention since that time.

Senator KING. Do you know whether or not he communicated with the local organizations?

Mr. MEERSCHEIDT. No, sir.

Senator KING. By letter or otherwise.

Mr. MEERSCHEIDT. No, sir; he took no action.

Senator KING. Do you know that he did not?

Mr. MEERSCHEIDT. No; he did not.

Senator KING. And did you take any further action?

Mr. MEERSCHEIDT. None at all.

Senator KING. Did your State Alliance take any action on the McLemore resolution?

Mr. MEERSCHEIDT. No.

Senator KING. Did your organization take any action on the immigration bill, as an organization?

Mr. MEERSCHEIDT. No, sir.

Senator WOLCOTT. Were you asked to, by the national organization?

Mr. MEERSCHEIDT. No, sir.

Senator KING. Have you anything else you want to submit?

Mr. MEERSCHEIDT. No, sir.

Senator KING. That is all, then.

The committee will stand in recess until 2 o'clock next Monday afternoon.

(Thereupon, at 5.40 o'clock p. m., the subcommittee adjourned until Monday, March 4, 1918, at 2 o'clock p. m.)

NATIONAL GERMAN-AMERICAN ALLIANCE.

MONDAY, MARCH 4, 1918.

UNITED STATES SENATE,
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY,
Washington, D. C.

The subcommittee met at 2 o'clock p. m. in the room of the Committee on the Judiciary in the Capitol.

Present: Senators King (chairman), Wolcott, and Sterling.

The subcommittee proceeded to take testimony at 2.20 o'clock.

TESTIMONY OF MR. JACOB FROHWERK.

(The witness was duly sworn by the chairman.)

Senator KING. State your name, age, and residence.

Mr. FROHWERK. Jacob Frohwerk; 54 years of age; Kansas City, Kans.

Senator KING. Mr. Frohwerk, as I understand, you have appeared here at your own instance and have requested to be permitted to make a statement. The subcommittee will be pleased to hear anything you have to say upon the matter which is the subject of investigation.

Mr. FROHWERK. I just wish to say that we would like to repudiate the charge appearing in the newspapers that the National German-American Alliance, or at least that part of it which I have the honor to represent—the State Alliance, the State branch, of Kansas—has ever received a cent of money from the Kaiser, or from the German government, or anyone connected with the German government; that we feel ourselves true, loyal American citizens who believe in the Constitution of the United States and who hold it more sacred than probably any other writing of man except the Bible. That has been our teaching in the State Alliance.

Senator WOLCOTT. Are you an officer of the National German-American Alliance?

Mr. FROHWERK. No, sir; I am only the president of a State branch.

Senator WOLCOTT. Have you ever been an officer of the national organization?

Mr. FROHWERK. No, sir; I have not.

Senator WOLCOTT. You therefore are not acquainted with the work it has been doing?

Mr. FROHWERK. Only in so far as I have come in contact with it at national conventions—and I have attended two of them, in St. Louis and in San Francisco—and at an executive meeting which was held in Chicago last November.

Senator KING. How long have you been president of the State organization?

Mr. FROHWERK. I believe it is either five or six years. The organization in Kansas has been organized about six or seven years, and I would not be quite positive as to that.

Senator KING. Did Dr. Hexamer have anything to do with effecting the organization in Kansas?

Mr. FROHWERK. No, sir; Adolph Timm. We had one organization in Kansas City, Kans., where I live, and Adolph Timm, the secretary, came out and organized about seven or eight different branches; and then we organized a State branch at Leavenworth. Here are our State by-laws [producing pamphlet].

Senator KING. Do you take the Bulletin?

Mr. FROHWERK. I get a copy sent to me; but I do not believe, outside of me, that any one in the State gets it.

Senator KING. Have you, as president of your organization, received any communications from Dr. Hexamer with respect to an embargo upon munitions?

Mr. FROHWERK. I have received so many communications in regard to the matter that I would be unable to say whether there was one from Dr. Hexamer on that proposition.

Senator KING. Did you receive communications from the central or the parent organization, either from Dr. Hexamer, Mr. Timm, or other members of the national organization, in regard to an embargo upon munitions?

Mr. FROHWERK. I believe we did; yes.

Senator KING. Were you asked to have your organization send telegrams to Congress to pass a law prohibiting the export of munitions and to influence the President or the Congress in favor of a policy against the export of munitions?

Mr. FROHWERK. I believe that that was the idea.

Senator KING. And did you send telegrams to your Congressmen and Senators?

Mr. FROHWERK. I do not know that we sent telegrams, but we sent petitions.

Senator KING. Did your organization meet and adopt resolutions?

Mr. FROHWERK. No; not then.

Senator KING. Well, at any time?

Mr. FROHWERK. No.

Senator KING. Did your State organization, in any of its meetings, adopt resolutions in regard to legislation?

Mr. FROHWERK. In regard to the embargo? I do not know. I do not remember that we ever did.

Senator KING. You do not remember one way or the other?

Mr. FROHWERK. No.

Senator KING. You sent telegrams, did you?

Mr. FROHWERK. I rather think that we—I should have said we sent petitions.

Senator KING. Petitions, yes. Who prepared those petitions?

Mr. FROHWERK. We had a number of blanks sent to us from a young lady from either Philadelphia or Baltimore, or from one of these big cities in the East here, a young lady who was quite taken up in that work.

Senator KING. Were petitions sent to you from Dr. Hexamer or the parent organization?

Mr. FROHWERK. I would not be positive whether they were or not. I say, there was so many; they were sent to us from the Embargo League of Chicago, too.

Senator KING. Did you receive any communications from the parent organization in regard to the arming of merchant ships and urging State action upon the part of the alliance?

Mr. FROHWERK. No; I do not remember that we did.

Senator KING. You said you received so many communications. Do you mean from Dr. Hexamer?

Mr. FROHWERK. That is true, too; a great many communications were received from Dr. Hexamer in regard to questions, and particularly in regard to the embargo. Upon the embargo question I received a number of communications from different sources, not alone from Dr. Hexamer, so that it is quite impossible for me to state just where they all did come from.

Senator KING. Did you receive any communications from the National German-American Alliance or its officers in regard to a constitutional amendment concerning prohibition?

Mr. FROHWERK. The question was up once before, was it not—the question of national prohibition?

Senator WOLCOTT. Yes. Do you mean once before just recently?

Mr. FROHWERK. Yes.

Senator WOLCOTT. Yes; it was up in the House of Representatives.

Mr. FROHWERK. And I remember receiving a letter then, or telegrams, and we did send a number of telegrams from our State to our different Congressmen; but I do not remember of and I do not think that any were sent at this time.

Senator KING. Were those telegrams sent in response to the suggestions of the National German-American Alliance or its officers, Dr. Hexamer or Mr. Timm or others of its officers?

Mr. FROHWERK. Generally the telegrams were signed "C. J. Hexamer"; but if they had not been sent we would have been inclined to send telegrams to our Congressmen, too, against nation-wide prohibition.

Senator WOLCOTT. To whom were the telegrams from Dr. Hexamer sent?

Mr. FROHWERK. To me.

Senator WOLCOTT. As the president of the State Alliance?

Mr. FROHWERK. Yes, sir.

Senator KING. Do you remember the immigration bill and the Hobson amendment to it?

Mr. FROHWERK. I have a faint recollection of the immigration bill; yes, sir.

Senator KING. Did you receive any communications from the National Alliance or its officers in regard to the immigration bill?

Mr. FROHWERK. Yes; the communications were received, but I do not remember the nature of the communications.

Senator KING. Do you recall what you did pursuant to those communications?

Mr. FROHWERK. The best I recollect now, I requested the presidents of our local branches to communicate with their Congressmen and to request that there be not too strict a law passed upon immigration; that we wanted immigration to this country as long as these

people were good, able-bodied men, and as long as they were not pronounced anarchists.

Senator KING. You took this action as president of your State organization?

Mr. FROHWERK. Yes, sir.

Senator KING. And communicated with the presidents of the local organizations?

Mr. FROHWERK. Exactly so.

Senator KING. Do you know to what extent they responded to your request?

Mr. FROHWERK. I do not.

Senator KING. Did you send any telegrams to Congressmen or Senators in regard to the immigration bill or the embargo act?

Mr. FROHWERK. I am quite sure that I did on the embargo act, but I am not so sure as to the immigration bill.

Senator KING. Did your organization prepare petitions in regard to the immigration bill and have them forwarded to Congress?

Mr. FROHWERK. That I am unable to say; it is so far back, sir. It is some years back.

Senator KING. Yes; some little time ago.

Did your organization receive any instructions from Dr. Hexamer or the parent organization as to what, if any, action should be taken in regard to school matters by your State or local organizations?

Mr. FROHWERK. No; there was no special instruction. That was rather included in the general statement of the organization itself, that we were to perpetuate the German language.

Senator KING. Did you have a propaganda committee in your State organization?

Mr. FROHWERK. No, sir.

Senator KING. You knew there was a propaganda committee of the national organization?

Mr. FROHWERK. For the German language.

Senator KING. Well, was the name "propaganda committee"? Do you know whether it was limited——

Mr. FROHWERK. We had such a number of committees and subcommittees that I would be unable to say whether we had a committee of that nature.

Senator KING. You know Mr. Joseph Keller, do you not?

Mr. FROHWERK. Yes, sir; I do.

Senator KING. He was vice president of your organization?

Mr. FROHWERK. He was; yes, sir—first vice president.

Senator KING. And was chairman of the propaganda committee, was he not?

Mr. FROHWERK. Well, he was chairman of some committee; I forget now.

Senator KING. Do you know whether or not at your convention in Indianapolis in 1915 a subsidiary organization for propaganda purposes was established?

Mr. FROHWERK. Well, it may have been and it may not have been, Senator; but in order to clear up the situation I would just like to make this general statement, if you will permit me.

Senator KING. Surely; anything you wish.

Mr. FROHWERK. And that is that as far as I understood the principle and understand now the principle of the German-American

National Alliance, it is that we would like to perpetuate and keep and foster the German language as one of the languages that would open to the American children a great fund of German literature, but that we insisted, always did insist, that as a matter of business and of patriotism the English language must be first and foremost; under all circumstances learn the language of the country first.

Senator KING. Were there any meetings held of the officers of the State alliances or representatives of the State alliances prior to the presidential election of 1916?

Mr. FROHWERK. No; that was not a meeting that emanated from the German-American Alliance. It was called by the State branch of the German-American Alliance of Pennsylvania—by the president of that alliance.

Senator KING. Mr. Mayer?

Mr. FROHWERK. Mr. Mayer; that is correct.

Senator KING. Did you attend?

Mr. FROHWERK. Yes; I did.

Senator KING. Resolutions were adopted at that meeting, were they not?

Mr. FROHWERK. Yes.

Senator KING. Which were published in the Bulletin?

Mr. FROHWERK. That I do not know, whether they were published in the Bulletin or not. They were published in all papers at that time, or at least in all German papers, and I will not say in how many of the Chicago papers at the time.

Senator KING. In those resolutions did you urge a union of all the Germans for political activity and political purposes?

Mr. FROHWERK. I believe we did.

Senator KING. Who of the leaders of the Alliance were present?

Mr. FROHWERK. Adolph Timm was present.

Senator KING. Was Mr. Keller there?

Mr. FROHWERK. No; I do not believe he was. I am sure he was not.

Senator KING. Do you know Mr. Robert L. Soergel?

Mr. FROHWERK. I met him once or twice.

Senator KING. Or Dr. Barth?

Mr. FROHWERK. Well, I do not know. We have a Dr. Bart in our city.

Senator KING. No; this is Barth.

Mr. FROHWERK. No. I have heard of him. I guess he is an organizer of the German-American Alliance, is he not?

Senator KING. I so understand.

Mr. FROHWERK. Yes.

Senator KING. Did they visit your State?

Mr. FROHWERK. No, sir.

Senator KING. You felt that there was no impropriety in the National German-American Alliance urging its members to act together politically?

Mr. FROHWERK. Senator, I wish to correct. It was not the National German-American Alliance that met in Chicago.

Senator KING. Yes.

Mr. FROHWERK. The call had been issued simply by the State Alliance of Pennsylvania, and in response to that call—that call had been issued to not only the members of the German-American Alli-

ance but to churches and a great many other organizations not affiliated with the German-American Alliance, and they responded to that call.

Senator KING. And there resolved to act together—that is, to have the Germans act together—politically as a body?

Mr. FROHWERK. Yes, sir.

Senator KING. You say you do not know whether those resolutions were published in your official organ?

Mr. FROHWERK. That I do not know, no; because I do not read it very much; that is, probably, the official part of it. I could not say.

Senator KING. Is there anything else?

Mr. FROHWERK. No, sir.

Senator KING. That is all, then.

Mr. FROHWERK. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, very much.

Senator KING. The committee will adjourn subject to the call of the chairman, and we will advise you of any further action.

Mr. SCHOLTZ. May I ask you to have the clerk notify me, Mr. Chairman?

Senator KING. We will do so. We will hold no meeting without giving you full notice.

(Thereupon, at 2.45 o'clock p. m., the subcommittee adjourned, subject to the call of the chairman.)

NATIONAL GERMAN-AMERICAN ALLIANCE.

SATURDAY, MARCH 9, 1918.

UNITED STATES SENATE,
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY,
Washington, D. C.

The subcommittee met at 2 o'clock p. m. in the room of the Committee on the Judiciary in the Capitol.

Present: Senators King (chairman), Wolcott, and Sterling.

Senator KING. The committee will be in order.

Mr. Andreae, we will hear you.

TESTIMONY OF MR. PERCY ANDREAE.

(The witness was duly sworn by Senator King.)

Senator KING. Where do you reside?

Mr. ANDREAE. In Chicago.

Senator KING. You are here under subpoena?

Mr. ANDREAE. Yes.

Senator KING. Your subpoena calls for the production of certain books, papers, and documents, which you have or have had in your possession as president of an organization known—what is the correct name of it?

Mr. ANDREAE. The National Association of Commerce and Labor.

Senator KING. The National Association of Commerce and Labor. Have you produced those books, documents, and papers?

Mr. ANDREAE. No, sir; I have not been able to. They are not in my possession. They are in the possession of the grand jury at Pittsburgh.

Senator KING. You were ordered to produce those in Pittsburgh, in an investigation that was being conducted there, and so far as you know they are in the possession of Mr. Humes, the district attorney there?

Mr. ANDREAE. Yes.

Senator KING. Have you any objection to having those produced here?

Mr. ANDREAE. None at all.

Senator KING. And if Mr. Humes, or whoever is their custodian, is subpœnaed and will produce them here you will treat them, and are willing to treat them, as if they had been produced by yourself?

Mr. ANDREAE. I am.

Senator KING. When was this organization of which you speak brought into existence?

Mr. ANDREAE. In 1914.

Senator KING. Under the laws of what State was it organized?

Mr. ANDREAE. I think we were incorporated in Illinois, but I am speaking from memory. I would not wish to be understood as stating that positively.

Senator KING. What was the general purpose of the organization?

Mr. ANDREAE. To combat prohibition.

Senator KING. Were you in charge of the organization?

Mr. ANDREAE. Yes.

Senator KING. Where were your headquarters?

Mr. ANDREAE. At Chicago.

Senator KING. In what building?

Mr. ANDREAE. Well, we had a house on Michigan Avenue, a private house, which was leased.

Senator KING. And I suppose this organization collected funds of considerable magnitude for the work before it?

Mr. ANDREAE. Yes.

Senator KING. Approximately what funds were collected during your connection with the organization?

Mr. ANDREAE. Well, of course, I speak from memory. The books will show everything, to a cent. We had everything audited, and I would not like, even within a hundred thousand dollars, to say, right or wrong, in the matter.

Senator KING. Yes.

Mr. ANDREAE. But so far as I remember in the three years that I was in charge the amount may have been $500,000 or may have been $600,000 or may have been $650,000.

Senator KING. It may have been a million?

Mr. ANDREAE. No; I do not think it was a million. I am nearly sure of that. I am sorry it was not.

Senator KING. And did all of the money to which you have referred pass through your hands?

Mr. ANDREAE. It was expended under my direction; yes. It did not pass through my hands. I did not have any control of any of it.

Senator KING. It was subject——

Mr. ANDREAE. It was subject to my orders.

Senator KING. To your orders?

Mr. ANDREAE. Yes.

Senator KING. When did you cease to be connected with the organization?

Mr. ANDREAE. In either October or November, 1915.

Senator KING. Is the organization still in existence?

Mr. ANDREAE. I believe it is.

Senator KING. Were the activities of this organization national in scope or confined to any State?

Mr. ANDREAE. No; they were national.

Senator KING. Was it so intended that they should be national?

Mr. ANDREAE. Yes.

Senator KING. Were there any instrumentalities employed by this organization in the propaganda and work for which it was organized?

Mr. ANDREAE. Were any activities employed?

Senator KING. Were any instrumentalities or agencies employed?

Mr. ANDREAE. Oh, yes; many.

Senator KING. Are you acquainted with the organization known as the National German-American Alliance?

Mr. ANDREAE. Yes.

Senator KING. Was that so employed?
Mr. ANDREAE. Yes.
Senator KING. For the purpose of combating prohibition?
Mr. ANDREAE. Prohibition; yes.
Senator KING. When was it first employed?
Mr. ANDREAE. Well, in 1914. May I make a statement that will simplify in stating how it was done?
Senator KING. Yes. We will let the record show, Mr. Andreae, that you have just come here, in obedience to subpœna, and the committee has had no chance to talk with you, so that some of our questions may be irrelevant and we may not ask those questions that will enable you to answer directly, giving the information which the committee is seeking to elicit. Proceed.
Mr. ANDREAE. The arrangement was made in 1914 with the heads of the German-American Alliance.
Senator WOLCOTT. In what part of the year 1914?
Mr. ANDREAE. It is rather difficult for me to give the exact time. I will have to think for a moment. I went to Europe that year. Is it very material?
Senator WOLCOTT. Only approximately I would like it. What season of the year was it—spring, summer, autumn, or winter?
Mr. ANDREAE. I rather fancy it was toward summer. Well, now, toward the summer, before I went abroad, I went to Philadelphia with Mr. Keller, whom I had become acquainted with, to see Dr. Hexamer.
Senator KING. Is Mr. Keller the vice president of the German-American Alliance?
Mr. ANDREAE. Of the German-American Alliance; I believe so. I am not sure.
Senator KING. And the president of the Indiana organization?
Mr. ANDREAE. So I understand.
Senator KING. Yes.
Mr. ANDREAE. I wanted Dr. Hexamer's consent to let Mr. Keller, who had had a great deal of experience in these particular lines that I was interested in, act with a view of bringing to the knowledge of his people the question in which we were interested, and that is the combating of prohibition.
Senator KING. When you say "his people" you mean——
Mr. ANDREAE. I mean the German-American Alliance, either National or State; and I would like to correct what I said before when I said that the scope was national. It was national but we worked in the States, just the same, wherever we could, combating prohibition whether it was State or national prohibition. We did the best we could to combat it.
Senator STERLING. Dr. Hexamer was president of the organization at that time?
Mr. ANDREAE. Yes; he was president of the organization at that time.
Senator STERLING. When you speak of the head of the organization, you refer to Dr. Hexamer?
Mr. ANDREAE. I refer to Dr. Hexamer. He gave his consent to an arrangement of this kind when I returned from Europe.
Senator KING. That is, Dr. Hexamer consented?
Mr. ANDREAE. Yes; he consented.

Senator KING. State what he said, please, as nearly as you can remember.

Mr. ANDREAE. I was a couple of days in Philadelphia, and the matter was discussed pro and con.

Senator KING. Kindly state what you said to him and what he said in reply in that discussion.

Mr. ANDREAE. That would be impossible; it was four years ago.

Senator KING. Well, just to the best of your recollection.

Mr. ANDREAE. There was so much said; the whole question was thrashed out. It is no doubt within your knowledge that the Germans, or those who are more recently from Europe whether they are Germans or whether they belong to other parts of Europe, have a very strong feeling against having their drink taken away from them—the right to have their drink. That was naturally discussed, and the ways and means of doing so. For instance, I heard from Dr. Hexamer how his organization distributed their literature, which was, I suppose, a public matter. I find it difficult to tell you anything in regard to that, because the discussion was so general except as to the particular that, as I have said, as far as I was able I would place the necessary funds at the disposal of whomever they might appoint to take charge of it for the purpose of enabling them to put this question in all its details before their people, so that they should be able to vote intelligently on the subject.

Senator WOLCOTT. Right there: You went to see Dr. Hexamer with the secretary of the National German-American Alliance?

Mr. ANDREAE. The vice president.

Senator WOLCOTT. I mean the vice president, Mr. Keller?

Mr. ANDREAE. Yes.

Senator WOLCOTT. Dr. Hexamer was the president. The purpose of that visit on your part was to secure the agency of the National German-American Alliance through which you might work the propaganda against prohibition?

Mr. ANDREAE. Yes.

Senator WOLCOTT. Dr. Hexamer, and also the vice president, Mr. Keller, agreed that you might use that organization for that purpose?

Mr. ANDREAE. Well, that I might use—that the organization would work with me, I giving them the means; and, of course, what they did upon their own initiative and not——

Senator WOLCOTT. Well, that is the point I am coming to. You said you offered to supply them the means of carrying on the work. By "them" do you mean the National German-American Alliance?

Mr. ANDREAE. Yes; certainly.

Senator WOLCOTT. Then this organization of which you were the head, the National Association of Commerce and Labor, interested primarily in combating prohibition, was to the extent you have indicated to operate through the German-American Alliance, you supplying simply the funds and they conducting the propaganda which you were primarily interested in? That was the situation, was it not?

Mr. ANDREAE. Yes; I think that is correctly stated.

Senator KING. And this arrangement was made at that visit which you had?

Mr. ANDREAE. At that visit, yes; Mr. Hexamer consented to Mr. Keller taking up this matter in that way.

Senator KING. For that organization?

Mr. ANDREAE. Well, now, there is a little difficulty. I am asked questions now which really deal with what was passing in the minds of other people. Now, whether the German-American Alliance or the National Association did this, or whether they did it as a side issue, I have nothing to do with the German-American Alliance except as to my relations in the past. They may have had reasons of their own why they did not do this as a national organization; because, mind you, I want you to understand, as fully as I can make you understand, how the situation was as far as I was able to see it.

The combating of prohibition, as I understand, is not the only object of the German-American Alliance. As I have always understood from my conversations with men in that body, their objects have been very largely to cultivate relationship between people of German origin in this country—well, I do not want to use a word that is in rather bad odor to-day, but I can use it as it was understood three or four years ago, and that is "promulgate"—to promulgate the cultural relations of the Germans, which they are very proud of—or were proud of. I do not know whether they are as proud of them to-day as they were a few years ago. Now, you can understand that when it comes to a question of combating prohibition, with the intense, fierce feelings that prohibition has created in this country, the feelings that I believe the Germans have been divided on themselves to this extent that the organization may have had reasons—and when I say this I have reason to believe that they had; although I will not state it under oath that they did have, I say that they may have had reasons—why the German-American Alliance as a national body should not be connected with an effort to combat prohibition per se. And therefore the arrangement was made that whatever funds I provided should not go into the treasury of the German-American Alliance but should go into the hands of what—well, I think it was the treasurer of the Alliance that held them. He held them as a separate fund.

Senator WOLCOTT. Who was he?

Mr. ANDREAE. Mr. Tjarks, of Baltimore.

Senator KING. You knew he was the treasurer of the organization?

Mr. ANDREAE. Well, yes; I knew it.

Senator WOLCOTT. As a matter of fact the funds that you supplied for the purpose arranged for at the Philadelphia conferences were paid by you to whom?

Mr. ANDREAE. To Mr. Tjarks. They were paid in to Mr. Tjarks, and he then paid over to Mr. Keller regularly whatever was required.

Senator WOLCOTT. He being the treasurer of the German-American Alliance?

Mr. ANDREAE. Well, so I understood. Of course I can not say that of my own knowledge.

Senator KING. Senator Sterling, does the committee believe that these documents, papers, correspondence, and data, showing the relations between the organization of which the witness was the president and Dr. Hexamer or other members of the National German-American Alliance, are pertinent and relevant to the issue or to the inquiry now being conducted by the committee?

Senator STERLING. I think so.

Senator WOLCOTT. I have not any doubt about it. Mr. Chairman My reason for it is this: I think that the charter of the German-American Alliance, given to it by the Federal Act incorporating it, scan it as closely as you might, can not be said to be a charter incorporating an antiprohibition propaganda. If this organization has permitted itself to depart from the purposes of its charter as indicated on the face and to constitute itself, even incidentally, if you please, as the disseminating agency of a propaganda against prohibition, it has violated its purpose, the very purpose of its charter.

Senator STERLING. I think it goes to the very essence of the inquiry.

Senator KING. The committee is unanimously of the opinion that the documents referred to in the subpœna duces tecum served upon the president of this organization, namely, the National Association of Commerce and Labor, are relevant and pertinent to the inquiry being conducted by the subcommittee. As chairman of the subcommittee I request you or direct you, Mr. Humes, in pursuance of the subpœna duces tecum which has been served upon you, to produce them. Let the record show that Mr. Humes is in the committee room.

I think, in fairness to Mr. Andreae, it is proper for the record to show that he has made no objections at all, and on the contrary has been very courteous and considerate in the matter of the production of documents referred to in the subpœna.

Mr. Andreae, you went to see Dr. Hexamer and the vice president, Mr. Keller, as members of this National German-American Alliance?

Mr. ANDREAE. Yes.

Senator KING. And you understood that you were dealing with them as officers of that organization?

Mr. ANDREAE. Oh, yes.

Senator KING. Was Mr. Tjarks, the present treasurer, present at those interviews—any of those interviews—during the two days that you were there?

Mr. ANDREAE. I do not think he was. I may be mistaken, but I do not think so.

Senator KING. Where did you meet him first, as you now recall?

Mr. ANDREAE. It may have been—I am afraid my memory is not very good on that subject.

Senator KING. Was it suggested by you or either of the officers of the German-American Alliance that it might be better for that organization to keep the funds which you furnished the organization for the purpose of carrying on this propaganda separate from the regular funds of that organization?

Mr. ANDREAE. Well, it was the general outcome of the discussions that we had. I could not say that I was given any particular part in arriving at that decision, but that was the ultimate decision.

Senator KING. What did you agree to furnish, for your organization, to the National German-American Alliance?

Mr. ANDREAE. Well, it depended upon what funds I was able to raise. Of course there were a very large number of firms that were interested in combating prohibition. I can give you a pretty fair estimate of the amount that was really handed over to Mr. Tjarks.

Senator KING. State it.

Senator WOLCOTT. Before you proceed with that, may I ask a question?

Senator KING. Certainly.

Senator WOLCOTT. I want to know whether you can state to us in a general way the reasons for keeping the funds that you contributed in a separate fund.

Mr. ANDREAE. Well, I could only give you my own opinion about that. That is, the reasons were reasons that were in the minds of these men themselves, and there only came to me certain obvious conclusions that it was better for the object that I was pursuing and for the object that they were pursuing to keep this as a separate fund, so that no questions among their own people should be raised as to the sources from which the money came. I think it is perfectly plain.

Senator WOLCOTT. In other words, the idea of keeping it as a separate fund was to cover up from the view of those who might be interested to know the source of the money.

Mr. ANDREAE. Well, now, I can only tell you what my opinion is. Is that worth anything as testimony?

Senator WOLCOTT. Yes; if it is based on the conversations you had there with them.

Mr. ANDREAE. Well, it is not based on the conversations. It is based upon, probably, my own personal idea as to the question of prohibition itself, and on how——

Senator WOLCOTT. And on human nature?

Mr. ANDREAE. Well, yes; just like yours.

Senator WOLCOTT. I do not want your opinion unless it is based on the conversations you had there with them.

Mr. ANDREAE. I am afraid I might be called upon to say something that might prejudice people, and I do not wish to do that.

Senator KING. Did you state to them approximately the amount that you would furnish per month?

Mr. ANDREAE. Well, I could not say that. I might have given them a minimum. Perhaps if I told you what was actually furnished—but there, too, I can not state within a thousand dollars, but only as far as I remember; but I think perhaps Mr. Humes can tell you, because he went through the books and papers. I believe in the first year an amount of about $12,000 was spent, and I think in the next year a similar amount; it may have been a little more, but I do not think it was less; it was more, if anything.

Senator STERLING. Was it to be paid at stated periods?

Mr. ANDREAE. No; as I got vouchers for everything that was expended in various directions where the expenditures were going forward usually, naturally expended in certain States where the prohibition question was uppermost at the time; sending out men in the way of speaking; expenses for literature; getting information with regard to the attitude of people on this question. In other words, my idea was simply to see that the people who voted on the question should vote intelligently, that is all; that they knew what they were voting about.

Senator STERLING. You discussed the question as to the States or the localities where the propaganda should be carried on and where it was most needed throughout the country?

Mr. ANDREAE. With Mr. Keller; yes, sir.

Senator WOLCOTT. You said it was $12,000 the first year and $14,000 the second year. Was there a third year?

Mr. ANDREAE. Well, yes. I continued—after I gave up the presidency I still continued—for another year to supply funds.

Senator WOLCOTT. How much did you supply that third year?

Mr. ANDREAE. So far as my memory serves me, it was between $12,000 and $15,000.

Senator KING. Did you pay any to Mr. Keller directly and not to Mr. Tjarks, the treasurer?

Mr. ANDREAE. I do not think I did.

Senator KING. Are you sure about that?

Mr. ANDREAE. Well, I would not like to be sure—I would not like to say that I am sure, because there are possibilities that I might have—I may have—reimbursed him; for instance, for money that he expended. I do not know.

Senator KING. Did not Mr. Keller expend considerable sums in Iowa for which you paid him directly?

Mr. ANDREAE. I doubt it. Well, now, this is a matter of memory.

Senator KING. I comprehend that.

Mr. ANDREAE. Because my whole object was that, so far as the funds went into Mr. Tjarks's hands, according to the understanding with Mr. Keller he would notify me from time to time when his funds had reached a low level in Mr. Tjarks's hands. I never was in communication directly, so far as I remember, with Mr. Tjarks. There may have been a check gone to Mr. Keller to reimburse him for something he expended. I would not like to have to answer that directly, because my memory does not serve me.

Senator KING. Will you say that the amount you paid the German-American Alliance—I mean the parent organization—did not exceed $50,000?

Mr. ANDREAE. I think I am sure in saying that it did not reach that.

Senator KING. It would be between $45,000 and $50,000?

Mr. ANDREAE. No; I think it would be even lower than that. However, it does not matter, $5,000 or $10,000.

Senator KING. Did you pay a State organization of the German-American Alliance?

Mr. ANDREAE. I did not.

Senator KING. Did your organization?

Mr. ANDREAE. No.

Senator KING. All the payments made, then, were pursuant to the arrangements you made with Dr. Hexamer and the vice president, Mr. Keller, and others who may have been present, at the two days' conference in Philadelphia?

Mr. ANDREAE. Well, the arrangement was really made between me and Mr. Keller after I had understood that Dr. Hexamer consented to it. I really was not present when Dr. Hexamer gave his consent. I only heard that afterwards.

Senator KING. You presented the matter to Dr. Hexamer?

Mr. ANDREAE. Yes.

Senator KING. And then you were advised that he assented to that proposition?

Mr. ANDREAE. Yes.

Senator STERLING. You had known Dr. Hexamer prior to that time, had you not?

Mr. ANDREAE. No; I do not think so. I do not think I ever met Dr. Hexamer except the time I went to Philadelphia.

Senator STERLING. Had you had correspondence with him?

Mr. ANDREAE. No.

Senator STERLING. How did you come to go to see Dr. Hexamer?

Mr. ANDREAE. I was advised, really, by Mr. Schwaab, who is a very prominent member of the German-American Alliance—wait a minute. I do not want to get snarled up. I know I had never seen Dr. Hexamer, because I did not know him. I had heard a great deal about him, and I went to Philadelphia, and I think I can now say that Mr. Tjarks was in Philadelphia at that time. I think he was; I think I am safe in that. Mr. Keller can tell you.

Senator KING. Did Mr. Keller go with you?

Mr. ANDREAE. Yes. Well, I met him there. He was to go with Judge Schwaab of Cincinnati, with whom I had had a great many dealings in Ohio, where the German-American Alliance has an organization that is very active against prohibition. Judge Schwaab did not accompany Mr. Keller to Philadelphia.

Senator KING. You had dealt with the State organization in Ohio before this occasion?

Mr. ANDREAE. Well, we had worked together.

Senator KING. You and the officers of the State organization?

Mr. ANDREAE. Yes.

Senator KING. Did you have any correspondence with Dr. Hexamer yourself after your departure from Philadelphia?

Mr. ANDREAE. Yes; I had correspondence with him.

Senator KING. Do you recall what the subject matter of your correspondence was?

Mr. ANDREAE. I am under the impression that they were more or less informal matters, because I had nothing whatever to do with Dr. Hexamer after once the arrangement had been made with Mr. Keller; but the letters are there, Mr. Chairman, and I would rather that they should speak for themselves. I might make a mistake and it might look as though I was trying to conceal something, and there is nothing to conceal.

Senator KING. It was your arrangement, then, to carry out the arrangement made with the vice president, Mr. Keller?

Mr. ANDREAE. Yes.

Senator KING. And Mr. Tjarks, the treasurer?

Mr. ANDREAE. Yes; that was, simply, whenever Mr. Keller notified me that the fund had gone below a certain amount then I always replenished it.

Senator KING. How did you pay these funds?

Mr. ANDREAE. By check or draft.

Senator KING. To Mr. Tjarks?

Mr. ANDREAE. Yes; I suppose they were made out to Mr. Tjarks, treasurer, or to Mr. Tjarks as chairman.

Senator KING. What was the arrangement you had with Mr. Keller, the vice president, as to the manner in which the National German-American Alliance should operate and the manner in which it would expend the money which you contributed?

Mr. ANDREAE. It was done in this way: Wherever, for instance, the liquor question came up in a legislature or in an election I gathered in my way all the information I could possibly gather with regard to the attitude of people who were up for election, for instance, and when I had that information my purpose was to convey it to as many

people as I possibly could. Nothing further, except that they should know exactly what the attitude of those men was. I believe that we all vote very largely without knowing whom we are voting for.

Senator KING. Did you have frequent conferences with Mr. Keller during the three years?

Mr. ANDREAE. Oh, yes.

Senator KING. And receive reports from him from time to time with reference to the activities of his organization?

Mr. ANDREAE. Yes.

Senator KING. Did you come in contact with the activities of the organization so as to know whether they were giving you a return for the contributions you were making?

Mr. ANDREAE. Well, I saw a good deal of correspondence, and I think results showed that they were doing good work.

Senator KING. What, to your knowledge, did Mr. Keller, the vice president, do?

Mr. ANDREAE. As far as I am aware, his principal work consisted in writing, communicating with leaders in his particular organizations and among the German societies and turnvereins and all that sort of thing, and in speaking. That is all I know he did.

Senator KING. Did he visit various States?

Mr. ANDREAE. Yes; he visited—I know he was in Iowa visiting the various branch societies. I do not know whether he was anywhere else. He may have been.

Senator KING. Did Dr. Hexamer make any visits to the various States?

Mr. ANDREAE. Not to my knowledge. He may have.

Senator KING. Were organizers sent out by Mr. Keller for the purpose of carrying on the propaganda against prohibition?

Mr. ANDREAE. Yes; he had two men, I think, who were working with him who did the same thing as he did.

Senator KING. Were they Dr. Barth and Mr. Soergel?

Mr. ANDREAE. Soergel; that is right.

Senator KING. Do you know whether they went to Texas?

Mr. ANDREAE. I think they did. Wait a minute. No; I do not think they did. I think the man who went to Texas was some one else. I am not sure.

Senator KING. You understood that Mr. Keller sent men to Texas, did you?

Mr. ANDREAE. Yes; I think so. Yes; I think he did.

Senator STERLING. Did your arrangement with Dr. Hexamer and Mr. Keller cover the question of literature—anti-prohibition literature?

Mr. ANDREAE. Yes.

Senator STERLING. And by whom was the literature to be published and sent out?

Mr. ANDREAE. Literature went out in the way of letters and circulars, I suppose from Mr. Keller's office; and then they have, I believe, an organ of their own, what they call their Bulletin.

Senator STERLING. You yourself furnished some information from which literature—or statements, anyhow, on which it was based—was sent out by the Alliance?

Mr. ANDREAE. I can not recall any particular instance where that occurred, but if I had any such information I certainly would have given it.

Senator STERLING. Yes. Your arrangement also covered the question of speakers to be sent out?

Mr. ANDREAE. Yes; that was the principal thing.

Senator STERLING. To be paid for by your organization or by the funds collected by your organization, sent to the treasurer?

Mr. ANDREAE. The expenses were paid. I do not know that there was anything but the expenses—I mean, for those whom they utilized in the various States.

Senator WOLCOTT. The funds that you paid over to this Baltimore treasurer, Tjarks I think you called him——

Mr. ANDREAE. Yes.

Senator WOLCOTT. Were kept separate and distinct from the German-American Alliance funds? That was your understanding?

Mr. ANDREAE. That is my understanding.

Senator WOLCOTT. The literature that went out for which these funds paid went out, did it or did it not, as strictly German-American Alliance literature?

Mr. ANDREAE. I should think so; yes, sir.

Senator WOLCOTT. So that there was no segregation of the propaganda from the German-American Alliance organization like there was in the funds used, from its funds?

Mr. ANDREAE. No.

Senator STERLING. And speakers sent out were sent out under the direction and auspices of the Alliance?

Mr. ANDREAE. They were sent out under the auspices of Mr. Keller.

Senator STERLING. Well, under your arrangement with Dr. Hexamer and with Mr. Keller at Philadelphia?

Mr. ANDREAE. Yes.

Senator WOLCOTT. Who organized this National Association of Commerce and Labor?

Mr. ANDREAE. I did.

Senator WOLCOTT. You had some one else with you?

Mr. ANDREAE. I beg your pardon?

Senator WOLCOTT. You had some one else with you in the organization?

Mr. ANDREAE. Oh, yes; certainly. The organization was sustained, I may say, by thousands of firms in the country whose existence depends upon the defeat of prohibition.

Senator KING. Those firms were brewery firms?

Mr. ANDREAE. Yes; and——

Senator KING. And liquor firms solely?

Mr. ANDREAE. Oh, no. There were hundreds and hundreds of supply firms.

Senator KING. And liquor dealers generally; is that the idea?

Mr. ANDREAE. No; you take, for instance—why, it goes down to saddlers. Quite small people depend very largely upon their trade with breweries. The ramifications of that trade are enormous. You take men who make malt and people who grow hops, though they are, peculiarly enough, dry, although they depend entirely for their——

Senator WOLCOTT. Would this be a correct statement, to say that the organization of the National Association of Commerce and Labor was organized by brewery and allied interests?

Mr. ANDREAE. Yes; and allied interests, including the labor unions.

Senator WOLCOTT. Would that include also the dealers in spirituous liquors?

Mr. ANDREAE. Yes, indeed.

Senator WOLCOTT. They are included?

Mr. ANDREAE. Yes.

Senator WOLCOTT. Then, generally speaking, the intoxicating-liquor trade and its allied industries?

Mr. ANDREAE. Yes; that is it.

Senator WOLCOTT. Those trades are organized in some kind of a national association?

Mr. ANDREAE. Yes; the United States Brewers' Association I presume you refer to.

Senator WOLCOTT. Was the National Association of Commerce and Labor organized in reality by the United States Brewers' Association?

Mr. ANDREAE. Yes; you may say it was; really, at my suggestion.

Senator WOLCOTT. So that the activities that you have been describing, carried on through the German-American Alliance and the funds supplied to the German-American Alliance, were emanating in the last analysis from the United States Brewers' Association?

Mr. ANDREAE. Oh, yes; the funds—and the allied trades.

Senator KING. In 1914–1915 practically all the money that you collected or that was paid to the organization of which you were president came from the distillers and the brewers, did it not?

Mr. ANDREAE. No; not all. That was what afterwards proved the bone of contention. I wanted an organization of the allied firms, among the allied trades such as the bottle-makers and glass-makers and so on. I got a considerable amount of funds from them.

Senator KING. Did not a great portion of your funds, say 75 to 90 per cent, come from the brewers and distillers?

Mr. ANDREAE. In 1914–1915?

Senator KING. In 1914–1915.

Mr. ANDREAE. It is possible. I would not like to be committed on that.

Senator WOLCOTT. Your books would show?

Mr. ANDREAE. They show every cent.

Senator WOLCOTT. Was it included in your talk with Dr. Hexamer and the officers—Mr. Keller and Mr. Tjarks—that the Bulletin, to which you just referred, should be used whenever it could—or whenever they could use it—for the carrying on of this propaganda?

Mr. ANDREAE. No; I do not think that was ever discussed at all.

Senator KING. You mentioned in your testimony the fact that articles were to be published in the Bulletin?

Mr. ANDREAE. No; what I meant to convey, whatever I said—I do not remember; but what I meant to convey—is that they had their means of communication with their members in the form of their Bulletin.

Senator KING. Oh, yes.

Mr. ANDREAE. I have seen a few numbers of that Bulletin. I can not say that I have seen very many. If I recollect correctly, they certainly did not conceal their antagonism to prohibition.

Senator KING. Yes.

Mr. ANDREAE. But I do not think that that was either exclusively or even in the majority of cases the principal part of the Bulletin.

Senator KING. Were you asked at this meeting or at a subsequent one to pay for offices in the city of Washington for the purpose of aiding in the propaganda?

Mr. ANDREAE. The correspondence will show it, Mr. Chairman, if that is true. I have a hazy notion that something of the kind was there.

Senator KING. Do you recall agreeing to pay $600 per year for office rent?

Mr. ANDREAE. It is possible. I think the correspondence will show it. If we had the correspondence here it would aid me considerably.

Senator WOLCOTT. Mr. Chairman, if the correspondence is here why not let us have it?

Senator KING (handing witness paper). Just look at that gentleman's name. This is not the answer [indicating].

Mr. ANDREAE (after examining paper). Yes; I think you are right.

Senator KING. I will ask you now whether or not your organization was asked by Dr. Hexamer to finance the maintenance of an office in this city to influence Congress or otherwise in regard to prohibition?

Mr. ANDREAE. Again I would like to postpone my answer until the correspondence is here, because I do not want to say anything that might reflect upon——

Senator KING. Yes. The committee does not want you to do that.

Senator WOLCOTT. How do you spell your name?

Mr. ANDREAE. A-n-d-r-e-a-e.

Senator WOLCOTT. These books and papers that are in the possession of the district attorney at Pittsburgh were turned over by you to him. Do your books show all the moneys received by you and the sources?

Mr. ANDREAE. Every cent.

Senator WOLCOTT. That is, the total amount and the source of each amount?

Mr. ANDREAE. I think so. Every amount is there.

Senator WOLCOTT. And do they also show all the distribution by you?

Mr. ANDREAE. Yes; the accounts were audited, and we have the auditor's statement and we have also all the vouchers, so that every one was vouched for, both the source from which it came and its ultimate destination that it reached.

Senator STERLING. By whom audited; by an officer of the association?

Mr. ANDREAE. Oh, no; by a well-known firm of accountants of Chicago, entirely separate from the association. You have the auditor's statement. I forget the name of the firm. It is a well-known firm.

Senator KING. Collections were made by you, and payments to the organization, after May, 1916, were they not?

Mr. ANDREAE. After May, 1916?

Senator KING. Yes.

Mr. ANDREAE. Yes; I think so. I think I wound up the end of 1916.

Senator KING. So that the books in the possession of Mr. Humes would show nothing after May, 1916?

Mr. ANDREAE. No; that was afterwards.

Senator KING. Where are your records since May, 1916?

Mr. ANDREAE. Well, if they exist still they are in the hands of the Anheuser-Busch Brewing Association. That is, Mr. Anheuser, who was my treasurer after I resigned from the——

Senator KING. I see.

Mr. ANDREAE. Perhaps it will explain matters: I was not persona grata with the United States Brewers' Association as an organization. I suppose I was forced upon them by a very large influence of the brewing interests of the country at a time when things looked very black; and I had anything but a pleasant time during my administration of affairs. There were certain people who did not approve of my methods; that was all.

Senator STERLING. Did your activities or the funds collected by you relate to any other activity or have any other purpose than the antiprohibition propaganda?

Mr. ANDREAE. None at all.

Senator STERLING. None whatever?

Mr. ANDREAE. None whatever.

Senator STERLING. You spoke about the activities of the State German-American Alliance in Ohio.

Mr. ANDREAE. Yes.

Senator STERLING. Let me ask if you, in your work, worked with the State Alliance before your arrangement with Dr. Hexamer—with the State Alliance of Ohio?

Mr. ANDREAE. Yes. The one I worked with particularly was Judge Schwaab, who was at the head of it—well, yes, the alliance; he was of the alliance.

Senator STERLING. You carried on your prohibition propaganda in the State of Ohio?

Mr. ANDREAE. In very much the same way as we have been trying to do it nationally.

Senator STERLING. The same as that with the National German-American Alliance?

Mr. ANDREAE. Yes. Of course I want to add, for myself, that my work with the German-American Alliance was one of many things that were being done. It was merely an item.

Senator KING. Were not payments made by the brewers of Iowa in an indirect way—I am not criticizing it at all—which were to be used through the National German-American Alliance and particularly Mr. Keller and which your books would not show.

Mr. ANDREAE. Well, as far as I remember, and I think the correspondence gives all those details—as far as I remember certain contributions were made or had been made, in the State, by the brewers and others interested in fighting prohibition, to the State Alliance, and I was particularly anxious and I think those who were working with me in the National Alliance were anxious that these funds should not go direct to that State Alliance. I do not mean to say that any of them were wasted; but, concentrated in one source, they were more liable to produce good effects; and therefore—I am speaking now from memory—I think the arrangement was made that these funds should go first into the treasury, into the hands of Mr. Tjarks, and then go through them to the State Alliance, whether for local reasons or——

Senator WOLCOTT. The funds that went from you to Mr. Tjarks?

Mr. ANDREAE. Yes.

Senator WOLCOTT. They were distinct from the German-American Alliance general funds; that is your understanding?

Mr. ANDREAE. That is my understanding.

Senator WOLCOTT. When they emanated from Mr. Tjarks at Baltimore to the various State organizations, do you know whether they went as funds under the name of the German-American Alliance then?

Mr. ANDREAE. No; let me explain: Mr. Tjarks merely held these funds as treasurer. The man who disbursed the funds was Mr. Keller, who was in Indianapolis; and he drew upon Mr. Tjarks for his needs, and whoever got these funds got them from Mr. Keller, do you not see?

Senator WOLCOTT. I see.

Mr. ANDREAE. Now, what conclusion you reach on that subject is only, on my part, a matter of understanding. It is plain on the face of it that the funds were not the funds of the National German-American Alliance but were a separate fund in the hands of the treasurer of that Alliance, who disbursed them at the order of Mr. Keller, and the order of Mr. Keller was always to himself.

Senator WOLCOTT. That was the fact of the matter; but the appearance of it to one who did not know the inside arrangement might have been quite otherwise.

Mr. ANDREAE. Of course, the conclusion everybody can——

Senator WOLCOTT. You do not know what representations Mr. Keller made when he distributed the funds to those who got them last? You do not know what representations he made?

Mr. ANDREAE. No; I can not say that I know that of my own knowledge. That was their own internal affair, that I had nothing to do with except to approve; because, on the face of it, it seemed to be a reasonable proposition. It was practically to concentrate everything in one hand.

Senator KING. Had you known Mr. Keller before you made this arrangement?

Mr. ANDREAE. No; I think I met him for the first time in Philadelphia.

Senator KING. Was he chairman of the Indiana Alliance?

Mr. ANDREAE. Yes; I think he was president of the State Alliance.

Senator KING. As well as vice president of the National German-American Alliance?

Mr. ANDREAE. Yes; I believe so. I am not sure.

Senator KING. Did you ask Mr. Keller or Dr. Hexamer to furnish to representatives whom you would send to do propaganda work credentials from the National German-American Alliance representing your men to be members of that organization, so as to give them greater weight and standing with members of that organization?

Mr. ANDREAE. Well, now, I can not say. There is one case that might——

Senator KING. Do you mean Mr. Wirmel?

Mr. ANDREAE. Yes; there is one case that might come under the description. I do not know that that is a correct description.

Senator KING. Mr. Wirmel did have credentials?

Mr. ANDREAE. I can only state from hearsay, but I think Mr. Wirmel is a member of the National German-American Alliance; I do not think they would give credentials to a man who was not.

Mr. Wirmel was also secretary of one of the influential engineers' associations of the country, and he had credentials from his body. That is the only case that I think comes within that description.

Senator KING. Mr. Humes has produced some records here. Mr. Humes, you will please be sworn.

TESTIMONY OF HON. EDWIN LOWRY HUMES.

(Mr. Humes, United States Attorney for the Western District of Pennsylvania, was duly sworn by Senator King.)

Senator KING. Pursuant to the subpœna served upon you have you produced some data—some correspondence or letters—that were in your possession, to which Mr. Andreae referred and which you got from him?

Mr. HUMES. I have, sir.

Senator KING. Please hand them to the committee. Have you there those letters between him and Dr. Hexamer?

Mr. HUMES. Yes, sir.

(A number of files and letters were produced by the witness and handed to the chairman.)

TESTIMONY OF MR. ANDREAE—Resumed and concluded.

Senator KING. Mr. Andreae, I call your attention to a letter here [indicating] dated December 20, 1913, signed by C. J. Hexamer. Is that a letter you received from Dr. Hexamer, president of the National German-American Alliance?

Mr. ANDREAE. I have no doubt it is. It comes from my files; it must be.

Senator KING. Just look at it and see. That is one of your files [indicating file of letters]?

Mr. ANDREAE. Is there not the letter that was written to him, to which he refers?

Senator KING. Here it is [indicating].

Mr. ANDREAE. Oh, I see. [After examination of letter.] Yes.

Senator KING. Now I call your attention to a carbon copy of a letter dated December 17, 1913, addressed to "Dr. C. J. Hexamer, Philadelphia, Pa." Is that a copy of a letter that you wrote to Dr. Hexamer?

Mr. ANDREAE. Yes.

Senator KING. And the following——

Mr. ANDREAE. Is the reply.

Senator KING. Is the reply?

Mr. ANDREAE. Yes.

Senator KING. Please read that letter.

Mr. ANDREAE. It reads as follows:

DECEMBER 17, 1913.

DR. C. J. HEXAMER,
Philadelphia, Pa.

MY DEAR DOCTOR: You have doubtless learned through the newspaper press of the demonstration recently made in Washington by the united anti-liquor forces of the country on the occasion of the introduction in Congress of the Hobson, Sheppard, and Works resolutions providing for the nation-wide prohibition of the manufacture, sale, and importation of alcoholic beverages, copies of which I herein inclose.

Huge petitions praying for the adoption of these resolutions by the Congress were presented on this occasion, and they are being followed up by floods of letters and telegrams from all parts of the country insisting upon the passage of the resolutions.

Unless, therefore, those opposed to nation-wide prohibition make their sentiments and opinions promptly known to Congress, it is clearly evident that those resolutions will be passed.

May I suggest that you issue a general call to all your local German-American Alliances, requesting them with the utmost promptness to pass strong resolutions protesting against the passage of these resolutions and to forward these protests (giving the total membership of the alliances) to the respective Members of Congress from their districts, to the United States Senators from their States, and also to Hon. Henry D. Clayton, chairman of the Judiciary Committee of the House, and Senator Charles A. Culberson, chairman of the Judiciary Committee of the Senate, which committees have these resolutions under their consideration.

May I also ask you to let me know when you have done this and what I may figure the bulk and extent of the protests to be that will go forth from the alliances. You will readily understand that this knowledge will be of considerable value to me in the general progress of the campaign.

Very truly yours,

Senator KING. The next letter there [indicating] is his reply?

Mr. ANDREAE. That is his reply.

Senator KING. Please read it.

Mr. ANDREAE. That letter reads:

PHILADELPHIA, PA.,
December 20, 1915.

Mr. PERCY ANDREAE,
3357 South Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Ill.

DEAR SIR: In reply to your favor of the 17th instant, I beg leave to state that your wishes will be promptly carried out.

Yours very truly,

C. J. HEXAMER.

Senator KING. State upon what letterhead that is written.

Mr. ANDREAE. It is written upon the letterhead of the National German-American Alliance of the United States of America.

Senator KING. Where located?

Mr. ANDREAE. It is upon the letterhead, "Main Office; 419 Walnut Street, Philadelphia, Pa."

Senator KING. Is that where you met Dr. Hexamer?

Mr. ANDREAE. I have no doubt it is.

Senator KING. State the names of the officials of the organization as stated upon that letterhead.

Mr. ANDREAE. They are stated as follows: "President, Dr. C. J. Hexamer, Philadelphia, Pa.; secretary, Adolph Timm, Philadelphia, Pa.; first vice president, Joseph Keller, Indianapolis, Ind.; second vice president, John Tjarks, Baltimore, Md.; third vice president, Julius Moersch, St. Paul, Minn.; fourth vice president, John Hermann, San Francisco, Cal.; fifth vice president, John Schwaab, Cincinnati, Ohio; sixth vice president, A. P. Scheurman, Kansas City, Mo.; seventh vice president, Dr. Leo Stern, Milwaukee, Wis.; eighth vice president, Dr. F. H. Dammasch, Portland, Oreg.; treasurer, H. Weniger, Philadelphia, Pa.; financial secretary, Herman Weder, Philadelphia, Pa.; office manager, A. Godsho; editor of the Bulletin and press agent, Max Heinrici."

Senator WOLCOTT. Do you know whether, following the date of that letter of Dr. Hexamer in which he said "your wishes will be promptly carried out", the German-American Alliance throughout the country did adopt this resolution as you requested Dr. Hexamer to have them adopt it?

Mr. ANDREAE. Yes.

Senator WOLCOTT. It was pretty generally adopted?

Mr. ANDREAE. Yes; I think so.

Senator WOLCOTT. Were they all, to your knowledge, forwarded here to Washington?

Mr. ANDREAE. I think so.

Senator KING. Did you receive another letter from Dr. Hexamer with reference to this propaganda?

Mr. ANDREAE (after examining letter file). Yes. Do you wish me to read it, Mr. Chairman?

Senator KING. Yes.

Mr. ANDREAE. This reads as follows: "Philadelphia, Pa., December 24, 1913".

Senator KING. Is that on the same letterhead as the former letter which you just read?

Mr. ANDREAE. Yes.

Senator KING. Proceed, please.

Mr. ANDREAE. It is on the letterhead of the National German-American Alliance of the United States of America. It is as follows;

PHILADELPHIA, PA., *December 24, 1913.*

Mr. PERCY ANDREAE,
3357 South Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Ill.

MY DEAR MR. ANDREAE: The inclosed literature has gone to everyone of the 700 German newspapers with regard to repeatedly publishing this matter in their news columns and to also call attention to it in special editorials. Furthermore it will be sent to every one of our State branches and their subbranches, and, if possible, to any German society of any kind throughout the United States. Judging by the results I obtained by a similar agitation for a petition in favor of the Boers at the time, we should have at least 4,000,000 of protests entered in Congress against these obnoxious measures.

With kindest regards, I am, yours sincerely,

C. J. HEXAMER.

Senator WOLCOTT. May I ask to what literature reference is made there, Mr. Andreae?

Mr. ANDREAE. Have you got any of that, Mr. Humes?

Senator KING. Is it that [indicating document in file]?

Mr. HUMES. Yes; it is all in that file.

Mr. ANDREAE. Yes; I suppose that meant forms of protests for the various branch organizations and their members.

Senator King. Do you find them accompanying his letter?

Mr. ANDREAE. Yes; I suppose these are the ones [indicating]. I suppose these are what he refers to; yes. Here it is in German.

Senator KING. What are these forms here [indicating]?

Mr. ANDREAE. There are rather peculiar expressions in this, Mr. Chairman.

Senator KING. What is that [indicating]?

Mr. ANDREAE. "Central Bureau of the National German-American Alliance."

Senator KING. Is that a copy he sent you?

Mr. ANDREAE. Yes.

Senator KING. Is it in German?

Mr. ANDREAE. Yes.

Senator KING. Just read it.

Mr. ANDREAE. In German or in English?

Senator KING. Translate it if you can.

Mr. ANDREAE. Well, it is rather peculiarly worded. I presume what it means is: "I beg to hand you herewith something for further distribution."

Senator KING. And it is signed how?

Mr. ANDREAE. "Central Bureau of the National Alliance, President." Then there are forms in behalf of so and so and mentioning various names.

Senator KING. What was the form which he sent you, to which he referred?

Mr. ANDREAE. That is this, here [indicating].

Senator KING. Read it.

Mr. ANDREAE (reading):

PHILADELPHIA, PA., *December, 1915.*

In behalf of the ——— representing ——— American citizens, we vigorously protest against H. J. R. 168; S. J. R. 88; and S. J. R. 50, or any similar prohibition measures.

———

President.

Senator KING. Now, what is the document that accompanied the letter which you have just read, which you received from Dr. Hexamer?

Mr. ANDREAE. Well, it is an appeal to the newspapers—to the German newspapers—to whom he sends it; it is to give publicity to the following, which is in German. It is a description of the Hobson resolution and what it amounts to, both in the House and the Senate. Do you wish me to translate it all? It would be quite a job to do it offhand.

Senator KING. How is it signed?

Mr. ANDREAE. Of course, it is signed "C. J. Hexamer, President."

Senator KING. I think probably Mr. Andreae had better make a translation and hand it to the reporter later.

Senator STERLING. I think so.

Mr. SCHOLTZ. Mr. Chairman, I am willing, if you will permit me, to save your time if you are agreeable, to make this admission: The National German-American Alliance is perfectly willing to admit that it has combated, to the best and fullest extent of its means, prohibition at all times, and if you want to revoke our charter on that point we are willing to submit to it; but, as to the other points that have been brought against us since the address of Mr. Ohlinger, those, of course, we strenuously deny.

Senator KING. Let me see if I understand you. As attorney for your organization, are you authorized to make the admission which you have just made?

Mr. SCHOLTZ. I am.

Senator KING. You were here the other day when Mr. von Bosse, the president of the organization, was here, and you were introduced to the committee, as I understood the president, as the attorney for the organization.

Mr. SCHOLTZ. Yes.

Senator KING. And you are one of the officers of the organization?

Mr. SCHOLTZ. No; I am not. I am the State member for the State of Maryland of the Advisory Committee of the National German-American Alliance.

Senator KING. I see; and as the attorney for this organization you admit here upon the record, giving to the admission the full legal effect that such an admission might give, that the National German-

American Alliance has, as an organization, used all of the influence that it could command to combat prohibition?

Mr. SCHOLTZ. Prohibition measures in Congress and in the States. I want to be clear on that point.

Senator KING. And that it has used the State organizations and local organizations for that purpose?

Mr. SCHOLTZ. I can not say that it has used, because there was no necessity for using it—well, I will even admit that. Yes; I will admit that. We have fought prohibition tooth and toenail wherever it was necessary.

Senator KING. Do you admit that the organization received money from the organization of which Mr. Andreae was president, for the purpose of combating prohibition?

Mr. SCHOLTZ. That I can not admit, for I have no personal knowledge of it, either as attorney or as an individual.

Senator STERLING. I would like to follow that with this question, Mr. Chairman?

Senator KING. Yes; go ahead.

Senator STERLING. Will you say that it was within the scope or the power of the National German-American Alliance, and within the scope of its purposes, to enter into an arrangement with the organization which Mr. Andreae represented, for the purpose of combating prohibition?

Mr. SCHOLTZ. That depends upon the interpretation, of course, of these charter provisions; and we go out upon this theory, that prohibition is a menace not only to the nation, but that it is a destruction of the individual rights and liberties of the citizen, and for that reason we believe that we have a full right to conscientiously and honestly oppose it on that ground. We believe that prohibition is a menace to the state or the nation in which it is introduced. We object to prohibition.

Senator KING. And you believed that your organization as an organization had a right——

Mr. SCHOLTZ. We acted upon that theory that we had the right.

Senator WOLCOTT. I would like to ask if, in regard to carrying on your opposition to prohibition throughout the country, whether national or State or county—local option—as an organization the German-American Alliance has gone so far as to inform itself concerning the attitude of candidates for political office toward the prohibition question and, having so ascertained, if it has gone so far as to try to elect those opposed to prohibition and to defeat those favoring prohibition?

Mr. SCHOLTZ. The National German-American Alliance as such has not taken any part in politics, but its local, county, and State branches have in that they have followed the example of the Anti-Saloon League in finding out how candidates stood and voting correctly according to their best judgment and information.

Senator WOLCOTT. Do I understand you to say that the National German-American Alliance has taken no part at all in the matter of assisting certain candidates and opposing certain other candidates because of their attitude on the prohibition question?

Mr. SCHOLTZ. You understand me rightly. The National German-American Alliance has never taken any active part in politics. In the States the local organizations have done work to find out or to

try to find out the attitude of the candidates on this question of prohibition and vote in favor of them or against them, as we had a perfect right to do, as we found that they were in favor of or against prohibition.

Senator WOLCOTT. These local alliances have observed that line of conduct toward candidates for all sorts of offices, have they not, Congressmen and Senators as well as State legislators?

Mr. SCHOLTZ. There was no occasion for electing Congressmen, because at that time the question of national prohibition was not considered.

Senator WOLCOTT. It was not thought possible?

Mr. SCHOLTZ. No. Kentucky gave us a shock, and, of course, since that we have been on the downward path; but, except for petitioning Congress, we have never taken any steps in national politics whatever.

Senator WOLCOTT. Is it not true that the activities of the State and local branches of the Alliance, in the direction of this prohibition political activity, have been well known to the national organization and have received publicity in the national organization through the Bulletin?

Mr. SCHOLTZ. Let me explain that Bulletin for you.

Senator WOLCOTT. You can explain the Bulletin if you will just answer my question first.

Mr. SCHOLTZ. Yes; unquestionably.

Senator WOLCOTT. Now you may explain the Bulletin.

Mr. SCHOLTZ. The Bulletin is simply a publication like a number of other society publications. It has—or had—its official part; it had its news made up of the news of the societies, sometimes from the secretaries and sometimes from the newspapers; and it had general information as to the members, put in by the editors; this had no official status whatever.

Senator WOLCOTT. Has this species of political activity you have been describing on the part of the State and local alliances ever been discouraged or frowned upon by the national organization?

Mr. SCHOLTZ. So far as it related to prohibition?

Senator WOLCOTT. Yes.

Mr. SCHOLTZ. No. I say we were opposed to national prohibition, and anything the State organization could do met with our approval so long as it was within the limits of the law. We never countenanced anything illegal.

Senator WOLCOTT. That was with your approval and also with the encouragement of the national organization?

Mr. SCHOLTZ. Certainly. We are perfectly willing to admit that we have been fighting every restriction in the way of sumptuary laws since the beginning of the organization. That was the reason of the beginning of the organization, the foundation upon which it was built.

Senator STERLING. You say it never took any interest in national politics except to petition Congress?

Mr. SCHOLTZ. No; that is all we did.

Senator STERLING. Have you not taken interest in national politics? Have you not tried to control the delegations that should go to the national conventions?

Mr. SCHOLTZ. No; not to national conventions. Let me get that straight. I know whereupon you base your statement, and that is upon the testimony of Mr. Ohlinger. Now, as a matter of fact, it emanated from the State Alliance of Pennsylvania, and that is a separate body, over which the National German-American Alliance has no more control than we have over Congress.

Senator WOLCOTT. It is not affiliated with the national organization?

Mr. SCHOLTZ. Yes; it is affiliated with it, but it is an independent organization, an independent body. And from that association, of which Mr. Mayer was the chairman and Mr. Timm the secretary—not Mr. Timm acting as secretary of the National German-American Alliance, please to mark that distinction—went a call or address, not only to the members of the Alliance but to other organizations and bodies, to come together, as I understand, in Chicago; and there there was a meeting; and that organization, I understand—I have no personal knowledge of it whatever, for I was not present nor did I take any part in it, but that organization—did take some political action. But that was outside of the National Alliance, and those people acted independently and on their own account.

Senator KING. I suggest that we finish with Mr. Andreae, and then we can take up Mr. Scholtz.

Mr. Andreae, is this a letter that you received from Mr. Hexamer [handing witness file]?

Mr. ANDREAE. Yes, sir.

Senator KING. I will ask you to translate that which I called your attention to a moment ago [indicating].

Mr. ANDREAE. Yes.

Senator KING. Did you send a letter to Dr. Hexamer in response to his letter inclosing copies of the literature which he had sent to the various papers and alliances and for distribution?

Mr. ANDREAE. Yes.

Senator KING. Is this a copy of your letter [indicating in file]?

Mr. ANDREAE. Yes.

Senator KING. Just read it, please.

Mr. ANDREAE. This letter is as follows:

DECEMBER 26, 1913.

DR. C. J. HEXAMER,
National German-American Alliance,
419 Walnut Street, Philadelphia, Pa.

MY DEAR DOCTOR: I am very much obliged to you for your letter of the 24th instant and your prompt response to my suggestion to have protests sent to Washington against the Hobson, Works, and Sheppard resolutions.

I anticipate the very best results from your appeal. With kindest regards,

Very truly yours,

Senator KING. He had referred to legislation in Congress, and his former letter to you was with respect to legislation in Congress, the so-called Sheppard, Hobson, and Works resolutions?

Mr. ANDREAE. Yes.

Senator KING. I call your attention to another letter which I find in your files. Was that reply received by you [indicating]?

Mr. ANDREAE. Yes.

Senator KING. Signed by Dr. Hexamer?

Mr. ANDREAE. Yes.

Senator KING. Reference is made in this letter to a distinguished citizen of this city. If the committee consent, we will just omit the name, and I will ask you to read the letter, omitting his name wherever it occurs.

(The letter referred to was here examined by Senator Sterling.)

Senator KING. You have no objection to it?

Mr. ANDREAE. No.

Senator KING. I suppose you do not object to the omission of the name?

Mr. ANDREAE. I do not; no.

Senator STERLING. There is no objection to it.

Senator KING. Just read the reply of Dr. Hexamer, omitting the name of the gentleman referred to. This is on the letterhead of the National German-American Alliance, the same letterhead as the other letters you have heretofore read?

Mr. ANDREAE. Yes. This letter reads as follows:

NATIONAL GERMAN-AMERICAN ALLIANCE
OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
Philadelphia, Pa., December 29, 1913.

MY DEAR MR. ANDREAE: I have just returned from Washington and things look rather blue; our friends are badly depressed. I have done everything to cheer them, and infused new hope. I have appointed a number of prominent residents, who are members of our District of Columbia branch, to form a standing legislative committee of the National German-American Alliance in Washington, and I have been fortunate in securing ——— as chairman of that committee. Mr. ——— is not only one of the most respectable citizens of Washington—

Well, of course, I do not know. I suppose I am to omit anything that might indicate the identity of the man. This says he is "a great orator." There are a good many in Washington. Then it mentions the offices that he holds. Am I to omit that?

Senator KING. Yes.

Mr. ANDREAE. I had better omit that if you think it better to do so.

Senator KING. Yes.

Mr. ANDREAE (continuing reading):

bring in a vigorous and persistent element of our population to work for us. He suggests that the Alliance should have a permanent office in Washington so that matters could be more quickly and more efficaciously disposed of. The Alliance has no money for this purpose, and I beg leave to inquire whether you will advance the $600 a year the amount necessary. Mr. ——— will take no compensation whatever, and the expense will be simply for office rent and incidental expenses.

Kindly let me know at your earliest convenience what you think of the project. If you are not favorable to it, I will drop it.

With kindest regards, and wishing you a prosperous and happy New Year 1914, I am,

Yours sincerely,

C. J. HEXAMER.

Senator KING. That was to influence national legislation, was it?

Mr. ANDREAE. Well, no; I could not agree to that. It was to carry out the propaganda under better auspices; that was all. There were other propaganda.

Senator KING. Did you reply to Dr. Hexamer?

Mr. ANDREAE. I did.

Senator KING. Have you a copy of your reply?

Mr. ANDREAE. That is it, here [indicating].

Senator KING. Just read the copy of your reply.

Mr. ANDREAE. This reply is as follows:

DECEMBER 31, 1913.

Dr. J. C. HEXAMER.
419 Walnut Street, Philadelphia, Pa.

MY DEAR DOCTOR: I have read your letter of December 29 with great interest, and hasten to say that I shall be very glad to contribute the $600 required for the purpose you mention.

If you will let me know to whom this sum is to be sent, I will see that it is remitted by New York draft.

I shall be absent from Chicago all next week, but will attend to this matter the moment I return and receive your advices.

My best wishes for the coming year.

Yours very truly,

Senator KING. Did you remit the $600?

Mr. ANDREAE. I have no doubt I did.

Senator KING. For how many years did you continue that?

Mr. ANDREAE. I do not think it has continued; I do not know, but the accounts will show that. Every penny is there.

Senator KING. Did you receive a letter in reply from Dr. Hexamer?

Mr. ANDREAE. Yes, sir.

Senator KING. Is it before you?

Mr. ANDREAE. Yes.

Senator KING. Read it, please, into the record. That is on the letterhead of the National German-American Alliance?

Mr. ANDREAE. Yes. This letter is as follows:

NATIONAL GERMAN-AMERICAN ALLIANCE,
OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
Philadelphia, Pa., January 2, 1914.

Mr. PERCY ANDREAE,
3357 South Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Ill.

MY DEAR MR. ANDREAE: In rep'y to your favor of the 31st ult., I wish to thank you for your promptness in attending to this matter. If you will kindly mail me a check made out to the order of Mr. John Tjarks, chairman committee on finance, I will see that $50 are sent regularly every month to ——— to carry on our Washington bureau for one year.

With kindest regards, I am,

Yours very truly,

C. J. HEXAMER.

I do not remember that it was for more than that.

Senator KING. Did you reply to that?

Mr. ANDREAE. Yes.

Senator KING. Read your reply.

Mr. ANDREAE. It is as follows:

JANUARY 12, 1914.

Dr. C. J. HEXAMER,
419 Walnut Street, Philadelphia, Pa.

MY DEAR DOCTOR: I have just returned from the East, and hasten to send you draft for $600 in favor of Mr. John Tjarks for the purposes you wrote me about 10 days ago.

Very truly yours,

Senator KING. That was for the office in Washington?

Mr. ANDREAE. That is right.

Senator KING. And Mr. Tjarks is treasurer of the organization?

Mr. ANDREAE. Yes.

Senator KING. Did you receive a letter from Dr. Hexamer with respect to that matter, written on the letterhead of the National German-American Alliance?

Mr. ANDREAE. Yes.

Senator KING. Read that letter.

Mr. ANDREAE. It reads as follows:

NATIONAL GERMAN-AMERICAN ALLIANCE
OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
Philadelphia, Pa., January 14, 1914.

Mr. PERCY ANDREAE,
3357 South Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Ill.

MY DEAR MR. ANDREAE: I beg leave to acknowledge receipt of your draft for $600 in favor of Mr. John Tjarks, chairman of our committee on finance, with instructions to remit $50 on the first of each month for the next 12 months to ———, Washington, D. C.

Should you think it desirable to continue this arrangement after that time we can arrange further.

With kindest regards.

Yours sincerely,

C. J. HEXAMER.

Senator KING. Did he send you a copy of a letter which he received from the representative selected in Washington?

Mr. ANDREAE. Yes.

Senator KING. Have you a copy of that letter before you?

Mr. ANDREAE. Yes, sir.

Senator KING. Please read it, omitting the name of the writer of the letter.

Mr. ANDREAE. I had better read also the letter in which he inclosed it?

Senator KING. Yes.

Mr. ANDREAE. It reads as follows:

NATIONAL GERMAN-AMERICAN ALLIANCE
OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
Philadelphia, Pa., January 29, 1914.

Mr. PERCY ANDREAE,
3357 South Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Ill.

MY DEAR MR. ANDREAE: Inclosed please find a copy of the letter I received to-day from ———, chairman of our "lobbying committee" at Washington, which may be of interest to you. With kindest regards, I am,

Yours sincerely,

C. J. HEXAMER.

Senator KING. He called him the chairman of the "lobbying committee", did he?"

Mr. ANDREAE. Yes.

Senator KING. Now read the copy of the letter he inclosed.

Mr. ANDREAE. It is as follows:

JANUARY 28, 1914.

Dr. C. J. HEXAMER,
419 Walnut Street, Philadelphia, Pa.

MY DEAR DOCTOR: Returned on Sunday from the West, where I made a number of addresses. I made use of the German-American Alliance in all addresses, as an advocate of personal liberty, of unrestricted immigration, and against national legislation restricting liquor traffic, all of which was received with great applause.

I have been under the weather for three or four days, but hope to be all right in a day or two. I shall see the gentleman from Baltimore tomorrow.

I have been in constant touch with our friends in Congress and am thoroughly posted as to the prospects. While the immigration bill may pass as submitted by the Committee on Immigration, there is now serious doubt as to the passage of any legislation affecting the liquor traffic, at least this session. There are other measures, however, pending, of which I have ordered copies that may interest our Association, and will keep you advised.

Very sincerely,

Senator KING. The word "Association" is spelled with a capital "A"?

Mr. ANDREAE. With a capital "A"; yes, sir.

Senator KING. In reply to this did you write Dr. Hexamer?

Mr. ANDREAE. Yes.

Senator KING. And in your reply to Dr. Hexamer, which is dated February 2, 1914, you told him—

I think your move of establishing an office in Washington an excellent one.

Mr. ANDREAE. Yes.

Senator KING. Did you receive a letter from Dr. Hexamer dated February 7, 1914?

Mr. ANDREAE. Yes, sir.

Senator KING. I will ask Senator Sterling and Senator Wolcott to look at that and see what they think about putting it in the record. Do you think it is relevant?

Senator STERLING (after examining letter). I think it is relevant.

Senator WOLCOTT. Yes.

Senator STERLING. Is this letter immediately following, in German, the copy to which he refers?

Senator KING. I do not know. Read the letter, if you please, Mr. Andreae.

Mr. ANDREAE. This letter is as follows:

NATIONAL GERMAN-AMERICAN ALLIANCE
OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
Philadelphia, Pa., February 7, 1914.

Mr. PERCY ANDREAE,
3357 South Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Ill.

MY DEAR MR. ANDREAE: Inclosed please find copy of a letter I received to-day. I was utterly dumfounded when a few days ago, at Baltimore, I was told by a stranger that the National German-American Alliance was receiving large sums of money from the brewers. Now I get this letter, which seems to indicate that some fools are castrating the strength of the Alliance in its fight against prohibition. This must be stopped at once, or else we might as well give up the fight, as we will have no standing.

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,

C. J. HEXAMER.

Senator KING. That is on the letterhead of the organization?

Mr. ANDREAE. Yes.

Senator KING. With the same officials as you have mentioned heretofore?

Mr. ANDREAE. Yes.

Senator WOLCOTT. Mr. Andreae, I am rather curious to know if, in the light of your conversations with Dr. Hexamer at Philadelphia, you think the doctor had any reason to be dumfounded by this letter which his friend sent him?

Senator STERLING. That is, the conversation, you mean? He refers to a conversation.

Mr. ANDREAE. I think the dumfoundedness did not come from the fact that the moneys came indirectly from the industries but the fact that certain people knew of it.

Senator WOLCOTT. Oh!

Mr. ANDREAE. His letter is perfectly plain. His letter makes that as plain as a pike-staff. Unfortunately——

Senator KING. Accompanying the letter which you have just read, received from Dr. Hexamer, dated February 7, 1914, was there a letter received by you from Dr. Hexamer?

Mr. ANDREAE. Yes.

Senator KING. Have you that letter?

Mr. ANDREAE. I am just looking at the dates to make sure that this letter is the letter he is referring to. [After further examination] Yes; I think so.

Senator KING. Please read it—translate it. Is it in German?

Mr. ANDREAE. Yes.

Senator KING. Can you translate it?

Mr. ANDREAE. I can translate it roughly.

Senator KING. Do so, please. What is the date of this letter?

Mr. ANDREAE. February 4.

Senator KING. And it is addressed to Dr. Hexamer?

Mr. ANDREAE. To Dr. J. C. Hexamer, Philadelphia, Pa.

Senator KING. Please proceed.

Mr. ANDREAE. This letter is as follows; I translate:

Copy.

FEBRUARY 4, 1914.

Dr. C. J. HEXAMER,
Philadelphia, Pa.

MY DEAR DOCTOR: Herewith a check for $78.07 as per capita for our State Alliance. The same will hold on the 20th and 21st of February, in Fort Dodge, Iowa, an annual convention, to which I herewith cordially invite you.

It is true that the beer barrel with our National and State Alliance does not stand in the foreground, but as at the present moment, through the conscienceless manipulation of the Prohibition Party, our country is standing before a heavy calamity, it goes without saying that we, as good citizens, ought to take part in the battle. Now, the brewers of Iowa have in former times always supported us to some extent in a material manner, but this year it was intimated to us that the national association of the brewers had taken the matter in hand and are to give into the hands of the National Alliance sufficient means, of which then a goodly part is to come to Iowa for the elective battle. Up to the present, however, nothing at all has taken place in this matter, and I would therefore permit myself the inquiry as to whether, from those sources, already moneys have been granted to us. We must get in hand sufficient means for organization, circulars, etc., or our whole fight in the State of Iowa is hopeless.

Hoping to receive a prompt answer, I am, with cordial greetings,

Yours,

ED. L. DURAND.

Senator STERLING. You stated, as I understood you, a few moments ago that your first relations with Dr. Hexamer occurred in the summer of 1914. In view of the fact that you have produced a letter signed by Dr. Hexamer, addressed to you in February, 1914, and another in January, 1914, and another in December, 1913, I will ask you whether you were not mistaken?

Mr. ANDREAE. I am afraid I was. It shows how the years fly.

Senator KING. I invite your attention to a telegram which is signed by you and is produced from these files.

Mr. ANDREAE (after examining paper). I was wrong. It is 1913 instead of 1914. This telegram is dated October 29.

Senator KING. This telegram is dated October 29, 1913, and is addressed to Joseph Keller?

Mr. ANDREAE. Yes; that initiated the movement. It said, "Can you come to Chicago at my expense with reference to organization"——

Senator KING. Read the telegram, please.

Mr. ANDREAE. It is as follows:

CHICAGO, *October 27, 1913.*

JOSEPH KELLER,
403 East Morris Street, Indianapolis, Ind.:

Can you come to Chicago at my expense with reference to organization matter I discussed with you and Dr. Hexamer in Philadelphia? I am now in position to pro-

ceed along lines indicated at that meeting, and am anxious to confer with you thereon. I expect to be here all the week. Address me at Chicago Athletic Association, 12 Michigan Boulevard.

PERCY ANDREAE.

Well, I see I was a year off.

Senator STERLING. Are you quite sure, then, that this correspondence was all subsequent to that visit to Dr. Hexamer at Philadelphia, whenever that was?

Mr. ANDREAE. Do you mean the correspondence here?

Senator STERLING. Yes.

Mr. ANDREAE. It must have been. I did not know Dr. Hexamer until I met him in Philadelphia. I made a mistake in the year. Oh, yes, the war began in 1914.

Senator KING. Yes.

Mr. ANDREAE. That is where I am wrong. It was the year before the war began I was over in Europe.

Senator KING. Then your meeting with Keller and Hexamer and Tjarks, at which the arrangement to which you have testified was consummated, occurred in 1913?

Mr. ANDREAE. In 1913 instead of 1914.

Senator KING. Pursuant to this telegram to Mr. Keller, I presume, he came and you proceeded to Philadelphia with him?

Mr. ANDREAE. Yes.

Senator KING. I find in your files, Mr. Andreae, a clipping purporting to be a copy of a portion of a speech, or reference to a speech, made by Dr. Hexamer. Do you recall whether he sent you that [handing witness clipping]?

Mr. ANDREAE. No; I can not say that I recall that.

Senator KING. What is your best recollection about that?

Mr. ANDREAE. I have absolutely no recollection. If it was in the files, I have no doubt that it got into them and that I had it; but I presume that it was a matter that did not interest me very much, and I discharged it from my memory. I did not know much about it. There is nothing to show whether he sent me that, or perhaps someone else may have sent it to me. I do not know where it was found.

Senator STERLING. From what paper is that; it says "August 2," but what year?

Senator KING. It will be 1915. It refers to the San Francisco Fair.

Mr. ANDREAE. He says that "the purpose of this Alliance, especially since August, 1914, has been to promote friendly relations between Germany and the United States".

Senator KING. If it is not sufficiently identified it would not be competent, probably.

I find in your files a letter dated February 13, 1914, addressed to you and signed by Dr. Hexamer. That is his signature, is it not?

Mr. ANDREAE. Yes, sir.

Senator KING. Will you read that letter?

Mr. ANDREAE. The letter reads:

NATIONAL GERMAN-AMERICAN ALLIANCE
OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
Philadelphia, Pa., February 13, 1914.

Mr. PERCY ANDREAE,
3357 South Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Ill.

MY DEAR MR. ANDREAE: The inclosures, which kindly return for my file, will show you that we are working in the right direction, and are getting the Hebrew societies in the United States with us. With kindest regards, I am,

Yours sincerely,

C. J. HEXAMER.

Senator KING. That speaks of "the inclosures" but there is only one newspaper clipping here. Is that the one you received from him [indicating]?

Mr. ANDREAE. I presume it is. I think the context will show whether it is likely to be or not. [After examination.] Yes; there is no doubt that is what he refers to.

Senator KING. I will put in the record a part of that newspaper clipping:

ORGANIC LAW UPHELD BY HEBREW SOCIETIES.

THREE GREAT ORGANIZATIONS FAVOR CONTINUING PRESENT GOVERNMENT PLAN IN DISTRICT.

Three great organizations, with members having more than 3,000,000 votes in the United States, represented in Washington by ——— are in favor of the present plan of taxation and relationship between the District of Columbia and the Nation, according to a statement made by Mr. ——— to-day.

These organizations are the National German-American Alliance, with headquarters in Philadelphia; the Order of B'nai B'rith, with headquarters in Chicago; and the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, with headquarters in Cincinnati.

Mr. ANDREAE. There is no doubt that is the paragraph he thought would interest me.

Senator KING. It refers to legislation here in the District of Columbia. I do not see any necessity of putting that into the record, unless you wish it, Mr. Scholtz.

Mr. SCHOLTZ. No; it is not necessary.

Senator KING. In reply to that did you write Dr. Hexamer?

Mr. ANDREAE. I think this is the reply to another letter. I replied to his letter on the subject of the Iowa matter.

Senator KING. I find here a letter dated February 27, 1914, on the letterhead of the National German-American Alliance, addressed to you and signed by Dr. Hexamer. That is his signature?

Mr. ANDREAE. Yes.

Senator KING. You received that letter [indicating]?

Mr. ANDREAE. Yes.

Senator KING. Read the letter.

Mr. ANDREAE. It reads as follows:

NATIONAL GERMAN-AMERICAN ALLIANCE,
OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
Philadelphia, Pa., February 27, 1914.

Mr. PERCY ANDREAE,
3357 South Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Ill.

MY DEAR MR. ANDREAE: I thank you very much for sending me your excellent address, which I read with great pleasure. I have just returned from Washington, and I am pleased with the way things are running there.

Notwithstanding the assertions to the contrary, throughout our American press, we have not been losing ground within the last weeks, but our persistent work is beginning to tell.

With kindest regards, I am,

Yours sincerely,

C. J. HEXAMER.

Senator KING. Congress was in session at that time, was it?

Mr. ANDREAE. I do not know.

Senator WOLCOTT. What was the date?

Mr. ANDREAE. February 27, 1914.

Senator KING. You replied to the doctor.

Mr. ANDREAE. Yes.

Senator KING. Merely expressing your gratification. You say:

If it is gratifying to me to know this, it must be all the more pleasing to you to feel that your splendid work is meeting with the success it so well deserves.

Mr. ANDREAE. Yes.

Senator KING. I find here in your files a letter signed by Dr. Hexamer, dated March 12, 1914, upon the letterhead of the National German-American Alliance. Please read it.

Mr. ANDREAE. The letter is as follows:

NATIONAL GERMAN-AMERICAN ALLIANCE
OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
Philadelphia, Pa., March 12, 1914.

Mr. PERCY ANDREAE,
3357 South Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Ill.

MY DEAR MR. ANDREAE: Inclosed please find a copy of an appeal, which I have just given to our press agent to slip to all newspapers. Afterwards it will be distributed to all our subdivisions in every city, town, borough, or hamlet, with the special appeal to them to take the initiative in their respective districts.

With kindest regards, I am,

Yours sincerely,

C. J. HEXAMER.

Senator KING. Is this the copy of an appeal to which he refers?

Mr. ANDREAE. Yes. Shall I read it?

Senator KING. You may read it.

Mr. ANDREAE. It reads as follows (this is in English):

AN APPEAL TO LIBERAL-MINDED CITIZENS THROUGHOUT THE UNITED STATES AND TO ALL ORGANIZATIONS OF EVERY NATIONAL EXTRACTION, TO LABOR UNIONS, CLERICAL AND POLITICAL ASSOCIATIONS OF ALL PARTIES.

We are fighting for a principle and not for any selfish interests in opposing certain bills in Congress proposing a nation-wide prohibition amendment to the Constitution of the United States. Our call, therefore, goes forth to every liberal-minded American citizen of every national extraction, creed, or political faith who is opposed to coercive measures and is in favor of true temperance. For prohibition, like the forbidden fruit, engenders the lust for strong drink.

We call upon liberal-minded American citizens in every city, town, borough, or hamlet to form committees and to confer with other committees of the district or neighborhood to select an executive committee in a central place, with the understanding that there be no saloon keepers or anyone interested in the liquor traffic connected with that committee, the executive committee to call a public mass meeting whenever in their judgment it is deemed important and essential, to the end of combating the nation-wide prohibition idea. Nation-wide prohibition and the principle of prohibition in general is an injudicious attack upon the freedom and the personal right of the individual to seek happiness in his own way. It is a vicious, retrogressive movement that wherever introduced hampers the respect for law, causes endless friction, and tends to lower the ethical standard of our citizenship through hypocrisy and blackmail, causing that which is prohibited by law to be done on the sl. .

C. J. HEXAMER,
President of the National German-American Alliance.

Senator KING. Did you receive a letter from Dr. Hexamer dated March 12, 1914?

Mr. ANDREAE. Yes.

Senator KING. Is this the letter [indicating]?

Mr. ANDREAE. Yes.

Senator KING. Written upon the letterhead of the organization?

Mr. ANDREAE. Yes.

Senator KING. Please read it.

Mr. ANDREAE. The letter is as follows:

NATIONAL GERMAN-AMERICAN ALLIANCE
OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
Philadelphia, Pa., March 12, 1914.

Mr. PERCY ANDREAE,
3357 South Michigan Avenue,
Chicago, Ill.

MY DEAR MR. ANDREAE: I beg to leave to acknowledge your letter of the 9th instant, and to-day I inclose a copy of a letter just received by the chairman of our standing legislative committee in Washington, which explains itself. We have been doing this in a number of cities, but now, with the example of Washington before us, we will send out a call all over the country to do likewise. You see by this that nothing will be left undone to the end of combating the nation-wide prohibition movement, and that our committee in Washington is working excellently and in the right direction. With kindest regards, I am,

Yours sincerely,

C. J. HEXAMER.

Senator KING. Did you write to Dr. Hexamer under date of March 14, 1914?

Mr. ANDREAE. Yes.

Senator KING. And you have a copy of your letter?

Mr. ANDREAE. Yes.

Senator KING. Insert that in the record.

(The letter referred to is as follows:)

MARCH 14, 1914.

Mr. C. J. HEXAMER,
419 Walnut Street, Philadelphia, Pa.

MY DEAR DOCTOR: I was greatly interested in your letter of the 12th instant, inclosing copy of the letter you have received from Mr. ———, of Washington.

The idea is excellent. There is, in fact, a movement in contemplation to call for gigantic demonstrations in the shape of parades and mass meetings in about 100 of the chief centers of the country, the meetings to be addressed by the most prominent speakers obtainable.

I would suggest, for your consideration, whether it would not be well to time these meetings in such wise that they occur together, by which I mean not on any given day or week, all over the country, but locally at the same time.

There is some difference of opinion among certain large organizations which are interested as to when such demonstrations are likely to be of the greatest effect, and had you not written me on the subject I would very shortly have consulted you in this regard.

What is your opinion? The press is doing splendid work in stirring up the liberal elements and educating them to the necessity of taking some drastic action. The question is whether that work has progressed to the point at which a really enthusiastic response can be expected. The German press, of course, has, as always, been first and foremost in the field, but a very vast campaign of the same kind is now going on in the so-called foreign-language press, and it may take a little longer before the fruits of this campaign will become ripe.

I shall much appreciate any advice you may be able to give me on this subject.

Very truly yours,

Senator KING. Did you receive a reply to that letter?

Mr. ANDREAE. Yes.

Senator KING. This is the letter, is it, in your files [indicating]?

Mr. ANDREAE. Yes.
Senator KING. Under date of March 16, 1914?
Mr. ANDREAE. Yes.
Senator KING. It is written upon the letterhead of the National German American Alliance?
Mr. ANDREAE. Yes.
Senator KING. And signed by Dr. Hexamer?
Mr. ANDREAE. Yes.
Senator KING. Read it, please.
Mr. ANDREAE. It reads as follows:

NATIONAL GERMAN-AMERICAN ALLIANCE
OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
Philadelphia, Pa., March 16, 1914.

Mr. PERCY ANDREAE,
3357 South Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Ill.

MY DEAR MR. ANDREAE: In reply to your favor of the 14th instant, I beg leave to state, that I do not think it would be wise to have any public demonstrations during this session of Congress.

May I suggest, Mr. Chairman, that it would be fair for me to read the letter that I wrote?
Senator KING. Well, it has gone into the record; the same publicity will be given to that as to the other.
Mr. ANDREAE. Yes. [Continuing reading:]

From all that I can learn, the Democratic Party will not dare to do anything until after the November elections, and in all probability, not then, during the present administration. Wilson is anxious for a second term, and can not get it without the German vote.

My idea is that it would be better to keep our powder dry until actual need arises to shoot off our heaviest guns. If we should do so at the present time, we will, no doubt, weaken any effect we would want to produce later on. With kindest regards, I am,

Yours sincerely,

C. J. HEXAMER.

Senator KING. Did you receive a letter from Dr. Hexamer dated May 6, 1914?
Mr. ANDREAE. Yes.
Senator KING. Please read it.
Mr. ANDREAE. It is as follows:

NATIONAL GERMAN-AMERICAN ALLIANCE
OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
Philadelphia, Pa., May 6, 1914.

Mr. PERCY ANDREAE,
3357 South Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Ill.

MY DEAR MR. ANDREAE: I beg leave to acknowledge with thanks receipt of a copy of your address on nation-wide prohibition, delivered before the American Hotel Protective Association, and I have read it with great interest. It is an excellent address. I have handed it to the manager of our main office, who will see to it that it is preserved in our archives. With kindest regards, I am,

Yours sincerely,

C. J. HEXAMER.

Senator KING. Did you receive a letter from Dr. Hexamer dated June 8, 1914?
Mr. ANDREAE. Yes.
Senator KING. Please read it.

Mr. ANDREAE. This letter is as follows:

NATIONAL GERMAN-AMERICAN ALLIANCE
OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
Philadelphia, Pa., June 8, 1914.

Mr. PERCY ANDREAE,
3357 South Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Ill.

DEAR SIR: I beg leave to thank you for the copy of your excellent address which you kindly sent me, and which I have read with great interest. I have had it filed in the archives of the National German-American Alliance to be preserved for all time. With kindest regards, I am,

Yours sincerely,

C. J. HEXAMER,
President of the National German-American Alliance.

Senator WOLCOTT. Mr. Andreae, I wanted to ascertain just how many of the officers of the National German-American Alliance assisted you in your propaganda work and so I am referring to the letterhead of the National German-American Alliance, which contains a list of eight vice presidents and the financial secretary, the treasurer, the office manager, and the editor of the Bulletin and press agent of the Alliance; so that I am going to call these names off one by one and ask you the question with respect to each, whether that one assisted in propaganda work in the German-American Alliance or amongst citizens of German extraction. I will start with the president, Dr. Hexamer, whom you have mentioned.

Mr. ANDREAE. Yes.

Senator WOLCOTT. You have also mentioned the connection of the first vice president, Joseph Keller?

Mr. ANDREAE. Yes.

Senator WOLCOTT. You have also mentioned the connection of the second vice president, John Tjarks?

Mr. ANDREAE. Yes.

Senator WOLCOTT. He appears here as second vice president?

Mr. ANDREAE. Yes.

Senator WOLCOTT. Now, here is the third vice president, Julius Moersch, of St. Paul, Minn. Did he assist in this propaganda work?

Mr. ANDREAE. I have met Mr. Moersch and discussed matters with him—prohibition matters. I know that he is a very good speaker on the question; but if he did anything he did not do it through me, he did it through Mr. Keller. That is a matter that I can not speak of of my own knowledge.

Senator WOLCOTT. Suppose you refer to these files for the purpose of refreshing your recollection [handing witness another file].

Mr. ANDREAE. Yes [after examining file]. This just bears out what I said, that whatever Mr. Moersch did he did through Mr. Keller. I know there was a time when I was very anxious to have Mr. Moersch join Mr. Keller; but, unfortunately, that was not done; and I have some correspondence with Mr. Moersch, which correspondence bears out that I was merely discussing questions with him generally rather than anything else. Mr. Moersch was a very active combatant in the matter of prohibition, as I think he would be the first to admit.

Senator WOLCOTT. Is this statement justified, that Mr. Moersch was active in the propaganda but not immediately under you?

Mr. ANDREAE. Oh, yes; I do not think there is any doubt about it.

Senator WOLCOTT. The fourth vice president is Mr. John Hermann, of San Francisco, Cal.?

Mr. ANDREAE. Yes, sir.

Senator WOLCOTT. You do not know anything about whether he did anything or not?

Mr. ANDREAE. No, sir.

Senator WOLCOTT. The fifth vice president is Mr. John Schwaab, of Cincinnati, Ohio?

Mr. ANDREAE. I have known Mr. Schwaab from the time I was in Cincinnati. I came from Ohio to Chicago in 1909, and I had nothing to do with Mr. Schwaab subsequent to 1909 except when he was instrumental in bringing me in touch with Mr. Keller.

Senator WOLCOTT. If I remember correctly, it was upon his suggestion that the idea occurred to you to attempt to do some propaganda work through the German-American Alliance?

Mr. ANDREAE. Yes.

Senator WOLCOTT. The sixth vice president is Mr. A. P. Scheurman, of Kansas City, Mo.

Mr. ANDREAE. I do not think I have ever met him.

Senator WOLCOTT. You are not aware of any connection he had with this?

Mr. ANDREAE. No, sir.

Senator WOLCOTT. The seventh vice president is Dr. Leo Stern, of Milwaukee, Wis.

Mr. ANDREAE. The only time I ever met Mr. Stern was on an occasion when he wanted to meet somebody in my office; but I knew of nothing except that Dr. Stern is a well-known citizen of Milwaukee.

Senator WOLCOTT. You are not aware of any activity of his in forwarding this propaganda movement that you organized up there in Philadelphia?

Mr. ANDREAE. No.

Senator WOLCOTT. The eighth vice president is Dr. F. H. Dammasch, of Portland, Oreg.

Mr. ANDREAE. I do not think I ever met him.

Senator WOLCOTT. You know nothing of his activities?

Mr. ANDREAE. No, sir.

Senator WOLCOTT. The financial secretary is Herman Weder.

Mr. ANDREAE. The only occasion on which I met Mr. Weder was when I was in Philadelphia and met Mr. Hexamer with Keller and Tjarks.

[NOTE BY THE CLERK.—On reviewing the proof sheets of his testimony, Mr. Andreae added at this point the following note:

"Is not this name [of Herman Weder] a mistake? I have no recollection of it. I think Timm must have been meant, as the question immediately following seems to indicate."

From the Official Bulletin it appears that at the time referred to Herman Weder was the financial secretary and Adolph Timm was the secretary of the Alliance.]

Senator WOLCOTT. That was on the occasion when the plan was formulated?

Mr. ANDREAE. Yes.

Senator WOLCOTT. And Mr. Timm was in those consultations?

Mr. ANDREAE. Yes.

Senator WOLCOTT. The editor of the Bulletin and press agent is Max Heinrici.

Mr. ANDREAE. No; Mr. Heinrici I came to know later. I did not even know that he was directly connected with the German-American Alliance, but he was a newspaper man who wrote articles on the subject, giving facts and data. That is all I knew about him.

Senator WOLCOTT. You did not know him as being connected in any way with the particular propaganda that you organized?

Mr. ANDREAE. No; except through me direct. I was in direct comtact with Mr. Heinrici, but I did not, in being in contact with him, realize what position he held in the German-American Alliance. He was represented to me as being a very live newspaper man, especially in the German press, and he made a suggestion that he could be very helpful in disseminating particularly news and articles favoring the defeat of prohibition, and I had an arrangement with him for one or two years on that line.

Senator WOLCOTT. Did you avail yourself of his services very extensively?

Mr. ANDREAE. Only to that extent, of my giving him the material and he seeing that it got into the German press.

Senator WOLCOTT. Was that——

Mr. ANDREAE. It had practically, so far as I know, no connection with the bureau in Indianapolis.

Senator WOLCOTT. I understand that, but you did make use of Mr. Heinrici's services?

Mr. ANDREAE. Oh, yes; yes.

Senator WOLCOTT. And I asked you if you made use of them very extensively?

Mr. ANDREAE. Well, yes. He wrote weekly—I presume it was weekly—and gave material to the newspapers.

Senator WOLCOTT. Here is the income and expenditure account from the date of organization to the 30th of June, 1915; that is, the organization of your National Association of Commerce and Labor?

Mr. ANDREAE. Yes, sir.

Senator WOLCOTT. Consulting that, state the total sum of money which you handed over to this treasurer of the National German-American Alliance.

Mr. ANDREAE. Well, I find $39,033.41.

Senator WOLCOTT. That is the sum that your organization—emphasizing "your organization"——

Mr. ANDREAE. Yes.

Senator WOLCOTT (continuing). Eventually was out of pocket to the German-American Alliance?

Mr. ANDREAE. Yes.

Senator WOLCOTT. But, as a matter of fact, before you got through you advanced, altogether, $42,633.41, did you not?

Mr. ANDREAE. Yes.

Senator WOLCOTT. And you had part of it returned to you?

Mr. ANDREAE. There was returned $3,600. That was the Iowa matter.

Senator WOLCOTT. Yes; which made a net expenditure of $39,033.41?

Mr. ANDREAE. Yes.

Senator WOLCOTT. You say that that $3,600 returned to you is the Iowa matter? Explain that item of $3,600 that was returned to you.

Mr. ANDREAE. Well, it was the amount of money, I think, that the brewers of Iowa contributed individually into a fund that reached the State Alliance of Iowa through the national body or through the fund in Baltimore.

Senator WOLCOTT. Yes.

Mr. ANDREAE. Well, it is that letter that caused so much merriment here a while ago on the subject of Iowa.

Senator WOLCOTT. I was not here when you read that letter.

Mr. ANDREAE. You were not?

Senator WOLCOTT. No. I understand, then, that the Iowa brewers made a contribution of $3,600?

Mr. ANDREAE. Yes; I think so.

Senator WOLCOTT. And the other fellows throughout the country——

Mr. ANDREAE. I probably advanced that $3,600 through my fund but with the understanding that it was to be returned.

Senator WOLCOTT. Then this is true, is it not, that the fund in Baltimore received from brewers or intoxicating-liquor dealers of one kind or another throughout the whole country——

Mr. ANDREAE. No, no.

Senator WOLCOTT (continuing). A total, directly and indirectly, of $42,633.41?

Mr. ANDREAE. I am not sure about that.

(At this point a recess of five minutes was taken to enable the members of the subcommittee to answer to a roll call in the Senate.)

Mr. ANDREAE (continuing after expiration of recess). Mr. Humes has been kind enough to explain this. Altogether, the amount was $42,633.41.

Senator WOLCOTT. Mr. Andreae, examine this file, please, and read this letter here [indicating file No. 18].

(The witness examined the letter referred to.)

Senator WOLCOTT. Will you read that letter, please?

Mr. ANDREAE. The letter is as follows:

MAY 19, 1914.

Mr. JOSEPH KELLER,
1255 Wright Street, Indianapolis, Ind.

DEAR MR. KELLER: I am to-day in receipt from Mr. Thuenen of the inclosed list of candidates who are to be supported by the German-American Alliance, which I forward to you for your information.

Very truly yours,

Senator WOLCOTT. You signed that letter, did you not?

Mr. ANDREAE. I have no doubt.

Senator WOLCOTT. Is this rather voluminous list here in the file following that letter [indicating] the list that is referred to in the letter just read into the record?

Mr. ANDREAE. I have no doubt it is; it follows the letter.

Senator WOLCOTT. There is a little over 24 pages of typewriting embraced in that list?

Mr. ANDREAE. Yes, sir.

Senator WOLCOTT. Will you state, please, in a general way, what that list is?

Mr. ANDREAE. Well, it is a list of the men who were candidates for representative—not Representatives in Congress but in the State of Iowa—whose records on the subject of prohibition have been care-

fully examined; and those who have been working with me, not only in the German-American Alliance, are informed of their records, satisfactorily so, with all details, with the result that their people who will go to the polls to vote are similarly informed; so that my statement, which was a rather casual sort of a statement, made to Mr. Keller—of course, when you write a private letter to a man you do not imagine that it is going to be examined under a legal microscope of a committee of the Senate. When I say that the German-American Alliance is going to stand for these men, that is a euphemistic way of speaking of the German voters who are members of the German-American Alliance and who are now properly informed. I want to make this statement in all fairness.

Senator WOLCOTT. Yes; I understand.

Mr. ANDREAE. Because I have conducted this organization in a manner which I thought was right. I do not believe Mr. Humes does. He grilled me two years ago on the subject. The question as between an organization and the members of an organization is from one point of view very great and from another point of view not great at all. But an organization is there for the purpose of informing its members and enabling the members to vote in a manner, as citizens, intelligently, according to the ideals of the organization; and I give that explanation not only in fairness to the German-American Alliance but in fairness to myself, in view of the letter which I wrote Mr. Keller, which was perhaps rather colloquially worded.

Senator WOLCOTT. Yes. I suppose an accurate description of the situation would be that you were aware of the fact that you were trying to reach the German-American voters through the German-American Alliance?

Mr. ANDREAE. Yes; certainly.

Senator WOLCOTT. And in writing your letter you described the voters that you were after by the short phrase "the German-American Alliance"?

Mr. ANDREAE. I do not think you can drive the German to vote, either through an alliance or otherwise. What you have got to do is to convince him; and he is awfully slow to be convinced, as a rule.

Senator WOLCOTT. I notice that this list starts in, as a rule, with the candidate first for governor of Iowa?

Mr. ANDREAE. Yes.

Senator WOLCOTT. And then for lieutenant governor. I am interested to note here, in view of the statement that was made a moment ago as to the organization that the German-American Alliance were not interested in national politics, that you also sent out a statement with respect to the candidate for United States Senator, Maurice Connolly, and the list also embraces supreme court judges; and then follow 23 pages of names; for what sort of offices—legislative offices?

Mr. ANDREAE. Well, probably. May I explain in regard to that, as to my investigation? Mr. Humes has got all the papers. There is a tremendous pile of them. I investigated everybody who ran for office of every kind, as far as I was able to, and I had a complete system of doing it, and I naturally sent Mr. Keller the results of the entire thing. I did not only want to know about the man who ran for office—what his attitude was—but I wanted to know what the

attitude of his best friends was; because we are very often fooled, and the voters have very often voted for a man whom they believed to be liberal, whereas if they had made a proper investigation they would have known that he was nothing of the kind and if once elected he would vote against them. That may not appeal to you; I do not know whether it does or not; but it is fighting for existence on the part of these people.

Senator WOLCOTT. Do you know whether or not Mr. Keller, upon the receipt of this long report upon Iowa candidates, followed it by conveying the information to German-American voters?

Mr. ANDREAE. I presume so; yes, sir. That was the object for which it was sent.

Senator WOLCOTT. Mr. Andreae, can you tell us in how many States you made up a list such as is disclosed here for Iowa?

Mr. ANDREAE. I would not be able to say from memory, but I imagine that it was about 10 or 12.

Senator WOLCOTT. Relatively speaking, as complete as the Iowa list?

Mr. ANDREAE. Oh, yes.

Senator WOLCOTT. Concerning every candidate for office?

Mr. ANDRFAE. Yes.

Senator WOLCOTT. And did you send those possibly 10 or 12 lists to the same Mr. Keller or to some other propagandists?

Mr. ANDREAE. No; I did that in States where there was likelihood of an election coming on—I mean, the question of prohibition getting before the legislatures or before the people.

Senator WOLCOTT. I understand; yes.

Mr. ANDREAE. And I did it in some cases in the far future. I had them ready in case any such emergency had arisen, so that I could at once put Mr. Keller in possession of the facts, so that he could communicate with any people whom he knew of his own organization in those particular States.

Senator WOLCOTT. I mean, when you sent the lists they went to Mr. Keller, for instance?

Mr. ANDREAE. Oh, yes; certainly.

Senator STERLING. You gave Mr. Keller the benefit of any information that you had, which you had obtained before your meeting with Dr. Hexamer, I suppose, in regard to the situation in these different States?

Mr. ANDREAE. Well, I had very little information before that.

Senator STERLING. You spoke a while ago about your having worked through the Ohio State Alliance prior to your meeting with Dr. Hexamer. Did you work through any other State alliances before you met Dr. Hexamer?

Mr. ANDREAE. No, sir. I did not work in Ohio—well, yes; the State Alliance in Ohio took a very active part against anything——

Senator STERLING. You worked there through Mr. Schwaab, the president of the Ohio State Alliance?

Mr. ANDREAE. Yes.

Senator WOLCOTT. You had a very extensive organization, Mr. Andreae?

Mr. ANDREAE. Yes. I am sorry I have not got it still.

Senator KING. I find the articles of incorporation of the National Association of Commerce and Labor in this file, and I merely want

to get into the record the date of incorporation. I find it is dated the 2d of May, 1916. You had been acting before?

Mr. ANDREAE. Yes; I think we only incorporated at that time, after we had been in existence for quite a time as an unincorporated body.

Senator KING. Yes.

Mr. ANDREAE. By the way, that never came out at Pittsburgh. That was a big point. I wish I had known that.

Mr. HUMES. I did.

Mr. ANDREAE. You did, but you were quiet about it.

Mr. HUMES. That is why you were not indicted. You were not a corporation prior to May, 1916.

Mr. ANDREAE. I see. Well, there are fortunate coincidences in life.

Senator KING. I invite your attention to a letter dated December 18, 1913, a letter written to you from Iowa. You received that letter [indicating], did you?

Mr. ANDREAE (after examining letter). Yes; I have no doubt I did.

Senator KING. Are you acquainted with the writer of that letter?

Mr. ANDREAE. Yes. He was the secretary of the Brewers' Association in Iowa. He was in charge of the campaign for the brewery interests there.

Senator KING. Was the amount of $37,500, to which he refers, which was spent in that State, furnished through the National German-American Alliance?

Mr. ANDREAE. Oh, no. It has nothing whatever to do with that.

Senator KING. I do not care to go into it, then.

Mr. ANDREAE. No; that was received from the United States Brewers' Association and the local association.

Senator KING. The committee has no purpose to go into anything—to inquire about anything—except such matters as may relate to the National German-American Alliance.

Mr. ANDREAE. Yes.

Senator KING. I call your attention to a letter dated January 27, 1914. Did you receive that letter [indicating]?

Mr. ANDREAE (after examining letter in file No. 20). Yes.

Senator KING. It is from Davenport, Iowa. It reads as follows:

IOWA BREWERS' ASSOCIATION,
OFFICE OF THE GENERAL COUNSEL,
Davenport, Iowa, January 27, 1914.

Mr. PERCY ANDREAE,
3357 South Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Ill.

MY DEAR MR. ANDREAE: It is getting high time for a start to be made with the German-American Alliance in this State. Our State organization is constantly on my back, and I am having difficulty in holding them off. Have you made arrangements with the national organization to move in this State? All that would be necessary at this time would be to perfect organizations, and to urge upon each organization the necessity of unity of action, so that when we get word to them as to who should have support on the different tickets for the nomination we can wield some influence in favor of our candidate.

As soon as you have time I wish you would kindly take this matter up and see that Dr. E. L. Durand, of Burlington, Iowa, president of the State Alliance, hears from the national association. With kind personal regards, I am,

Very truly yours,

HENRY THUENEN.

Mr. Henry Thuenen, who signed that letter, was secretary of the Brewers' Association of Iowa?

Mr. ANDREAE. Yes.

Senator KING. Pursuant to that, did you take it up with the National German-American Alliance and secure aid in Iowa?

Mr. ANDREAE. No. This is what happened; this is what produced this letter. I was anxious, and so was Mr. Keller, that in Iowa matters should remain in the control of a central body and that therefore the State Alliance should receive such funds as were necessary from his fund, so that they should be expended under his direction, and they of course did not know anything about that. That letter to some extent explains to you the letter that Mr. Durand wrote to Dr. Hexamer, in which he explained that he was not receiving the funds that he used to receive locally for the maintenance or part maintenance of his State Alliance. Eventually, of course, the arrangement was made and the money was sent to the State Alliance from the fund of Mr. Keller.

Senator KING. Which you had paid?

Mr. ANDREAE. And that was the $3,000 which was figured in that account.

Senator KING. Which fund you had contributed?

Mr. ANDREAE. Which fund was contributed from the same source that the State Alliance had formerly received it from, namely, the local brewery interests, only that I got the money and made it good, you see.

Senator KING. Yes.

I notice here a letter which purports to have been written by you to Mr. Thuenen. You wrote that letter in reply yourself?

Mr. ANDREAE. Under date of March 2, 1914.

Senator KING. Yes. That letter is as follows:

MARCH 2, 1914.

Mr. HENRY THUENEN,
Davenport, Iowa.

DEAR MR. THUENEN: I am advised by Mr. Keller, of the German-American Alliance, that on February 20 he sent the sum of $500 to John Schnack, of Davenport, Iowa, treasurer of the State Alliance, stating that Mr. Durand advises everything seems to be moving smoothly and to his entire satisfaction.

In pursuance of our agreement that the contribution to the Iowa Alliance should come direct from the headquarters of the German-American Alliance and not from you, I will ask that you kindly forward me your check for $500 to cover this.

With kind personal regards, I am,

Very truly yours,

Was the "German-American Alliance" which is mentioned in the last paragraph of that letter the National German-American Alliance?

Mr. ANDREAE. Yes; that is the National German-American Alliance.

Senator KING. You sent that letter to him?

Mr. ANDREAE. Yes.

Senator KING. And in response you received a check for $500?

Mr. ANDREAE. Yes.

Senator KING. Did you receive this letter [indicating] from Mr. Thuenen?

Mr. ANDREAE (after examining letter). Yes, sir.

Senator KING. This letter reads as follows:

IOWA BREWERS' ASSOCIATION,
OFFICE OF THE GENERAL COUNSEL,
Davenport, Iowa, May 18, 1914.

MR. PERCY ANDREAE,
3357 South Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Ill.

MY DEAR MR. ANDREAE: I am inclosing herewith lists of candidates which are to be supported by the German-American Alliance. These lists were agreed upon by Dr. Durand and Mr. Miller (of Waterloo) over a week ago. I neglected to send you these copies. It was understood that I was to send them to you, and then you would in turn send them to Mr. Keller.

Thanking you for your attention to this matter, I am,
Yours very truly,

HENRY THUENEN.

Here are a number of lists containing names.

Mr. ANDREAE. Yes.

Senator KING. Are those the ones that Senator Wolcott asked you about?

Mr. ANDREAE. Yes.

Senator WOLCOTT. A while ago I started to ask Mr. Scholtz a question.

Senatar STERLING. Are we through with Mr. Andreae?

Senator KING. Yes. You are still under subpœna, Mr. Andreae.

Mr. ANDREAE. I shall remain here?

Senator KING. Yes.

Mr. Tjarks, will you take the stand, please?

Senator WOLCOTT. A while ago, Mr. Scholtz, you undertook to make an admission on behalf of the National German-American Alliance. You stated you were their counsel.

Mr. SCHOLTZ. Yes, sir.

Senator WOLCOTT. And I do not want you to understand me to doubt that statement.

Mr. SCHOLTZ. No; I understand.

Senator WOLCOTT. Of course this is not a court and we have no bar. Could you get for us an authority from the national organization showing that you are authorized to make that admission for them?

Mr. SCHOLTZ. Yes; I can get that. That is the admission that we are willing, as far as the prohibition question is concerned, to admit—and I will get the authority—that we have participated in fighting prohibition. We are perfectly willing to admit that; and so far as the revoking of the charter is concerned, if you want to use that we are perfectly willing to agree to that. But the only reason that we wanted a hearing here was not that we are particular as to the continuation of the charter, but we did severely feel the reflection upon the loyalty of our members as American citizens, and we wanted an opportunity to refute that.

Senator WOLCOTT. That is getting a little aside. If you will just get for us a proper authorization from the German-American Alliance, adopted by its proper executive officials——

Mr. SCHOLTZ. I will get that.

Senator WOLCOTT (continuing). Showing us that you represent them and that what you have said in the way of admissions or do say in the way of admissions they are bound by, that will complete our record.

Senator KING. Put it in writing—the extent of the admission.

Mr. SCHOLTZ. We will do that. But before we do that, Senator, what I want to do is, with the permission of the committee—you have a record here now reflecting seriously upon the Alliance as to the American character and the patriotism of its members, and we think that we ought to be permitted to in some measure refute that charge.

Senator KING. Speaking for myself, you shall have full opportunity to make any representations.

Mr. SCHOLTZ. We do not want to take up the time of the committee, we want to avoid that, and if this admission will in any way help it, we will give that.

Senator KING. This committee would not do any injustice to your organization or to any member of it, and we will be very glad to have you make any statement you desire to make.

Mr. SCHOLTZ. We are perfectly willing to say that by a statement I make, or I will submit a statement to go into the record; I will get that, but it will require a telegraphic vote; that is, to meet your exaction.

Senator WOLCOTT. I did not ask you to get authority for the purpose of furnishing the committee a possible reason for immediately cutting short the investigation and heading off anything you had to say. That was not my purpose, at all.

I quite agree with the chairman that the people interested in the German-American Alliance ought to have ample opportunity to say what they want to say on this bill. But I did want something in the record of an official nature, to show that your statements here as counsel for the Alliance are statements made by the duly authorized counsel of that alliance.

Mr. SCHOLTZ. I will furnish that.

Senator KING. Let me understand just one thing a little further. Do I understand your admission, or the admission that you will be prepared officially to place on record here, will go to the extent of admitting that Mr. Keller as vice president carried on the propaganda to which reference has been made by Mr. Andreae, that your organization received money from Mr. Andreae, and that Mr. Keller, as the vice president of the organization, made distribution of it in various States where the prohibition fight was in progress?

Mr. SCHOLTZ. I would have to speak to Mr. Keller about that. If you will allow me three minutes, I will speak to Mr. Keller about it, because I have no personal knowledge on that. I know that we have fought prohibition; but as to the receipt of this money, this is the first I have known.

Senator KING. Well, you can get that authority. We may call Mr. Andreae on another matter.

We will hear Mr. Tjarks.

TESTIMONY OF MR. JOHN TJARKS.

(The witness, John Tjarks, of Baltimore, Md., was duly sworn by Senator King.)

Senator KING. You are the treasurer of the German-American Alliance?

Mr. TJARKS. I am not.

Senator KING. Have you been?

Mr. TJARKS. No, sir; I am chairman of the finance committee.

Senator KING. Chairman of the finance committee?

Mr. TJARKS. Yes.

Senator KING. Who is the treasurer?

Mr. TJARKS. They have a new one now. Weniger was, but he resigned. Gottlob Hammer is the treasurer now.

Senator WOLCOTT. As chairman of the finance committee, what were your duties?

Mr. TJARKS. As chairman of the finance committee—the finance committee was organized some few years ago for the purpose of gathering funds to strengthen the treasury of the Alliance, as the dues from the members were not quite sufficient.

Senator WOLCOTT. Was this the situation: If the National Alliance was in need of funds in addition to those that came to the treasury in the regular course of dues, it was the business of your committee to get those funds?

Mr. TJARKS. To try to get them; yes, sir.

Senator WOLCOTT. Did the treasurer, as such, receive funds from any source other than dues except as you, the finance committee, gave him funds?

Mr. TJARKS. He might receive—you mean since the organization of the finance committee or previous?

Senator WOLCOTT. Since the organization.

Mr. TJARKS. Since the organization; I could not quite answer. He might receive minor contributions, here or there, but I think it was principally of the membership dues.

Senator WOLCOTT. In the main, then, generally speaking, all the treasurer had to do was to collect the dues?

Mr. TJARKS. Yes.

Senator WOLCOTT. And disburse the money?

Mr. TJARKS. Yes.

Senator WOLCOTT. And if that was not sufficient to meet the purposes of the organization your finance committee stepped in and raised money?

Mr. TJARKS. Raised money.

Senator WOLCOTT. And did you turn moneys over to the treasurer?

Mr. TJARKS. Yes, sir; over to the treasurer—that is, I beg your pardon, I made out a check, sometimes to the treasurer and sometimes to the financial secretary, Herman Weder, and he would turn them over to the treasurer.

Senator WOLCOTT. All the funds you collected, did they eventually get into the hands of the treasurer?

Mr. TJARKS. Yes.

Senator WOLCOTT. Eventually they got there?

Mr. TJARKS. Yes.

Senator WOLCOTT. Did your finance committee undertake to disburse moneys to anybody other than the treasurer, directly or indirectly?

Mr. TJARKS. No, sir.

Senator WOLCOTT. Have you any books with you?

Mr. TJARKS. You called for all the records and the books, and I brought as many as I could carry. You know, I am treasurer of the

various funds, and I brought the books and papers of the biggest fund, the relief fund, first. I got your notice day before yesterday evening, and I could not send them by express because I was afraid they could not get here in time. I have a wagon load, and I do not know how I am going to get them here. I have here all those for the relief fund.

Senator WOLCOTT. How long has the finance committee been organized?

Mr. TJARKS. I do not know exactly. It is five or six years, or probably more. I would have to refer back to the books.

Senator WOLCOTT. You spoke of the various funds.

Mr. TJARKS. Yes.

Senator WOLCOTT. How many funds do you as treasurer of the finance committee handle?

Mr. TJARKS. I handle the relief fund and the so-called iron fund.

Senator WOLCOTT. What is that?

Mr. TJARKS. That was a fund that was to be gathered from those that contribute towards that fund, the fund itself not to be touched but only the interest. The object was to collect about $100,000, so that we would not be under obligation to anyone; we would have that $100,000, and we could use the interest on that $100,000 and would not have to go out and ask any contribution from anybody.

Senator WOLCOTT. You call that the iron fund?

Mr. TJARKS. The so-called iron fund; yes.

Senator WOLCOTT. That is the same thing as an endowment fund?

Mr. TJARKS. Well, possibly it is.

Senator WOLCOTT. Well, practically that.

Mr. TJARKS. But, turning to my books, it is the iron fund.

Senator WOLCOTT. There was the relief fund, the so-called iron fund, and what other funds?

Mr. TJARKS. The general fund. The general fund is the one that you referred to before, you know—contributions that were gathered or collected by the representatives of the finance committee.

Senator WOLCOTT. To be turned over——

Mr. TJARKS. To the treasurer; yes.

Senator STERLING. Did that include the dues, too—the general fund?

Mr. TJARKS. No, sir; the dues were all sent to the treasurer of the Alliance in Philadelphia direct.

Senator WOLCOTT. What is the nature of this relief fund?

Mr. TJARKS. The relief fund is the fund collected during the war, when the war was declared.

Senator WOLCOTT. Do you mean when the European war was declared?

Mr. TJARKS. Yes, sir. I was chairman of the finance committee and was asked by Dr. Hexamer to receive the funds; it is for the relief of the orphans——

Senator WOLCOTT. Of the German soldiers?

Mr. TJARKS. Austrians and Turks and Bulgarians; yes.

Senator WOLCOTT. Was that a sort of Red Cross fund?

Mr. TJARKS. Yes; German Red Cross and Austrian Red Cross. Whatever the donor designated, it was turned over to that fund. It immediately stopped when war was declared between the United

States and Germany. No funds have been received since, and I would not receive any when notice was given to that effect. This was before war was declared between the United States and Germany.

Senator STERLING. Are you positive about that, that no such funds were collected or disbursed after war was declared?

Mr. TJARKS. My books will prove that.

Senator STERLING. The books will prove that?

Mr. TJARKS. Yes; that I have not received any or sent any funds.

Senator WOLCOTT. I have received some information that seems to be reliable that one branch of the Alliance upon our entrance into the war evolved the idea that its members could, of course, no longer contribute to the German Red Cross or relief fund, but that now that we had entered into the war they could contribute to the Swiss Red Cross fund. Whether that particular alliance ever collected any money for the Swiss Red Cross fund I do not know. But did you as treasurer of the finance committee ever receive any money for a Swiss Red Cross fund?

Mr. TJARKS. No, sir.

Senator WOLCOTT. Since our entrance into the war have you in any capacity received moneys from any source for any relief fund of any kind?

Mr. TJARKS. I have not.

Senator WOLCOTT. Will you tell us, from your recollection, approximately the total amount of the moneys which you received for the Relief Fund?

Mr. TJARKS. I can give it to you in a second. I have it here [indicating]. Here is the auditor's report.

Senator WOLCOTT. This shows total receipts up to October 15, 1917, $886,670.18. Now, that was for the relief of people who were suffering in one way or another, directly or indirectly, in connection with the war?

Mr. TJARKS. Yes.

Senator KING. In Europe—in Germany?

Mr. TJARKS. It shows exactly; you have them all there; the way the different objects were described and who they were paid to, I think.

Senator WOLCOTT. Here is the distribution of contributions [indicating in report]. The distributions show—and I will just read this so that it will go into the record. You would like it to go in, would you?

Mr. SCHOLTZ. That is entirely optional with the committee.

Senator WOLCOTT. This indicates what the funds took care of:

Wounded of Germany, $222,641.46.

Widows and orphans of Germany, $292,393.27.

Wounded of Austria-Hungary, $114,674.45.

Widows and orphans of Austria-Hungary, $148,584.13.

Prisoners of war, $51,155.80.

Special sundry fund, $57,032.53.

Making a total of $886,481.24, leaving a balance on hand, October 15, 1917, of $188.94, the total receipts having been $886,670.18.

Mr. TJARKS. Yes.

Senator WOLCOTT. Do you have a book showing the contributions made to the fund by the local alliances—not the State alliances, but the local alliances?

Mr. TJARKS. I have a book showing the contributions given by every individual, associations, and so forth.

Senator WOLCOTT. Will you let us see that?

Mr. TJARKS. Every letter is there, whoever contributed, and the receipts are there, and the answers; and also there is the entry in the book.

Senator WOLCOTT. Is there a separate account kept of each society or each contributor? Is there a separate account kept, or is that just the cash book?

Mr. TJARKS. That is the cash book.

Senator WOLCOTT. If I wanted to find out how much any particular organization contributed, I would have to run it down page by page, would I not?

Mr. TJARKS. No, sir; I have the reports here.

Senator WOLCOTT. That is what I would like to get.

Mr. TJARKS. Showing what each State contributed. Those reports were issued when every hundred thousand was completed. They are all up to the fifth.

Senator WOLCOTT. The fifth of what?

Mr. TJARKS. The fifth report, showing each State. Of course they are in German.

Senator KING. Did you state in your testimony what period was covered by the contributions the aggregate amount of which you state was $886,000?

Mr. TJARKS. If I am not mistaken, I think it was when the war was declared President Hexamer issued a call on the 3d of August.

Senator KING. In 1914?

Mr. TJARKS. Yes; war was declared on the 1st, I think.

Senator KING. Yes.

Mr. TJARKS. And on the 3d of August the call went out to contribute for those that might suffer.

Senator KING. Then the contributions to which you have testified were made during 1914 and 1915 and 1916, and up until the entrance of our country into the war?

Mr. TJARKS. Yes.

Senator KING. In April, 1917?

Mr. TJARKS. Yes.

Senator STERLING. Was notice given then, at the time that our country declared war, that no contributions would be received for any German relief funds?

Mr. TJARKS. I sent out a letter to all those that had contributed, requesting all the members of the Alliance and the branches and all those that contributed, in view of the fact that war might break out—I did that previous, and it might be somewhere in the record—to immediately stop collecting for the German wounded and the Red Cross and to go to work and collect for the American Red Cross. That is the letter that I sent out.

Senator STERLING. When did you send that letter?

Mr. TJARKS. Several days before war was declared.

Senator STERLING. You say that you have a copy of that letter?

Mr. TJARKS. I have it somewhere, yes; I can produce that.

Senator WOLCOTT. Since that time have you received any moneys from them, collected for the American Red Cross?

Mr. TJARKS. I have not; no. It was not worded that way, to send it to me, but more to arrange it locally, you know, for the local branches; and I believe they all have done their share.

Senator WOLCOTT. When war broke out with Germany you organized this relief work and collected something like $886,000 for the relief of Germans and Austrians. Now, I want to ask if, when the war broke out between Germany and the United States, you organized any work to collect funds for American relief?

Mr. TJARKS. No more than the letter I sent to each State—each local.

Senator WOLCOTT. There was no activity of the National Alliance along that line?

Mr. TJARKS. No more than the notice I sent out, that any money I received I would be glad to receive and turn over to the American Red Cross.

Senator WOLCOTT. All I am trying to get at is to ascertain the fact of whether, when war broke out between Germany and America, this war work that had been carried on for the Germans was continued, only in behalf of American relief. The same work that your committee had been doing for German relief, was it continued and carried on upon our entrance into the war on behalf of American relief?

Mr. TJARKS. It was if the committee sent—what I mean is that the committee is ready to receive funds and has requested so.

Senator WOLCOTT. But it has not forwarded any?

Mr. TJARKS. Yes. I am satisfied that if there is real need for it here; that is, what I mean is, if there should be, in time to come—so far, you know, we are not in real battle yet—but should the time come I am sure that every German-American citizen would contribute toward their relief.

Senator WOLCOTT. I am not saying they would not. I am asking for the facts.

Mr. TJARKS. Yes, sir; but the information I did get, every local branch, wherever they were—there was so much activity in the several localities by the local branches of the Red Cross and they gave what they had to give toward that in their own localities. Where the fund for the German Red Cross was solicited there was no other medium except that devised by us and for which the German-American Alliance branches collected money. But now every one was collecting for the American Red Cross, for its funds, and so it also naturally struck the members of the Alliance.

Senator WOLCOTT. If I understand you, the State and local branches of the Alliance continued to collect money, but there was no necessity for them to send it to you?

Mr. TJARKS. Yes.

Senator WOLCOTT. Because they could send it to the American Red Cross?

Mr. TJARKS. Send it direct, or give it to the local committees there, which I am satisfied they did. I wish I had a record of what they have given in the United States.

Senator KING. Do you know of your own knowledge that any State alliance of the National German-American Alliance did carry on a campaign to secure funds for our country for the Red Cross since the war broke out?

Mr. TJARKS. For our country, yes.

Senator KING. That is, the Alliance itself?

Mr. TJARKS. That is, the branches encouraged the members to give; yes.

Senator KING. And did they give it through the Alliance organizations or through the regular public subscription agencies that were provided?

Mr. TJARKS. I presume the bulk of it went through the agencies.

Senator KING. What I am trying to get at is, Do you know whether any State alliance as such, or any local alliance as such, made any collections?

Mr. TJARKS. I do not think they could, because the State bodies have not had any meetings.

Senator KING. I thought you stated to Senator Wolcott they did, and I was wondering if you spoke from any knowledge or whether you meant by that the local bodies and not State bodies.

Mr. TJARKS. I meant local bodies, not State bodies. The local bodies continue to meet, you know.

Senator KING. Do you know of your own knowledge, then, that any local body of the Alliance collected money as an organization?

Mr. TJARKS. Not direct, only by hearsay; and I could not vouch for it that they did.

Mr. JOSEPH KELLER. Mr. Chairman, will you permit me one word?

Senator KING. We are going to have you on the stand later, Mr. Keller.

Mr. KELLER. I merely wanted to say that I know of some.

Senator KING. You can testify when you come on the stand. We will give you full opportunity.

Mr. Tjarks, did your organization send out any notice when war was declared—when our country, rather, entered into the war—urging members of the German-American Alliance to make contributions to the Red Cross?

Mr. TJARKS. Before the war was declared?

Senator KING. That is, to the American Red Cross?

Mr. TJARKS. The American Red Cross?

Senator KING. Not the German Red Cross.

Mr. TJARKS. Yes; and to the American Red Cross. I do not know. I would have to look that up. I am sorry I have not got it here. It is in the files somewhere, and I would be glad to get it and present it to the committee.

Senator KING. I would like to have you do so. What funds did you have on hand in the latter part of March, 1917, which had been collected for the German Red Cross or under this national organization?

Mr. TJARKS. For the national relief committee?

Senator KING. Yes; the national relief committee.

Mr. TJARKS. The latter part of March?

Senator KING. Yes; what funds did you have on hand when we entered the war?

Mr. TJARKS. When we entered the war there was one hundred and some odd dollars.

Senator KING. Is that all?

Mr. TJARKS. Yes. When I resigned last fall, all the funds I had I turned over to the treasurer of the Alliance, Gottlob Hammer. He

has that money now, some one hundred and odd dollars. I have forgotten just what it is.

Senator KING. To whom was payment made for the German Red Cross and the Austrian Red Cross?

Mr. TJARKS. I made all the payments to the German Ambassador, for the Germans, and for the Austrians to the Austrian Ambassador. Here are the checks [indicating].

Senator STERLING. What means did you take to get in these funds for the German Red Cross, which altogether made the vast sum of $886,000, during that time? What were the means adopted for securing the subscriptions?

Mr. TJARKS. Corresponding with various local branches and requesting them to contribute; and they had bazaars, you know.

Senator WOLCOTT. As chairman of the finance committee you did a good deal of that correspondence, did you?

Mr. TJARKS. Yes.

Senator WOLCOTT. I notice by the statement here that almost all of the disbursements were made to Count von Bernstorff. I notice also some made to the Austro-Hungarian Ambassador, Count Dumba.

Mr. TJARKS. Dr. Dumba; yes, sir.

Senator WOLCOTT. He received a few remittances from this fund; and I notice that there was one check given to Mrs. Carl M. Schurz, treasurer of the Relief Association of New York, and three checks, one in February and two in March, 1917, to E. Hecker, chairman of the Red Cross, New York. All the rest of the disbursements were to Count von Bernstorff. No, I am mistaken; there is one other disbursement, to Die Gefangenen, whatever that is.

Mr. SCHOLTZ. War prisoners, that is.

Senator WOLCOTT. At New York; one contribution there. But the great bulk of the money was given to Count von Bernstorff.

Mr. TJARKS. Those special checks were by the request of the donors. The donors requested me to send them direct to those various bodies.

Senator WOLCOTT. Do you mean to say that in the case of all disbursements made, other than those to Count von Bernstorff, the donors directed them to be so made?

Mr. TJARKS. Yes; like to Hecker, the Red Cross delegate, or to Mrs. Schurz.

Senator WOLCOTT. In the absence of directions to the contrary you made your disbursement to Count von Bernstorff?

Mr. TJARKS. Yes; or to the Austrian Ambassador.

Senator WOLCOTT. He received only two payments, totaling $64,000, and the rest went to Count von Bernstorff. Now, when you made those payments——

Mr. TJARKS. I beg your pardon; it must be more than that.

Senator WOLCOTT. That is all I notice here. No; I omitted one check of $33,000, so that it was $97,000 altogether that went to the Austrian Ambassador.

Mr. TJARKS. Yes.

Senator WOLCOTT. I omitted one contribution. When those contributions were made to the German Ambassador, I suppose, it was always by check?

Mr. TJARKS. Yes.

Senator WOLCOTT. Did instructions accompany the checks directing him what to do with the money?

Mr. TJARKS. Yes; to turn them over to the various funds as those donors had requested. He would send me a letter, for instance, "$5 toward the widows and orphans' fund," and I would put it in that column.

Senator WOLCOTT. When Count von Bernstorff got this large sum of money, which I should say was well over $750,000, anyhow, just roughly speaking—I should guess that from looking at these figures—with these instructions to apply it, did you ever receive from Count von Bernstorff an accounting of what he had done with the money?

Mr. TJARKS. I received some letters from Germany direct, that the money had arrived there, that the money had been received; but not all of them, because the mail was delayed, no doubt, and some of them got lost and went astray. I have a number of letters.

Senator WOLCOTT. How many, would you say?

Mr. TJARKS. I submit the file which I have here. Here is the entire file of all the letters.

Senator WOLCOTT. I suppose it is all in German?

Mr. TJARKS. These are the original letters from Count von Bernstorff. Here is one from Berlin [indicating letter].

Senator WOLCOTT. That, of course, does not mean anything to me, that being in German.

Senator STERLING. Did you request that you have receipts, or letters acknowledging the receipt of the money, from the parties in Germany or the authorities in Germany that disbursed the funds that went there through Count von Bernstorff?

Mr. TJARKS. Well, those that I could get; those that were forwarded, you know. I have all Count von Bernstorff's receipts; and the way I turned it over to him, of course, he answered it was to be turned over to the various funds, like this one.

Senator STERLING. In transmitting to Count von Bernstorff, did you make out a statement such as you have in the book, showing the contributors and the purpose for which each contribution was made?

Mr. TJARKS. Not the contributors; not the name, but like I showed you here. There is an example [indicating letter].

Senator STERLING. It showed the amount that was to go to each of the several funds.

Mr. TJARKS. Yes [handing a letter to Senator Sterling]. Here are some more from Berlin [indicating].

Senator STERLING. This is a receipt from Count von Bernstorff which you show me.

Mr. TJARKS. Yes.

Senator STERLING. And do his receipts all show the several funds which are to be credited with the amounts which you transmitted to him?

Mr. TJARKS. Yes, sir.

Senator WOLCOTT. What I would like to know, Mr. Tjarks, is whether you know that the German Ambassador transmitted these funds and that they were applied for the purposes designated by you?

Mr. SCHOLTZ. You asked, Senator, what this letter was. This is a letter from the German Red Cross in Berlin, acknowledging the receipt of $137 from this fund, that had been transmitted to them. This letter is under date of June 16, 1915. That shows how it was distributed.

Senator WOLCOTT. Have you ever gone through the file and picked out the letters and tabulated them to show just how large a sum of money is accounted for by the various replies you received from Germany?

Mr. TJARKS. No; I have not.

Senator WOLCOTT. You have not done that?

Mr. TJARKS. No, sir.

Senator STERLING. As a matter of fact, do not the replies you received from Germany account for a relatively small proportion of that which you transmitted to Count von Bernstorff?

Mr. TJARKS. Very small; yes, sir. But I received letters, particularly from the Austrian Ambassador, that it was impossible to get any communication—any letters. I notice it appears in the same way with the German Ambassador, because the contributors were anxious to hear something from abroad, if the money was actually received for the purposes. All I have is the ambassador's indorsement on the checks.

Senator WOLCOTT. Yes. Do you know how he sent that money?

Mr. TJARKS. No.

Senator STERLING. You mean to say that you do not know?

Mr. TJARKS (after examining a check). I notice here that they were made payable to Kuhn, Loeb & Co. This money was in two different banks.

Senator KING. While Senator Wolcott is handling those che will ask you a question. Where is the book containing the funds received from Mr. Andreae?

Mr. TJARKS. I did not keep any book.

Senator KING. Have you no account of the money received from him?

Mr. TJARKS. Only the checks, that are receipts; the checks I have.

Senator KING. You deposited those checks, did you?

Mr. TJARKS. Yes.

Senator KING. Did you draw against them?

Mr. TJARKS. I drew against them; yes, sir.

Senator KING. Where is your checkbook drawing against them?

Mr. TJARKS. I did not bring them along. I only brought the one fund, as I said. I will bring them next time.

Senator KING. You did not bring any records showing the amount of money paid to you by Mr. Andreae?

Mr. TJARKS. No; I did not, not to-day.

Senator KING. How much money did you receive from him?

Mr. TJARKS. From Mr. Andreae?

Senator KING. Yes.

Mr. TJARKS. I presume between $30,000 and $40,000. I do not know exactly.

Senator KING. To whom was that money paid by you?

Mr. TJARKS. It was all paid by me to Mr. Keller.

Senator KING. Every cent?

Mr. TJARKS. Yes.

Senator KING. Was all of it paid out?

Mr. TJARKS. Yes, sir.

Senator KING. By check?

Mr. TJARKS. By check

Senator KING. You kept a book, did you not, showing what you received?

Mr. TJARKS. No; it was not necessary to keep a book on that. I just got a check and made out a new check, and sent it to Mr. Keller; so that the check that Mr. Andreae sent me was his receipt and the check I sent to Mr. Keller was my receipt.

Senator KING. In which bank did you deposit it?

Mr. TJARKS. At the Munsey Trust Co.

Senator KING. In whose name did you deposit it?

Mr. TJARKS. "John Tjarks, Chairman."

Senat r KING. Of what?

Mr. TJARKS. That is all.

Senator KING. Were you chairman of anything except the finance committee of the German-American Alliance?

Mr. TJARKS. I was chairman of the relief committee.

Senator KING. You are chairman of the finance committee of the German-American Alliance?

Mr. TJARKS. Yes; but in this case I did Mr. Keller a favor, because he requested me to handle that for him.

Senator KING. Is it not a fact that the payments did not correspond with the receipts? For instance, you received in January of a certain year $1,300, and you paid out $830?

Mr. TJARKS. Well, I could not just offhand say, until I see——

Senator KING. I call your attention to this exhibit and ask if that was not your report of the receipts and disbursements [indicating document].

Mr. TJARKS (after examination of document). My report?

Senator KING. Yes.

Mr. TJARKS. No.

Senator KING. Did you ever make a report to anyone of the amounts received and disbursed?

Mr. TJARKS. No. Mr. Keller sent me his vouchers of what he paid out, but I had nothing to do with it. Mr. Keller asked me would I mind handling it for him and handle the checks on it, and I said, "All right, I will handle it."

Senator KING. You were present at the meeting between Mr. Keller, Dr. Hexamer, and Mr. Andreae in the summer of 1913, were you?

Mr. TJARKS. Yes, sir. I arrived there when the meeting was really closing.

Senator KING. I see. What was the name of the account in which you deposited this money?

Mr. TJARKS. "John Tjarks, Chairman." It was simply because I had my own account there—personal account; to distinguish it, you know, I put "Chairman" there.

Senator KING. Where did you deposit the funds that were sent in from the various State alliances to your national organization?

Mr. TJARKS. They were at the national bank—the Mechanics Bank once, and the National Bank of Baltimore.

Senator KING. You deposited these contributions in the Munsey Bank?

Mr. TJARKS. Yes.

Senator KING. Are those the only funds that you deposited in that bank?

Mr. TJARKS. Except my own; yes, sir.

Mr. SCHOLTZ. When you say the Munsey, do you mean the Equitable Trust?

Mr. TJARKS. The Equitable Trust; yes, sir. It used to be the Munsey Trust Co.

Senator KING. Did you get any compensation for this work?

Mr. TJARKS. Yes.

Senator KING. I find herein a report passed, "Incidental, John Tjarks," $250 and $130. Do you recall what you got?

Mr. TJARKS. No; but for doing this Mr. Keller allowed me $250 a year.

Senator KING. What office did Mr. Keller have in your organization?

Mr. TJARKS. In our organization?

Senator KING. Yes; the National German-American Alliance.

Mr. TJARKS. He was the second vice president of it—I beg your pardon, the first vice president.

Senator KING. Did you know why he and Mr. Andreae came to confer with Dr. Hexamer?

Mr. TJARKS. No; I do not know why he came. I was requested—I have forgotten who asked me—to come to Philadelphia. It was Mr. Timm or someone who asked me to come to Philadelphia.

Senator KING. Your home was in Baltimore?

Mr. TJARKS. Yes.

Senator KING. And you met them in Philadelphia?

Mr. TJARKS. Yes.

Senator KING. And it was there arranged that whatever funds were paid by Mr. Andreae should be paid to you?

Mr. TJARKS. Yes.

Senator KING. You understood that those funds were to be used, were to be checked out, by Mr. Keller for an antiprohibition propaganda?

Mr. TJARKS. Well, I do not know about prohibition. He was chairman of a committtee; he had his own committee and appointed his own organizers or his own representatives; the committee on organization I believe they called it.

Senator KING. There was a committee appointed by Dr. Hexamer to operate from Indianapolis, was there not, of which Mr. Keller was the chairman?

Mr. TJARKS. Very likely. I do not know whether Doctor appointed the committee or whether Mr. Keller appointed the committee himself.

Senator KING. You understood that this money was to be used through your organization to carry on a propaganda?

Mr. TJARKS. I could not say through the organization, because Dr. Hexamer, my president, was very much opposed to it in Philadelphia, and so was I. He says, "Now, if you want to do anything in this line"—I mean Mr. Andreae—he said, "you will have to look outside. I will not have anything to do with it," said Dr. Hexamer.

Senator KING. Did you hear these letters that were read here?

Mr. TJARKS. To my surprise; yes, sir.

Senator KING. Of Dr. Hexamer?

Mr. TJARKS. Yes.

Senator KING. Letters in which reference was made to their meeting in Philadelphia?

Mr. TJARKS. Yes.

Senator KING. And to the fact that your organization established offices here in this city?

Mr. TJARKS. I heard those letters read; yes, sir.

Senator KING. You knew that your Bulletin had frequent references to the propaganda against prohibition, did you not?

Mr. TJARKS. There might be some articles in there now and then, but——

Senator WOLCOTT. I notice, Mr. Tjarks, that your distributions were not only to Germans and Austrians but you made contributions to the Red Cross of Turkey also.

Mr. TJARKS. From those that donated; yes, sir. A small amount it was, I think; a small amount came in.

Senator WOLCOTT. Here is a $10 one in May, 1916, to Turkey. Here is one to the Red Cross of Turkey, July, 1916, $425. Here is another one in December, 1916, a small one of $45. Here is a small one in October, 1916, for the Red Cross of Turkey, $50. Here is one, November, 1916, to the Red Cross of Turkey, $700. Here is another, November, 1916, the Red Cross of Turkey, $120, and another, of December, 1916, to the Red Cross of Turkey, $800. Here is another, of $70, Red Cross of Turkey, in February, 1917. So that they were relatively small contributions?

Mr. TJARKS. I had no designation over those funds, you know.

Senator WOLCOTT. I understand that you gave them wherever you were directed to?

Mr. TJARKS. Yes; if any individual or organization sent me money and said "I want it to go there," I sent it there.

Senator WOLCOTT. I understand that. You did not decide where these funds should go; you just followed the instructions of the donors?

Mr. TJARKS. Yes.

Senator WOLCOTT. Was that so with respect to the whole of the $886,000?

Mr. TJARKS. Yes.

Senator WOLCOTT. And these checks that you have taken out here, do they represent all of the disbursements shown on this balance sheet?

Mr. TJARKS. Yes, sir. There are two different banks, you will find.

Senator WOLCOTT. There is another bank here?

Mr. TJARKS. Yes.

Senator WOLCOTT. I have here a number of checks made payable to Count von Bernstorff; I figure roughly about $313,000 worth of checks to Count von Bernstorff, from October 27, 1914, to April 15, 1915, inclusive, drawn by yourself and Dr. Hexamer, trustees for the executive committee, all, I believe, stated to be to the order of Count von Bernstorff, payable at the Merchants and Mechanics National Bank of Baltimore, Md. I think these checks by their indorsement show that each went through the same collection agencies. Each is indorsed by Count von Bernstorff to Dr. B. Dernberg and Dr. Dernberg in turn indorses them to Kuhn, Loeb & Co.

Mr. TJARKS. Yes. Dr. Dernberg was the representative of the German Red Cross. He was in the United States at that time, he and Dr. Meyer Gerhardt.

Senator WOLCOTT. Yes; I recall that he was in this country at that time.

Mr. TJARKS. Yes.

Senator WOLCOTT. Kuhn, Loeb & Co. in turn indorsed these checks to the National Bank of Commerce of New York. It appears, then, that that was the arrangement made with the German Red Cross, with Dr. Dernberg and Dr. Gerhardt, that all the money for the German Red Cross should be paid to the German Ambassador. And the National Bank of Commerce of New York in turn indorsed the checks generally to the order of any bank—any bank or trust company—and of course it came down to Baltimore and was paid and went to their credit at the National Bank of Commerce in New York; so that these checks appear on their face to have been turned over by Count von Bernstorff to Dr. Dernberg?

Mr. TJARKS. Dr. Dernberg, the German Red Cross representative.

Senator WOLCOTT. Who was, as you say, the German Red Cross representative in this country?

Mr. TJARKS. Yes.

Senator WOLCOTT. Of course he actually forwarded the money then to Germany?

Mr. TJARKS. Very likely.

Senator WOLCOTT. He of course did, unless he forwarded it through the German Ambassador subsequently.

Here is another check for $155.50 to the order of Count von Bernstorff which did not pursue that course. It was indorsed to the order of Kuhn, Loeb & Co., who in turn indorsed it to the National City Bank, and they in turn indorsed it generally, and it was duly paid by the Merchants and Mechanics Bank of Baltimore. I wonder why that did not go through Dr. Dernberg.

Mr. TJARKS. It was a special request of the committee, if I recall it, and I think that $155 was paid to a New York central body—some committee there; but the German funds went through the German Ambassador and in turn were turned over to some German committee that gathered funds in New York.

Senator WOLCOTT. Here are other checks running from November 13, 1914, to April, 1915, inclusive, all made payable to Dr. C. Dumba, signed by yourself and Dr. Hexamer, trustees for the executive committee, drawn on the Merchants and Mechanics National Bank at Baltimore, Md., totaling about $76,000. These checks all, if I have correctly examined the indorsements, pursued the same course, as follows: They were indorsed generally by Dr. Dumba; he deposited them in his bank, which must have been the Mechanics and Metals National Bank of New York; and the next indorsement is that of the Trans-Atlantic Trust Co. of New York. Here is another general indorsement by the Mechanics and Metals National Bank of New York, and the check was finally paid through the Baltimore Clearing House. [After further examination of check.] Now I have got it. He deposited it in the Trans-Atlantic Trust Co., indorsed to the Mechanics and Metals National Bank, which in turn indorsed generally, and the checks were paid, eventually, through the Baltimore Clearing House. That is what they show. Have you analyzed these, Senator King?

Senator KING. No. That is all right.

Senator WOLCOTT. It is out of my line. [After examining another series of checks.] Are you interested, Senator, to have the indorsements of these other checks go into the record or not?

Senator KING. That matter does not interest me.

Senator WOLCOTT. I do not want to go through them. I just wanted to see how some of them went. These checks went through Kuhn, Loeb & Co. I think with respect to all these checks, there being about 19 of them and they being for a large sum of money in the aggregate, they went through the banking house of Kuhn, Loeb & Co., did they not?

Mr. TJARKS. Yes.

Senator WOLCOTT. They seem to have done so, judging from the indorsements.

Senator KING. Do your records show the transmission by your national organization of any funds to State organizations?

Mr. TJARKS. No, sir; I never paid any amount to any State organization.

Senator KING. For any purpose?

Mr. TJARKS. For any purpose. All the money I turned over was to the treasurer; and in one instance, you know, in the one fund, the treasurer of the Alliance, and in the other case to Mr. Joseph Keller, and this fund here, the relief fund, to the ambassador.

Senator KING. Then you do not know what funds were collected by your treasurer? When I say "you treasurer" I mean the treasurer of your national organization.

Mr. TJARKS. I do not.

Senator KING. And you do not know, of your own knowledge, what disposition was made by him of funds reaching his hands?

Mr. TJARKS. I do not.

Senator KING. But all of the money which came to your hands through Mr. Andreae's organization was paid out by you to Mr. Keller?

Mr. TJARKS. Yes.

Senator KING. That was agreed upon, was it not?

Mr. TJARKS. It was.

Senator KING. At a meeting at which Dr. Hexamer, Mr. Andreae, and Mr. Keller were present?

Mr. TJARKS. I am not quite sure whether it was agreed to right there or whether it was agreed to between Mr. Keller and myself afterwards and Mr. Andreae.

Senator KING. And Mr. Andreae?

Mr. TJARKS. Yes. I do not know whether the Doctor was present.

Senator KING. Senator Wolcott, do you care to have Mr. Tjarks bring to the committee for examination the records showing the payments made to him and the disbursements of the funds to which Mr. Andreae referred? There seems to be no dispute about it. Mr. Andreae paid between $40,000 and $50,000 to Mr. Tjarks as chairman of the finance committee, and Mr. Tjarks admits that he paid out to Mr. Keller all that he received, except such as he received for his personal services. Is that right, Mr. Tjarks?

Mr. TJARKS. A check was paid to me by Mr. Keller for personal services. I did not hold anything out. I turned everything over, and he sent me a check for $250.

Senator WOLCOTT. I do not have any desire for that.

Now, Mr. Tjarks, there was this general relief fund, and what was that other fund?

Mr. TJARKS. You called it an endowment fund. We called it the iron fund.

Senator WOLCOTT. Yes, the iron fund; and there was a third fund?

Mr. TJARKS. The general fund.

Senator WOLCOTT. Which was made up from what sources?

Mr. TJARKS. Made up by donations and collections by the representatives of the finance committee.

Senator WOLCOTT. As I recall, I think we have testimony before us that the National Alliance's Annals disclose quite numerous receipts of quite large sums of money from sources which were put down as confidential. It seems to me that was the testimony before us. Why were those contributions put down as from a confidential source?

Mr. TJARKS. Do you mean the treasurer received them or I received them?

Senator WOLCOTT. Well, I do not know that. Did you get any from a source that is accounted for in the Annals, the national publication of some kind of a financial nature, disclosing the finances, and that were regarded as confidential and so reported?

Mr. TJARKS. If you consider that confidential, no doubt Mr. Timm can answer that. The finance committee engaged Mr. Timm, the secretary of the Alliance, whenever he had any hours or days to spare out of his regular work, to visit wealthy Germans or German-Americans and ask them to become life members and contribute toward the iron fund. He might have received money and the donors would request him not to state their names. For instance, if I would receive money from the representative of the finance committee, Mr. Timm, he would simply write me: "Here is a sum that is donated by parties that do not wish their name to be mentioned"; so that I do not know whom he got them from.

Senator KING. As I recall the testimony of Mr. Ohlinger, at some of your annual meetings reports were submitted showing receipts of the organization during the year, and some of those reports indicated large sums had been received from sources not made known, What Senator Wolcott is inquiring about, as I understand, is what disposition was made of those funds and from what sources were they received?

Mr. TJARKS. I could not answer the question by stating what disposition was made. For instance, I received funds and I put them into the general fund, and whenever the treasurer needed money I turned over—for instance, I got a note from Dr. Hexamer, you know, "Please send a thousand dollars to the treasurer," or the financial secretary, or whatever official would send me word, and I would send a thousand dollars or two thousand dollars, or whatever they needed. And the representative of the finance committee, Mr. Timm, would gather in funds; I do not know where he got them from or from whom.

Senator KING. All the funds paid in were not paid to you, were they?

Mr. TJARKS. That I could not state. I do not know.

Senator KING. Would some be paid to the treasurer of the organization?

Mr. TJARKS. I do not know. I think so.

Senator KING. Was it your understanding as a member of this organization that all the funds that were paid to this organization were paid to you or that some went to you and some went to the treasurer?

Mr. TJARKS. Whatever money he collected for the finance committee he must turn in to us.

Senator KING. Yes.

Mr. TJARKS. If he accepted money on his routes or his trips—dues, and so on—all that he turned in to the treasurer.

Senator KING. Was the treasurer limited to receiving money that came from dues?

Mr. TJARKS. No.

Senator KING. He could receive money that came from any source to your organization?

Mr. TJARKS. Yes.

Senator WOLCOTT. Do you know whether or not, as a matter of fact, any of the money received by you in any capacity in connection with the German-American Alliance was used, we will say, by Dr. Dernberg or by anybody else for propaganda purposes?

Mr. TJARKS. No, sir.

Senator WOLCOTT. If it was, you do not know it?

Mr. TJARKS. No, sir.

Senator WOLCOTT. If the money was used for such purposes it was misapplied, was it not?

Mr. TJARKS. Absolutely.

Senator KING. Those checks I might examine, and I do not know that I would have any purpose in so doing, but would you object to leaving them with the clerk to the committee?

Mr. TJARKS. No; not at all. These are our receipts, you know.

Senator WOLCOTT. If you care to have it, the clerk to the committee will give you a receipt for whatever you turn over to the committee.

Mr. TJARKS. Of course, those are the original receipts for the money.

Senator WOLCOTT. Yes; you ought to take care of them and not lose them.

I have now that part of the testimony of Mr. Ohlinger to which I referred a while ago. It is on page 11 of the typewritten record, and I read as follows:

This committee—

Referring to a committee that had been appointed to raise funds—

reported at the Seventh Convention, held in 1913, that it had met with no success in collecting the dues and had been obliged to turn to wealthy German-Americans for financial support. You will find that stated in the fifth volume of the Official Bulletin of the Alliance, No. 11, at page 27.

That is the document I was trying to refer to.

The committee's efforts in raising this money are reflected in the following statement, in which it was also stated that the sources of the receipts were confidential.

Then follows the list of these receipts running from January 30, 1912, to April 6, 1915, totaling $35,000. Those sources were confidential, and I understand you to say they were referred to as con-

fidential because the donors did not care to have it known that they had given money to the Alliance?

Mr. TJARKS. Unless the letter stated, from Mr. Timm, when I received it. He would say, "Here is so much money, and the donors do not care about having it stated who they were."

Senator WOLCOTT. Your books will not show who those donors were?

Mr. TJARKS. No, sir. Mr. Timm was authorized to collect those funds and he would go out and get them.

Senator WOLCOTT. Do you want this audit put in the record or not?

Mr. TJARKS. Do you mean the auditors' report?

Senator WOLCOTT. Yes.

Mr. TJARKS. I think it would be a good thing.

Mr. SCHOLTZ. It would simply lumber up the record. You are perfectly welcome to put it in the record if you want to, but we are not interested in having it go in.

(Consultation among the members of the subcommittee followed.)

Senator WOLCOTT. I just wanted to know if you wanted it to go in.

Mr. TJARKS. I would like to have the whole audit in, as it is; I mean, not have fractions here and there and bites taken out of it.

Senator KING. It will lumber up the record, but if you want it in we will put it in.

Mr. TJARKS. I do not want fractions and bites taken here and there and put in; I want it to go in as a whole.

Senator KING. Of course, that is not an audit of your accounts?

Mr. TJARKS. No; only the funds collected for the relief fund; nothing else.

Senator KING. Mr. Tjarks, so far as I know now, the committee will excuse you. If you should be required, you will be advised. We regret that you did not bring, however, the records showing the amounts paid you by Mr. Andreae. I think the subpœna specifically called for those books rather than for any others.

Mr. TJARKS. Well, I thought you were after the big funds first, and I brought those.

Senator KING. So that I will understand you: You have no account, you kept no account, of the funds paid you by Mr. Andreae?

Mr. TJARKS. I had no book; no, sir. I simply got the checks, and I can give you those checks.

Senator KING. Well, that is not necessary. They were all drawn in favor——

Mr. TJARKS. Of Mr. Keller.

Senator KING. Of Mr. Keller?

Mr. TJARKS. Yes, sir.

Senator KING. If you will just kindly mail the pass book to the attorney for your organization, if we care to examine it we will ask the attorney to exhibit it to us. Is that satisfactory?

Mr. SCHOLTZ. Yes, sir.

Thereupon, at 6.20 o'clock p. m., the subcommittee adjourned until Monday, March 11, 1918, at 2 o'clock p. m.

(The auditors' report submitted by Mr. Tjarks is here printed in full, as follows:)

REPORT UPON THE NATIONAL RELIEF FUND FROM AUGUST 14, 1914, TO OCTOBER 15, 1917, OF THE NATIONAL GERMAN-AMERICAN ALLIANCE.

MAX TEICHMANN & CO.,
CERTIFIED PUBLIC ACCOUNTANTS AND AUDITORS,
Baltimore, Md., October 20, 1917.

NATIONAL GERMAN-AMERICAN ALLIANCE,
419 Walnut Street, Philadelphia, Pa.

GENTLEMEN: We take pleasure in reporting to you that, acting under your appointment, we have made an exhaustive detailed audit of the books, accounts, letters, and other related data of your National Relief Fund Committee covering the entire period from August 14, 1914, to October 15, 1917, and are glad to state that we have found everything intact, correct, and properly accounted for.

All contributions received have been distributed in accordance with the wishes of the contributors, and the interest received on bank deposits have been included in the amounts distributed to the German widows and orphans fund.

With the exception of $25 received on April 24, 1917, from "Gesang Verein Einklang," of Providence, R. I., and $10.60 received on July 21, 1917, from Wilkes-Barre, Pa., total $35.60, all contributions had been received prior to March 31, 1917.

A contribution of $155 had been received by your committee from the Erie branch, D. A. C. B. of Pennsylvania, for the prisoners of war in Siberia and their original check forwarded on July 16, 1915, to Count von Bernstorff, in compliance with their special wish in the matter. This transaction has been separately recorded and is not included in this accounting.

Available for distribution there was on deposit with the Hopkins Place Savings Bank a balance of $188.94 on October 15, 1917, which, when distributed, will close out the "national relief fund" completely.

Your committee, and especially their chairman, Mr. John Tjarks, deserves credit for the able and conscientious manner in which they have discharged their duties and we may further state that not one cent has been charged to or deducted from the contributions for even legitimate expenses, which is quite an exceptional record.

We now submit to you, hereto attached: Schedule 1, the final statement of the "national relief fund," showing in condensed form the receipts and disbursements from August 14, 1914, to October 15, 1917, and the balance in bank on October 15, 1917. We have certified to this statement and inclose two extra copies of the same. Schedule 2 is a list of contributions received, in totals by States and years; and schedule 3, the distribution of contributions, in classified form, with those items for special purposes in totals. Schedules 4 to 7 contain the details of distribution for special purposes with dates and amounts. Schedule 8 is a recapitulation of distribution of contributions from October 27, 1914, to March 24, 1917; and schedule 9 a recapitulation of receipts and disbursements by years. On schedule 10 we submit to you copy of our letter to the Hopkins Place Savings Bank and copy of their reply regarding the amount on deposit with them.

This agrees perfectly with what the records of your committee show except that they have not as yet taken into account the interest allowed from March 31, 1917, to October 15, 1917.

Respectfully,

MAX TEICHMANN & CO.,
Certified Public Accountants and Auditors.

SCHEDULE 1.—*Final statement concerning the national relief fund of the National German-American Alliance as of October 15, 1917.*

RECEIPTS.

Contributions from organizations and individuals in the United States of America	$882,569.62
Interest on bank deposits to Oct. 15, 1917	4,100.56
Total receipts	886,670.18

DISBURSEMENTS.

Wounded of Germany	$222,641.46
Widows and orphans of Germany	292,393.27
Wounded of Austria-Hungary	114,674.05
Widows and orphans of Austria-Hungary	148,584.14
Prisoners of war	57,155.80
Special sundry purposes	51,032.52
Total disbursements	886,481.24
Balance on deposit with the Hopkins Place Savings Bank of Baltimore City on Oct. 15, 1917	188.94

This is to certify that the above is a true statement of the national relief fund of the National German-American Alliance on October 15, 1917, as shown by their books, reports, vouchers, and data, all of which we have examined and found correct.

Respectfully,

[SEAL.]

MAX TEICHMANN & Co.,
Certified Public Accountants and Auditors.

SCHEDULE 2.

From—	Contributions received during the years—				Total.
	1914	1915	1916	1917	
Alabama	$622.65	$270.00	$196.50		$1,089.15
Arizona					
Arkansas	1,000.00	391.00	1,198.08	$200.75	2,789.83
California		1.00	281.65	114.48	397.13
Colorado			1.50		1.50
Connecticut	16,318.01	28,827.19	62,866.18	494.65	108,506.03
Delaware	1,200.00	296.00	10,995.00		12,491.00
District of Columbia					
Florida					
Georgia	400.00	800.00	25.00	493.97	1,718.97
Hawaii Territory		2,417.50	863.00		3,280.50
Idaho			700.00		700.00
Illinois	5,875.42	3,185.05	1,369.55	453.22	10,883.24
Indiana	8,494.06	8,776.21	13,693.49	249.05	31,212.81
Iowa	3,828.35	328.55	902.25	28.00	5,087.15
Kansas	2,911.50	1,417.37	1,012.28	443.75	5,784.90
Kentucky	720.00	2,318.98	2,641.50	400.00	6,080.48
Louisiana		11,950.00	4,000.00	5,000.00	20,950.00
Maine	391.50	439.34	166.06		996.90
Maryland	15,000.00	22,500.00	6,088.18		43,588.18
Massachusetts	3,745.35	4,185.39	1,263.07	13.30	9,207.11
Michigan	4,031.85	2,912.94	478.59		7,423.38
Minnesota			142.75	25.00	167.75
Mississippi					
Missouri	3,230.00	5,264.00	1,476.35	120.00	10,090.35
Montana	2,225.00	4,600.00	2,072.55		8,897.55
Nebraska	10,025.00	12,000.00	11,286.00	11.00	33,322.00
Nevada					
New Hampshire		1,000.00	441.70	900.00	2,341.70
New Jersey	3,807.00	5,471.00	4,805.69	854.84	14,938.53
New Mexico			18.00		18.00
New York	10,328.85	4,908.23	7,647.72	50.00	22,934.80
North Carolina	1,800.00	1,000.00	2,095.00		4,895.00
North Dakota			269.25	101.50	370.75
Ohio	32,304.40	34,722.15	9,247.53	333.00	76,607.08
Oklahoma	1,315.90	381.95	524.00	50.00	2,271.85
Oregon					
Pennsylvania	69,635.10	69,939.34	103,552.15	18,195.70	261,322.29
Rhode Island	3,602.07	500.00	3,500.00	25.00	7,627.07
South Carolina		7,200.00	7,800.00		15,000.00
South Dakota	2,501.31	1,155.00	2,775.40		6,431.71
Tennessee	1,214.50	494.45	735.62		2,444.57
Texas	6,121.75	3,927.00	4,433.00		14,481.75
Utah	2,000.00	500.00			2,500.00
Vermont		106.05			106.05
Virginia	72.50	1,441.00	299.30		1,812.80
Washington	5,700.00	3,300.00	3,325.00	1,150.00	13,475.00
West Virginia	3,200.00	1,300.00	1,073.00		5,573.00
Wisconsin	55,198.90	39,462.11	7,970.13	25.00	102,656.14
Wyoming		5.00	80.62	10.00	95.62
From States	278,820.97	289,693.80	284,312.64	29,742.21	882,569.62
Bank, interest	413.16	2,083.24	1,454.57	149.59	4,100.56
Total received	279,234.13	291,777.04	285,767.21	29,891.80	886,670.18

SCHEDULE 3.—*Distribution of contributions.*

Date.	Checks have been mailed to and acknowledged by—	Amount of checks.	Germany.		Austria-Hungary.		Special purposes.
			Wounded.	Widows and orphans.	Wounded.	Widows and orphans.	
1914.							
Oct. 27	Von Bernstorff, German Embassy, Washington, D. C.	$100,000.00	$35,000.00	$34,000.00	$16,000.00	$15,000.00	
Dec. 1	do	66,000.00	26,000.00	40,000.00			
1	C. Dumba, Austrian-Hungarian Embassy, Washington, D. C.	34,000.00			10,000.00	24,000.00	
	Total distributed during the year 1914	200,000.00	61,000.00	74,000.00	26,000.00	39,000.00	
1915.							
Feb. 1	Von Bernstorff, German Embassy, Washington, D. C.	67,000.00	25,000.00	42,000.00			
1	C. Dumba, Austrian-Hungarian Embassy, Washington, D. C.	33,000.00			12,000.00	21,000.00	
Apr. 15	Von Bernstorff, German Embassy, Washington, D. C.	70,000.00	25,000.00	45,000.00			
15	C. Dumba, Austrian-Hungarian Embassy, Washington, D. C.	30,000.00			10,000.00	20,000.00	
Nov. 15	Von Bernstorff, German Embassy, Washington, D. C.	100,000.00	29,762.50	39,791.50	15,000.00	14,994.00	$452.00
25	do	9,134.13					9,134.13
	Total distributed during the year 1915	309,134.13	79,762.50	126,791.50	37,000.00	55,994.00	9,586.13
1916.							
Jan. 15	Von Bernstorff, German Embassy, Washington, D. C.	90,865.87	25,000.00	32,000.00	15,000.00	18,336.53	529.34
25	do	4,105.00					4,105.00
Feb. 14	do	1,535.00					1,535.00
May 13	Kriegsgefangenen, Fürsorge, New York	2,500.00					2,500.00
23	Von Bernstorff, German Embassy, Washington, D. C.	7,113.13					7,113.13
June 10	do	84,746.87	25,000.00	27,958.97	16,500.00	12,500.00	2,787.90
July 24	do	16,787.90				6,250.00	10,537.90
Sept. 7	do	5,637.10					5,637.10
Oct. 18	do	10,264.60					10,264.60
Nov. 1	do	67,310.40	16,000.00	22,000.00	9,000.00	10,475.15	9,835.25
16	do	2,725.60					2,725.60
Dec. 11	do	7,468.50					7,468.50
21	do	15,096.75					15,096.75
	Total distributed during the year 1916	316,156.72	66,000.00	81,958.97	40,500.00	47,561.68	80,136.07
1917.							
Feb. 10	Mrs. Carl L. Schurz, treasurer, Relief Association, New York	931.59					931.59
10	Von Bernstorff, German Embassy, Washington, D. C.	40,959.85	13,374.98	6,730.82	9,073.08	3,627.49	8,153.48
26	E. Hecker, German Red Cross, New York	6,051.00	203.00				5,848.00

Mar. 10	.....do	2,572.97	200.00	811.00	.....	300.00	1,261.97
24	.....do	10,674.98	2,100.98	2,100.98	2,100.97	2,100.97	2,271.08
	Total distributed during the year 1917	61,190.39	15,878.96	9,642.80	11,174.05	6,028.46	18,466.12
	Total amount distributed for the wounded of Germany	.....	222,641.46	.....	.....	.....	.....
	Total amount distributed for the widows and orphans of Germany	.....	292,393.27	292,393.27	.....	.....	.....
	Total amount distributed for the wounded of Austria-Hungary	.....	114,674.05	.....	114,674.05	.....	.....
	Total amount distributed for the widows and orphans of Austria-Hungary	.....	148,584.14	.....	.....	148,584.14	.....
	Total amount distributed for special purposes (schedules 4 to 7)	.....	108,188.32	.....	.....	.....	108,188.32
	Grand total of distribution	886,481.24	886,481.24	.....	.....	.....	.....

SCHEDULES 4–7.—*Distribution of contributions for special purposes.*

[The totals are shown on schedule 3.]

Date.	To—	Amounts.	Total.
1915			
Nov. 15	Hospital for blind soldiers, Berlin	$62.50	
	Prisoners of war in Siberia	25.00	
	German-American doctors' expedition	50.00	
	Homeless of East Prussia	25.00	
	Invalides	25.00	
	Invaliden Dank	50.00	
	Sufferers in East Prussia	204.50	
	German-American doctors' expedition	4.00	
	Austrian Doctors' Association	6.00	
			$452.00
25	Seemanns Hilfe, Hoboken	250.00	
	German-Austria-Hungarian prisoners of war, Siberia	1,000.00	
	German-Austria-Hungarian prisoners of war, Canada	500.00	
	German-Austria-Hungarian prisoners of war, England	500.00	
	German prisoners of war, France	500.00	
	German home for blind soldiers	1,000.00	
	Doctors' expedition to Germany and Austria-Hungary	2,000.00	
	Deutschwehr	1,000.00	
	German Turnerbund, Berlin	62.13	
	Sufferers in East Prussia	230.00	
	Doctors' expedition	100.00	
	Prisoners of war in Siberia	1,992.00	
			9,134.13
1916			
Jan. 15	Prisoners of war in Siberia	34.24	
	Invaliden Dank	385.10	
	Sufferers in East Prussia	10.00	
	Prisoners of war, Fürsorge	50.00	
	Kolonial Kriegerdank	50.00	
			529.34
25	Prisoners of war in Siberia	3,705.00	
	Blind soldiers in Germany	150.00	
	Blind soldiers in Austria-Hungary	150.00	
	War sufferers in African colonies	100.00	
			4,105.00
Feb. 14	Prisoners of war in Siberia	1,030.00	
	Prisoners of war, Fürsorge	2.50	
	Kolonial Kriegerdank	502.50	
			1,535.00
May 13	Prisoners of war, Fürsorge		2,500.00
23	Prisoners of war in Siberia	3,169.28	
	Kolonial Kriegerdank	250.00	
	Blind soldiers of Germany and Austria-Hungary	370.00	
	Invaliden Dank	170.50	
	German-American doctors' expeditions	885.17	
	Sufferers in East Prussia	1,405.00	
	Deutschwehr	308.66	
	Hilfsverein deutscher Frauen	60.60	
	Red Cross of Turkey	10.00	
	Red Cross of Bulgaria	10.00	
	Wounded and widows and orphans, Oberamt Ballingen, Württemberg	112.92	
	Sufferers in Leerhafe, Hanover	11.00	
	Home for convalescents, Solling	25.00	
	Milk fund	300.00	
	Crippled turners in Germany	25.00	
			7,113.13
June 10	Kolonial Kriegerdank	1,115.00	
	Prisoners of war in Siberia	1,175.75	
	Invaliden Dank	39.65	
	American doctor's expedition	405.00	
	Sufferers in East Prussia	1.00	
	Deutschwehr	31.50	
	Jewish inhabitants of Poland and Galicia	10.00	
	Widows and orphans of Irish patriots	10.00	
			2,787.90
July 24	Kolonial Kriegerdank	1,790.50	
	Prisoners of war in Siberia	4,535.90	
	German-American doctor's expeditions	534.24	
	Sufferers in East Prussia	1,653.00	
	Hilfsverein deutscher Frauen	400.00	
	Red Cross of Bulgaria	330.00	
	Red Cross of Turkey	425.00	
	Invaliden Dank	869.26	
			10,537.90
Sept. 7	Prisoners of war in Siberia	5,098.95	
	Blind soldiers	36.50	
	Invaliden Dank	231.65	
	German-American doctor's expeditions	100.00	
	Sufferers in East Prussia	100.00	

SCHEDULES 4–7.—*Distribution of contributions for special purposes*—Continued.

Date.	To—	Amounts.	Total.
1916			
Sept. 7	Deutschwehr	$10.00	
	Red Cross of Bulgaria	15.00	
	Red Cross of Turkey	45.00	
			$5,637.10
Oct. 18	Prisoners of war in Siberia	4,939.31	
	Hilfsverein deutscher Frauen	3,245.29	
	Sufferers in East Prussia	1,220.00	
	Blind soldiers	300.00	
	Sufferers in Poland	300.00	
	Invaliden Dank	150.00	
	German-American doctor's expeditions	10.00	
	Red Cross of Bulgaria	50.00	
	Red Cross of Turkey	50.00	
			10,264.60
Nov. 1	Prisoners of war in Siberia	5,171.25	
	American doctor's expeditions	64.00	
	Sufferers in East Prussia	1,200.00	
	War orphans' home, Lahr	1,500.00	
	Ruthenischer Hilfs Fond	200.00	
	Irish Hilfs Fond	300.00	
	Red Cross of Bulgaria	700.00	
	Red Cross of Turkey	700.00	
			9,835.25
16	Prisoners of war in Siberia	2,325.60	
	German-American doctor's expeditions	200.00	
	Red Cross of Bulgaria	80.00	
	Red Cross of Turkey	120.00	
			2,725.60
Dec. 11	Prisoners of war in Siberia	4,308.50	
	Doctor's expeditions	450.00	
	Widows and orphans of Saarbrücken and Burbach	10.00	
	Mutter Dank	200.00	
	Red Cross of Bulgaria	800.00	
	Red Cross of Turkey	800.00	
	Sufferers in East Prussia	300.00	
	Sufferers in Galicia	300.00	
	Sufferers in Siebenbürgen	300.00	
			7,468.50
21	Kolonial Kriegerdank	230.00	
	Prisoners of war in Canada	100.00	
	Prisoners of war in Siberia	2,878.00	
	Prisoners of war, Fürsorge	5,000.00	
	Doctor's expeditions	1,810.00	
	Sufferers in East Prussia	1,210.00	
	Permanently crippled soldiers in Germany	3,054.25	
	Hilfsverein deutscher Frauen	314.50	
	Riesenfahne Deutschland	500.00	
			15,096.75
1917.			
Feb. 10	Hilfsverein deutscher Frauen		931.50
10	Prisoners of war in Siberia	2,077.95	
	Blind German soldiers	11.00	
	Invaliden Dank	3.28	
	Doctor's expeditions	366.25	
	Sufferers in East Prussia	255.00	
	Permanently crippled German soldiers	5,300.00	
	Red Cross of Bulgaria	70.00	
	Red Cross of Turkey	70.00	
			8,153.48
26	Prisoners of war in Siberia	1,623.00	
	Invaliden Dank	100.00	
	Doctor's expeditions	100.00	
	Sufferers in East Prussia	4,000.00	
	Deutschwehr	25.00	
			5,848.00
Mar. 10	Prisoners of war in Siberia		1,261.97
24	Prisoners of war in Siberia	1,651.60	
	Sufferers in East Prussia	619.48	
			2,271.08
	Total amount of distribution of contributions for special purposes, which agrees perfectly with the records and data at hand		108,188.32

NOTE.—Not included in the above—nor on any other statement—is an amount of $155 which had been received from the Erie Branch, D.-A. Central B., of Pennsylvania which upon their request had been recorded separately and their original check forwarded to Count von Bernstorff on July 6, 1916.

This contribution was intended for the prisoners of war in Siberia.

SCHEDULE 8.—*Recapitulation of distribution of contributions from Oct. 27, 1914, to Mar. 24, 1917.*

For the—		
Wounded of Germany	$222,641.46	
Widows and orphans of Germany	292,393.27	
		$515,034.73
Wounded of Austria-Hungary	114,674.05	
Widows and orphans of Austria-Hungary	148,584.14	
		263,258.19
Prisoners of war, Fürsorge	7,748.60	
Prisoners of war, in Siberia	47,907.20	
Prisoners of war, in Canada	500.00	
Prisoners of war, in England	500.00	
Prisoners of war, in France	500.00	
		57,155.80
Blind soldiers	2,080.00	
Permanently crippled German soldiers	8,354.25	
Crippled Turners in Germany	25.00	
Home for convalescents, Solling	25.00	
German-American doctors' expeditions	7,084.66	
Invaliden Dank	2,024.44	
Kolonial Krieger Dank	4,038.00	
Mutter Dank	200.00	
Deutschwehr	1,375.16	
Seemann's relief, Hoboken	250.00	
Wounded, widows and orphans, Balingen	112.92	
Widows and orphans, Saarbrücken and Burbach	10.00	
War-orphan asylum, Lahr	1,500.00	
German Turnerbund, Berlin	62.13	
War sufferers, Leerhafe	11.00	
Milk fund for babies	300.00	
Hilfsverein deutscher Frauen	4,951.98	
Red Cross of Bulgaria	2,055.00	
Red Cross of Turkey	2,220.00	
Ruthenian relief fund	200.00	
Irish relief fund	310.00	
War sufferers of East Prussia	12,432.98	
War sufferers of Poland	600.00	
War sufferers of Siebenbürgen	300.00	
Jewish inhabitants of Poland and Galicia	10.00	
Riesenfahne Deutschland	500.00	
		51,032.52
Total amount of distributions		886,481.24

SCHEDULE 9.—*Recapitulation of receipts and disbursements, by years.*

Aug. 14, 1914, to July 21, 1917.	Schedule.	Received.	Disbursed.
Aug. 14, 1914, to Dec. 31, 1914:			
Total contributions received	2	$278,820.97	
Total interest on bank deposits	2	413.16	
Total contributions distributed	3		$200,000.00
Balance forwarded	9		79,234.13
Total		279,234.13	279,234.13
Jan. 1, 1915, to Dec. 31, 1915:			
Balance brought forward	9	79,234.13	
Total contributions received	2	289,693.80	
Total interest on bank deposits	2	2,083.24	
Total contributions distributed	3		309,134.13
Balance forwarded	9		61,877.04
Total		371,011.17	371,011.17

SCHEDULE 9.—*Recapitulation of receipts and disbursements, by years*—Continued.

Aug. 14, 1914, to July 21, 1917.	Schedule.	Received.	Disbursed.
Jan. 1, 1916, to Dec. 31, 1916:			
Balance brought forward	9	$61,877.04	
Total contributions received	2	284,312.64	
Total interest on bank deposits	2	1,454.57	
Total contributions distributed	3		$316,156.72
Balance forwarded	9		31,487.53
Total		347,644.25	347,644.25
Jan. 1, 1917, to Oct. 15, 1917:			
Balance brought forward	9	31,487.53	
Total contributions received	2	29,742.21	
Total interest on bank deposits	2	149.59	
Total contributions distributed	3		61,190.39
Balance forwarded	9		188.94
Total		61,379.33	61,379.33
Oct. 15, 1917, balance brought forward	9	188.94	

This balance is on deposit with the Hopkins Place Savings Bank of Baltimore City, as verified and shown on schedule 10, hereto attached, as of October 15, 1917.

SCHEDULE 10.—COPIES OF LETTERS PASSED BETWEEN MAX TEICHMANN & CO. AND THE HOPKINS PLACE SAVINGS BANK.

MAX TEICHMANN & CO.,
Baltimore, Md., October 12, 1917.

HOPKINS PLACE SAVINGS BANK,
Baltimore, Md.

GENTLEMEN: We have been appointed to examine the books and accounts of the national relief fund committee of the National German-American Alliance, and would greatly appreciate if you would kindly inform us by letter:

(*a*) How much their balance was on March 31, 1917;

(*b*) What amounts have been deposited by them since March 31, 1917; and

(*c*) The interest allowed them from March 31, 1917, to and including October 15, 1917.

Thanking you in advance,

Respectfully,

MAX TEICHMANN & CO.

HOPKINS PLACE SAVINGS BANK,
Baltimore, Md., October 15, 1917.

MAX TEICHMANN & CO.,
Garrett Building, City.

GENTLEMEN: Replying to yours of the 12th instant, we wish to advise that the National German-American Alliance had—

On balance with us on Mar. 31, 1917	$143.42
They deposited since Mar. 31, 1917	39.35
Interest credited Oct. 1, 1917	6.17
Balance as of Oct. 1, 1917	188.94

Very truly yours,

JOHN L. HILDEBRANDT, *Treasurer.*

NATIONAL GERMAN-AMERICAN ALLIANCE.

MONDAY, MARCH 11, 1918.

UNITED STATES SENATE,
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY,
Washington, D. C.

The subcommittee met at 2 o'clock p. m. in the room of the Committee on the Judiciary in the Capitol.

Present: Senators King (chairman), Wolcott, and Sterling.

Senator KING. Mr. Keller, will you come forward?

TESTIMONY OF MR. JOSEPH KELLER.

(The witness was duly sworn by Senator King.)

Senator KING. State your name and your residence.

Mr. KELLER. Joseph Keller, 58 years old; Indianapolis, Ind.

Senator KING. Where were you born?

Mr. KELLER. I was born in Germany.

Senator KING. When did you come to this country?

Mr. KELLER. Thirty-six—thirty-seven years ago.

Senator KING. How long have you lived in Indianapolis?

Mr. KELLER. All this time.

Senator KING. What is your business?

Mr. KELLER. I was in the dry goods business 27 years, and in 1911 I sold out on account of my health.

Senator KING. What business have you been in since?

Mr. KELLER. I was deputy State oil inspector of the State of Indiana.

Senator KING. What other business have you had?

Mr. KELLER. None; present business, none.

Senator KING. Have you been connected with the school board of Indianapolis?

Mr. KELLER. Yes; of course I did not count that a business.

Senator KING. How long have you been connected with the school board?

Mr. KELLER. Four years; my time expired last January.

Senator KING. What were your duties as a member of the school board?

Mr. KELLER. I was president for two years and one term I was vice president. The duties were to look after the school buildings and the welfare of the school children.

Senator WOLCOTT. What school board?

Mr. KELLER. Indianapolis.

Senator WOLCOTT. In the city of Indianapolis?

Mr. KELLER. Yes.

Senator KING. Of the public schools?

Mr. Keller. Yes.

Senator KING. You have been a member of the National German-American Alliance?

Mr. KELLER. Yes.

SENATOR KING. How long were you a member of that organization?

Mr. KELLER. Since about 1900; the first year after it started—after it was organized.

Senator KING. Then you were a member before the charter to the present organization was given?

Mr. KELLER. Yes.

Senator KING. It was an unincorporated association at first?

Mr. KELLER. Yes.

Senator KING. Who organized it?

Mr. KELLER. Dr. C. J. Hexamer.

Senator KING. What part did you take in organizing it?

Mr. KELLER. I was not in the organization. The National Alliance organization was organized before our branch in Indianapolis joined it.

Senator KING. When did you become a member of the National Alliance whose charter is under investigation now?

Mr. KELLER. The second year; the second convention in Baltimore. When was that, Mr. Scholtz?

Mr. SCHOLTZ. Nineteen hundred and three.

Senator KING. And you have been a member ever since?

Mr. KELLER. Ever since; yes, sir.

Senator KING. What position, if any, have you held in the organization?

Mr. KELLER. I became vice president in 1905.

Senator KING. And you have continued such up until the present time?

Mr. KELLER. Yes.

Senator KING. What other office in the organization, aside from that of vice president, have you held?

Mr. KELLER. I am president of the State organization of Indiana.

Senator KING. Did your national organization at any time have what is called a propaganda committee?

Mr. KELLER. It had a propaganda committee before the committee on organization and publication was instituted.

Senator KING. Have you now a propaganda committee?

Mr. KELLER. No; it was stopped at the Washington convention.

Senator KING. When?

Mr. KELLER. The Washington convention was in 1909, I believe.

Senator KING. And the duties of that propaganda committee are performed by what branch of the organization?

Mr. KELLER. The chairman at that time was Mr. Schwaab, of Cincinnati, Ohio.

Senator KING. What committee, if any, took over the duties of the propaganda committee?

Mr. KELLER. There was no propaganda committee for quite a while, until Dr. Hexamer instituted his organization committee. He only appointed a propaganda committee at the time the convention took place, in the convention city, and after the convention was over it was dropped.

Senator KING. Has your organization maintained headquarters of any character in Indianapolis?

Mr. KELLER. No more than my own committee.

Senator KING. Did you not have some sort of headquarters there in Indianapolis during the years 1913, 1914, 1915, and 1916?

Mr. KELLER. The organization committee of the National German-American Alliance.

Senator KING. The organization committee.

Mr. KELLER. Yes.

Senator KING. Were you chairman of that organization committee?

Mr. KELLER. Yes; I was chairman of that organization committee.

Senator KING. What were the duties of the organization committee?

Mr. KELLER. To organize branches and to look after the weaker societies in the different States and go out and——

Senator KING. What kind of a letterhead did you use for that organization?

Mr. KELLER. "The National German-American Alliance and the Committee on Organization and Publication, Indianapolis, Ind. Joseph Keller, Chairman."

Senator KING. "Incorporated under the Act of Congress"?

Mr. KELLER. Under the act of Congress. The regular letterhead of the National German-American Alliance.

Senator KING. You used that letterhead, did you?

Mr. KELLER. Yes. Sometimes we had some old letterheads that I used up, but this was the official letterhead.

Senator KING. Did your State organization become a member of the national organization?

Mr. KELLER. Yes.

Senator KING. How long have you been president of that State organization?

Mr. KELLER. Since it was organized.

Senator KING. Did you organize it?

Mr. KELLER. Yes.

Senator KING. When?

Mr. KELLER. At the Baltimore convention—in 1903, was it?

Mr. SCHOLTZ. In 1903, the Baltimore convention.

Mr. KELLER. In 1903, after the Baltimore convention, we started to organize.

Senator KING. As the president of that Indianapolis school board—I will diverge for a moment from the line I was asking you about——

Mr. KELLER. Yes.

Senator KING. You have been very active, have you not, in behalf of the introduction of the German language into the lower grades of the district schools?

Mr. KELLER. In Indianapolis?

Senator KING. Yes.

Mr. KELLER. No. The State of Indiana had since 1858, over 50 years ago, a State law that German will have to be taught if 25 parents in a school district apply for it; so that question was settled with us entirely. As long as I was on the school board, for the four years, we never had a thought of making a German propaganda, because that State law of Indiana stated that plainly.

Senator KING. Did you not make frequent visits throughout the State and in your visits urge the teaching of German in the public schools in the lower grades?

Mr. KELLER. I spoke at several meetings in the State of Indiana, but I do not believe—as far as I remember, as a member of the board I reminded the people if they sent their children to the public schools and where German was taught, to have them go to the German classes. I remember that, quite often.

Senator KING. Did you not make it a point to go through the State to carry on a propaganda in favor of the teaching of the German language in the lower grades?

Mr. KELLER. Not while I was a member of the school board.

Senator KING. Well, before that?

Mr. KELLER. Yes, quite often. When I talked at our meetings, I urged the German parents to send their children to the German schools.

Senator KING. Were you instrumental in selecting the textbooks in the schools in Indiana?

Mr. KELLER. No; that is not in the hands of the school boards. The State board of education attends to the textbooks. We had nothing to do with that.

Senator WOLCOTT. As a city school board, did you not have something to do with the selection of the books from the list made up by the State board?

Mr. KELLER. No; every five years they meet and pick out the textbooks, and the city board has nothing to do with it. Only the superintendent of the Indianapolis schools is a member of the State board. When I came in the books were bought, and I had nothing to do with them.

Senator KING. You had nothing to do with the selection of textbooks?

Mr. KELLER. No; nothing. It never came up.

Senator KING. What is the fact as to the State of Indiana—the reason I am inquiring is that I have received communications, telegrams, stating that in Indianapolis extreme admiration for Kaiserism is expressed in your textbooks.

Mr. KELLER. I do not know anything about that.

Senator KING. And you are charged with having been interested in the propagation of that kind of literature.

Mr. KELLER. Mr. Senator, I never had the slightest work or the slightest thing to do with picking out textbooks for use in those schools. I do not even know what is in them.

Senator STERLING. You did not understand it; textbooks, you say?

Mr. KELLER. No, sir; I never had anything to do with it.

Senator KING. Do you not know what textbooks are used in your public schools in Indianapolis?

Mr. KELLER. The supervisor of modern languages has that department under his care.

Senator KING. Who is the supervisor of modern languages?

Mr. KELLER. Prof. Scherer.

Senator KING. Is he a German?

Mr. KELLER. I believe so.

Senator KING. Or of German extraction?

Mr. KELLER. He is, I believe, even born in Germany.

Senator KING. Have you not a textbook there called "Im Vaterland"?

Mr. KELLER. I do not know whether it is used in Indianapolis. I do not know anything at all about it there. In Terre Haute it is used.

Senator KING. Do you know whether or not in that textbook the following language is found?

Kaiser Wilhelm's first wish is to serve the German Nation. The militaristic Crown Prince is greatly beloved by the German people. Germany must have a great army because it is surrounded on all sides by enemies. Germany is great because of the Bismarck "blood and iron formula."

Mr. KELLER. I do not know anything about that. I am not in favor of such kind of language as that; and if I had known that that would be in the book I would have take steps to take it out. I am not in favor of such a propaganda, absolutely not.

Senator KING. Do you know whether or not the following language is also in the same book?

The Germans have proved on many battlefields. Because they fear no one, the King of Prussia, Bismarck, and von Moltke, Germany's blood and iron welders, have great men. None of Germany's children love her so much as the Germans who have come to America. Germans who have left the Fatherland must never forget the German tongue, but must hold it a dearest gift.

Mr. KELLER. I do not know anything about that, positively. I never seen that book.

Senator STERLING. How long did you say you were a member of the board of education—the school board?

Mr. KELLER. Four years.

Senator STERLING. What were those four years?

Mr. KELLER. 1913 to 1917.

Senator STERLING. Are you a member now?

Mr. KELLER. No, sir; my term expired on January 1.

Senator STERLING. How many members of that board were there?

Mr. KELLER. Five.

Senator STERLING. Was the school board divided up into committees?

Mr. KELLER. Yes; the committee on education, a committee on buildings and grounds, and a committee on finance.

Senator STERLING. Did you belong to one or more of those committees?

Mr. KELLER. I was on the committee on accounts and on the committee on public library.

Senator STERLING. The committee on public library?

Mr. KELLER. Yes.

Senator STERLING. You were interested in what they were teaching there?

Mr. KELLER. In the library?

Senator STERLING. No; in the schools—what textbooks they used?

Mr. KELLER. No; because I think the law of Indiana takes the textbooks entirely out of the hands of the school board. We never selected the textbooks.

Senator WOLCOTT. Let me understand. Does not the State board of Indiana make up a list of textbooks that may be used in the public schools?

Mr. KELLER. I do not know. That is the board of education. They meet once every five years—the State board of education—and then they pick out the textbooks for the State of Indiana.

Senator WOLCOTT. What is the nature of that picking out? Is not all that they do to make up the list of books that the various schools may use, and then the school board in each school select from that list?

Mr. KELLER. No; we do not in Indianapolis.

Senator WOLCOTT. You do not?

Mr. KELLER. No; I have never seen a bill or anything like that. The books that were purchased in Indianapolis, as long as I was a member of the board, that never came up at any meeting. That was all settled. I believe the German books we had in Indianapolis they must have had for years and years.

Senator STERLING. Do you mean that the State board now prescribes the books to be used in all the grades throughout the schools of Indiana?

Mr. KELLER. The State board picks out the books.

Senator WOLCOTT. That is not the question Senator Sterling asked you.

Senator STERLING. I asked you if the State Board of Education of Indiana prescribes all the textbooks to be used in all the grades of all the schools of Indiana.

Mr. KELLER. With the advice of the superintendent of schools; he is a member of the State school board.

Senator STERLING. That includes primary grades as well as the higher grades?

Mr. KELLER. Yes. I had absolutely nothing to do with picking out the books—absolutely nothing to do with it.

Senator KING. Are you acquainted with the spelling book that is in use in the schools?

Mr. KELLER. No; I had nothing to do with the spelling book. I do not know anything about that.

Senator KING. Do you know that on a page of the spelling book used since 1910 in the schools of Indianapolis there is one page allowed for personal eulogies of individuals, and on that page the name of neither Washington nor Lincoln, nor any man who has battled for free government is found, but the only name on the page is that of the Kaiser, and it states their reason why he is entitled to the esteem of the world; and further, that the Kaiser is given the whole page?

Mr. KELLER. I have never seen that book.

Senator KING. You have not?

Mr. KELLER. No, sir.

Senator KING. Why did you seek a position on the school board, Mr. Keller?

Mr. KELLER. Eight or twelve years age—I have a love for schools.

Senator KING. Yes.

Mr. KELLER. I taught at one time classical languages, and when I came to the United States my first work was teaching languages, French and German, and I taught English; and I had a liking for the schools; and 12 years ago I was a candidate in Indianapolis for the school board, but was not elected on the nonpolitical ticket by the people; they changed the school law at that time and my petition did not state the term for which I was to be elected, and I was not elected. I could not be. I had to drop my name from the ticket. Then, four years ago several of my friends asked me, and so I run; but my

colleagues in the school board will be with me that I never mentioned the slightest idea about German propaganda in the public schools of Indianapolis. I am not an admirer of the German Kaiser, Mr. Chairman. I am a southern German. If those books are in the schools of Indianapolis, I am not responsible for it—absolutely not.

Senator STERLING. I would just like to ask you this one further question in regard to the schoolbook matter——

Mr. KELLER. Yes.

Senator STERLING. Do you mean to say, now, that the State board of education prescribes all the textbooks that are used in all the schools in Indiana, beginning with the primary grades?

Mr. KELLER. I could not say.

Senator STERLING. Or do you mean to say that so far as any books are prescribed at all by any authority the State board of education prescribes what books shall be used—prescribes the books?

Mr. KELLER. I can not answer that question.

Senator STERLING. You could not answer that?

Mr. KELLER. No, sir.

Senator STERLING. It might, so far as you know, leave the matter of the selection of the books to the particular municipality or to the particular board of education, might it not?

Mr. KELLER. The board of education does not take up——

Senator STERLING. That is not answering my question.

Mr. KELLER. No.

Senator STERLING. So far as you know, the State board of education or the law of Indiana might leave the selection of textbooks for a particular municipality to the particular municipality or to the particular board of education for those schools, might it not?

Mr. KELLER. I do not know.

Senator STERLING. You do not?

Mr. KELLER. No, sir; I could not answer that.

Senator KING. You stated a moment ago that there was no propaganda committee?

Mr. KELLER. No.

Senator KING. Do you know this Mr. Soergel?

Mr. KELLER. Yes.

Senator KING. Robert R. Soergel.

Mr. KELLER. Yes.

Senator KING. Who was he?

Mr. KELLER. He was a former newspaper man; and he was afterwards employed in the committee on organization and publication, and Mr. Soergel always used the word propaganda, and even at one time had letterheads printed "Propaganda Committee of the German-American Alliance."

Senator KING. You had that printed?

Mr. KELLER. He had it printed, and I had to pay for it, 500 or 1,000 sheets, and he used them up. He wrote articles quite often. He is a newspaper man, and he used the word propaganda.

Senator KING. Was he in the employ of the National German-American Alliance?

Mr. KELLER. He was in my office.

Senator KING. I say, he was in the employ of the National German-American Alliance?

Mr. KELLER. Well, indirectly.

Senator KING. Who paid him?

Mr. KELLER. I did; with the funds of Mr. Andreae I paid Mr. Soergel.

Senator KING. Through the headquarters which you conducted at Indianapolis?

Mr. KELLER. Yes; through my office.

Senator KING. You received this letter from him, did you not [showing witness letter]?

Mr. KELLER. Yes.

Senator KING. You notice that he addresses you as the chairman of the propaganda committee?

Mr. KELLER. Yes; that is always his writing.

Senator KING. Was there any difference between the propaganda committee and the organization committee?

Mr. KELLER. No, sir; it was the same thing.

Senator KING. The same thing?

Mr. KELLER. Yes.

Senator KING. It was to carry on a propaganda, the propaganda of the organization?

Mr. KELLER. The word "propaganda", Mr. Senator, was obnoxious to me and I did not like it.

Senator KING. Well, now, it may be a very proper word. We can carry on a propaganda for a good cause.

Mr. KELLER. For instance, when I was made chairman of this new committee I was made chairman to organize societies and publish articles and so on, so that it had nothing to do with the former propaganda committee.

Senator KING. Did your organization have an organ?

Mr. KELLER. Yes.

Senator KING. The Bulletin?

Mr. KELLER. The Bulletin.

Senator KING. Where was that maintained?

Mr. KELLER. In Philadelphia.

Senator KING. Who was the president of the organization all the time you have been vice president?

Mr. KELLER. Dr. C. J. Hexamer; and he resigned January 1 and Mr. von Bosse became president; I have never seen the gentleman. I do not know him.

Senator KING. Was your organ published all the time in Philadelphia?

Mr. KELLER. Always in Philadelphia.

Senator KING. Who selected the editor?

Mr. KELLER. Dr. Hexamer selected the editor until the organ was stopped in 1916, I believe—1916.

Senator KING. But you maintained your editor's name on your letterhead of the organization?

Mr. KELLER. On the organ; yes.

Senator KING. Well, on your letterhead?

Mr. KELLER. Well, on our——

Senator KING. The letterhead which showed the officers—the officials of the organization—contained his name?

Mr. KELLER. No; not of late.

Senator KING. Let me have those letters.

Mr. KELLER. I saw that letterhead last Saturday.

Senator KING. The Bulletin is not published any more?

Mr. KELLER. It was not published for nine months.

Senator KING. For instance, I find here a letter dated January 14, 1914, and on the letterhead appears the name of the editor of the Bulletin, Max Heinrici.

Mr. KELLER. Yes.

Senator KING. The letterhead containing all the names of all the officers.

Mr. KELLER. Yes; on the Alliance head that name does not appear any more, the editor's name.

Senator KING. But it did appear?

Mr. KELLER. It is the first time I have seen it. They have so many letterheads in Philadelphia that——

Senator KING. Is that a roster of the principal officials of the organization on January 14, 1914 [handing witness letter]?

Mr. KELLER. Yes, sir; 1914. Of course, they have changed since.

Senator KING. Coming back to the question, did Dr. Hexamer select the editor alone or was it by the organization?

Mr. KELLER. He had at one time a committee on printing, or something like that, but Dr. Hexamer was the main man to pick out the editor of the Bulletin.

Senator KING. Was it approved by the organization?

Mr. KELLER. No.

Senator KING. He had it in his own hands?

Mr. KELLER. Yes.

Senator KING. Did the organization ever repudiate the selection, when Dr. Hexamer exercised that power in the selection of an editor?

Mr. KELLER. No, sir.

Senator KING. The man he approved was the editor and that man continued to edit the organ of the National German-American Alliance?

Mr. KELLER. Yes.

Senator KING. Who else was editor besides Mr. Heinrici?

Mr. KELLER. Mr. Heinrici left the Mitteilungen in 1916; I believe it was in April.

Senator KING. Who is the editor now?

Mr. KELLER. Mr. Seibel, of Pittsburgh.

Senator KING. You stated awhile ago that the Bulletin suspended for a while?

Mr. KELLER. Yes.

Senator KING. When was that?

Mr. KELLER. Eight or nine months, in 1916; from the spring until November, 1916.

Senator KING. What caused the suspension?

Mr. KELLER. They had no money to print it any more.

Senator KING. And then it resumed at the end of that time?

Mr. KELLER. Yes.

Senator KING. And it has been running up until this time?

Mr. KELLER. Yes. Of course it came out much smaller since. It used to be a big publication, but it is a very small paper now.

Senator KING. Who selected the editor?

Mr. KELLER. The president. The other officers were elected by votes.

Senator KING. By votes?

Mr. KELLER. Yes; of the delegates assembled.

Senator KING. Was the paper transmitted to the various officers in the States?

Mr. KELLER. No; each organization had to subscribe for it and pay a dollar.

Senator KING. Did the State organizations subscribe?

Mr. KELLER. They did not buy it. There are some local organizations that paid for 5 or 10 or 15 issues and so divided it among the members, but they had to subscribe to it.

Senator KING. The State organizations and the local organizations would make reports from time to time to the Bulletin, would they?

Mr. KELLER. Oh, yes; the secretaries. But the most of them did not do it except for——

Senator KING. And the Bulletin published your national proceedings?

Mr. KELLER. At the conventions, yes; they printed that themselves.

Senator KING. Were the proclamations or addresses that were sent out by the president published in the Bulletin?

Mr. KELLER. Mostly.

Senator KING. Now, Mr. Keller, coming to your State organization, have you a charter for that organization?

Mr. KELLER. Yes; we are incorporated under the State.

Senator KING. Under the laws of the State of Indiana?

Mr. KELLER. Yes, sir.

Senator KING. Did your articles authorize you to form an alliance with the national organization?

Mr. KELLER. Yes.

Senator KING. When were you incorporated?

Mr. KELLER. I can not state the year exactly; it was about 10 or 12 years ago and right after we were organized. An attorney looked after the incorporation.

Senator KING. And you have local organizations in the city of Indianapolis and in different cities of the State of Indiana?

Mr. KELLER. We belong to the State Alliance.

Senator KING. Do you know Mr. Andreae?

Mr. KELLER. Yes.

Senator KING. When did you become acquainted with him?

Mr. KELLER. In May, 1913.

Senator KING. What was the occasion of your acquaintance with him?

Mr. KELLER. Judge Schwaab, of Ohio, I believe, wired me that he would come to Indianapolis and I should meet him at the Claypool Hotel the latter part of May; and I went to the Claypool Hotel, and I met Judge Schwaab there and he introduced me to Mr. Andreae.

Senator KING. Was there any arrangement made between you and Mr. Andreae by which the National German-American Alliance should engage in a propaganda against prohibition?

Mr. KELLER. Not at that time; but Mr. Andreae asked me if I would not seek an interview with Dr. Hexamer, and I told him I would write to Philadelphia, and Mr. Andreae said, "When it comes I want you to go along with me and Judge Schwaab will go also," and when Dr. Hexamer answered the letter——

Senator KING. You communicated with Dr. Hexamer then?

Mr. KELLER. Yes; and told him a gentleman from Chicago wanted an interview with him.

Senator KING. Did you state the purpose of the interview?

Mr. KELLER. No; I did not state the purpose of the interview.

Senator KING. You were vice president at the time?

Mr. KELLER. Yes, sir.

Senator KING. Did you meet Dr. Hexamer then at Philadelphia?

Mr. KELLER. In Philadelphia; yes.

Senator KING. And who were present at the interview?

Mr. KELLER. Mr. Andreas, Mr. Timm, the secretary; Dr. Hexamer, and Mr. Tjarks, Mr. Moersch, of Minnesota——

Senator KING. Who was he?

Mr. KELLER. The third or fourth vice president.

Senator KING. Without going into detail, was the question talked over about the corporation of which Mr. Andreae was president furnishing money to your organization—I mean the National German-American Alliance—to be used by it in the various States and wherever necessary to combat prohibition?

Mr. KELLER. The question that Mr. Andreae argued first was to organize stricter and stricter the different State branches.

Senator KING. Of the Alliance?

Mr. KELLER. Of the Alliance; yes. Mr. Andreae thought an organization would be the biggest help against prohibition.

Senator KING. And desired the leaders of the national organization to effect those stronger organizations in the States?

Mr. KELLER. He strongly advocated a committee for that purpose, for organization and publication, and Mr. Andreae said that he would finance it to a certain amount. He did not tell the limit of time, how long, and he explained to Dr. Hexamer the idea of how he would like to have the organization to be started and how our committee should work, and Dr. Hexamer flatly refused Mr. Andreae and said he would not want to have anything to do with it; but he said that he would recommend that Mr. Keller of Indianapolis should take the chairmanship, and it was agreed afterwards with Mr. Andreae and myself in Chicago that I take the chairmanship of that committee on organization.

Senator KING. Have you seen the correspondence between Dr. Hexamer and Mr. Andreae?

Mr. KELLER. That is the first time I heard it, last Saturday.

Senator KING. That correspondence indicates that Dr. Hexamer was a party to this agreement.

Mr. KELLER. But in my presence he flatly refused to have anything to do with it.

Senator KING. But stated that you would do it?

Mr. KELLER. He recommended me to do it, and at that time the question was not settled whether I would take this committee. It was only after Mr. Andreae returned from Europe that I went to Chicago to see him and there it was finally agreed upon.

Senator WOLCOTT. You say Dr. Hexamer refused to have anything to do with it?

Mr. KELLER. Yes, sir.

Senator WOLCOTT. Do you mean by that that Dr. Hexamer would not himself do the work?

Mr. KELLER. No; he did not want to have anything to do with the finances.

Senator WOLCOTT. Well, did Dr. Hexamer tell Mr. Andreae that he was opposed to the use of the German-American Alliance for this purpose?

Mr. KELLER. No; he did not say that.

Senator WOLCOTT. He agreed that the German-American Alliance might be used, did he not?

Mr. KELLER. Yes; he agreed that it would be a good thing for the Alliance, but he did not want to have anything to do with the finances.

Senator WOLCOTT. In other words, he did not want to do the work?

Mr. KELLER. No; he did not want to do the work.

Senator KING. But he agreed that the National German-American Alliance would do the work?

Mr. KELLER. My committee should do the work, under the guidance of the National German-American Alliance.

Senator KING. So you understood that that organization was behind it?

Mr. KELLER. Oh, yes; naturally.

Senator KING. And that Dr. Hexamer approved of it, but did not care——

Mr. KELLER. (interposing). He recommended strongly to Mr. Andreae——

Senator KING (continuing). To take the burden himself; is that what you mean?

Mr. KELLER. I believe Mr. Andreae will know that I told him that I could not and would not undertake it except that it was under the guidance of the Alliance; that if I had to organize the societies I could not do it single-handed; it would have to be under the title of the Alliance; otherwise it would have no influence.

Senator KING. That is, you mean to convey the idea that the German-American Alliance was not behind the movement?

Mr. KELLER. No; I do not want to say that.

Senator KING. You understood that the arrangement was that what was done should be done under the direction and auspices of the Alliance, but you would have the principal work?

Mr. KELLER. The directing work.

Senator KING. The directing work?

Mr. KELLER. Yes; but Dr. Hexamer never paid any attention to our work. Of course, in San Francisco, in the convention in 1915, I made a detailed report to the convention about our work in the State of Texas and in the State of Iowa, and the convention accepted my report and thanked me for it. That is the only time I came in direct contact with the national body.

Senator KING. Did you state to the convention at that time where you were getting the funds?

Mr. KELLER. I did not state where, but I told them that through friends of ours I was able to organize different societies in the States. I didn't tell them who it was.

Senator KING. So that the membership of the organization then understood that your national organization was being used for the purpose of combating prohibition in the various States?

Mr. KELLER. I think so.

Senator KING. Is there any question about that?

Mr. KELLER. No; I don't think so.

Senator WOLCOTT. Look at that letterhead, if you please, and translate it [handing witness a paper].

Mr. KELLER. "German-American National Alliance, United States of America, Incorporated by Congress, Committee on Organization and Publication, Joseph Keller, Chairman."

Senator WOLCOTT. That is the stationery you used, is it not?

Mr. KELLER. Absolutely.

Senator WOLCOTT. In all of your correspondence?

Mr. KELLER. Except sometimes——

Senator WOLCOTT. In the main?

Mr. KELLER. Yes; in the main.

Senator WOLCOTT. Connected with this antiprohibition propaganda?

Mr. KELLER. And with the organization propaganda, because that was the biggest part of it.

Senator WOLCOTT. Well—organization for the purpose of combating prohibition?

Mr. KELLER. Yes; organization of the societies for the Alliance.

Senator KING. Did Mr. Andreae talk over the approximate amount that he would pay?

Mr. KELLER. Yes, sir.

Senator KING. In Dr. Hexamer's presence?

Mr. KELLER. I don't remember that. He spoke of a certain amount that he, Mr. Andreae—he said it takes a long time before big corporations or big bodies of men could get together, and he said he would leave for Europe and when he came back from Europe he would arrange the questions with me.

Senator KING. And when he returned from Europe he met you, did he?

Mr. KELLER. He wrote me a letter from Chicago.

Senator KING. Well, you met, did you?

Mr. KELLER. I met Mr. Andreae in Chicago afterwards.

Senator KING. And how much was it arranged he should pay you?

Mr. KELLER. Mr. Andreae was to furnish my committee the first year with $15,000, and for the second year nothing was done. Mr. Andreae only agreed for one year.

Senator KING. How much was paid the second year?

Mr. KELLER. Fourteen thousand dollars, and the third year $12,000.

Senator KING. How was it understood that the money was to be expended and for what purpose?

Mr. KELLER. I was to employ organizers and men that would deliver addresses and write fluently and would have to travel and visit the different State organizations, the different branches, and visit cities where there was no branch and try to organize branches, and send out literature, and so on.

Senator KING. Then it was to be used in part at least to organize branches of the National German-American Alliance?

Mr. KELLER. Yes.

Senator KING. And then use those branches or members of those branches en bloc against prohibition?

Mr. KELLER. To have their influence at least to vote against prohibition.

Senator KING. Why did you want to get them to join an organization if you did not expect to use the organization?

Mr. KELLER. We wanted to strengthen the organization, to make it as strong as we could for our purposes, of course.

Senator KING. Well, you expected to operate through the organizations?

Mr. KELLER. Yes.

Senator KING. Through the local and the national?

Mr. KELLER. Yes; through the State bodies, you know.

Senator KING. Was it understood, or did the arrangement made with Mr. Andreae contemplate, that you should use the organization to secure the election of candidates who would be favorable to your view and the view of your organization?

Mr. KELLER. When Mr. Andreae and I agreed we did not talk anything at that time about the political issue, but later on in the year Mr. Andreae spoke to me regarding it, how the candidates should be voted upon and so on.

Senator KING. Did you arrange with him so that you would learn the attitude of various candidates in the State?

Mr. KELLER. Only one time in Iowa Mr. Andreae sent me a list of the candidates, and the State Alliance of Iowa, or Dr. Durand, looked after the political part in Iowa, and a list of candidates was sent to Dr. Durand in the Iowa campaign.

Senator WOLCOTT. Well, Mr. Andreae certainly advised you with reference to the candidates in other parts of the country, did he not?

Mr. KELLER. There were only two States, only Texas and Iowa, that had anything to do with the election.

Senator WOLCOTT. Well, now here, I will read you a letter that Mr. Andreae wrote you August 27, 1914; or, rather, Mr. Andreae's office wrote you, as follows:

I am inclosing you a copy of a letter from Samuel Woolner, jr., of Peoria, Illinois. Mr. Woolner is the President of the National Wholesale Liquor Dealers Association and is one of our sincere friends. You will note what he says in his letter concerning the Congressional fight in his district.

If it is possible for you to assist Mr. Woolner by conveying his wishes to the members of your organization in his district, I am certain it will be greatly appreciated by him and Mr. Andreae.

To which you responded, August 28, as follows:

My dear Mr. Gibson:—

He is the gentleman that wrote for Mr. Andreae, Mr. Andreae being off on a vacation.

Replying to your kind favor of to-day I will state, that I have taken the matter up at once with President Schmidt and the Peoria Alliance.

I will see you most likely Tuesday next.

With the kindest personal regards, I am very truly yours,

JOS. KELLER.

Mr. KELLER. Yes; I remember that letter.

Senator WOLCOTT. Well, you had some connection with political activity in the State of Illinois?

Mr. KELLER. Yes; I had not thought of it any more——

Senator WOLCOTT. In the congressional election?

Mr. KELLER. Yes; I sent that letter, I remember, to the local branch in Peoria, and I never got a return from it afterwards. I did not think of it any more.

Senator WOLCOTT. You were very much interested, were you not, in the election of Gov. Ferguson?

Mr. KELLER. Of Texas?

Senator WOLCOTT. Yes.

Mr. KELLER. Yes, sir; I remember that. We all were. Counsel wrote me regarding the outlook down there, and I informed Mr. Andreae.

Senator WOLCOTT. I want to see if I can not jog your memory a little about some political activity elsewhere. Who was Mr. Soergel?

Mr. KELLER. He was one of the organizers.

Senator WOLCOTT. Working under you?

Mr. KELLER. Yes.

Senator WOLCOTT. Here is a letter which you wrote to Mr. Andreae on the regular letterhead that you translated a moment ago, dated Indianapolis, October 7, 1914, and addressed to Mr. Andreae. It reads as follows—before I read this, however, I want to ask you who is Dr. Durand?

Mr. KELLER. Dr. Durand is the president of the State Alliance of Iowa.

Senator WOLCOTT. Your letter is as follows:

Dr. Durand has written me the second letter wherein he begs me to leave Mr. Soergel for another two weeks in Iowa. I have asked Mr. Soergel to come home on Monday next, so he can start the campaign in Ohio. I assured Dr. Durand, that I would be in Iowa on Monday, October 26, and would stay there for the rest of the week. I think we have done for Iowa all we could.

Mr. Hartley——

Who is Mr. Hartley?

Mr. KELLER. Mr. Andreae's secretary.

Senator WOLCOTT (reading):

Mr. Hartley called me up by phone to-day from Toledo,—

Toledo, Ohio, of course—

and told me that some differences existed there, between the president of the Alliance and the campaign management. I asked Judge Schwaab in Cincinnati, to call the gentlemen to Cincinnati to straighten up matters, and I would pay all expenses.

There was some political activity you were carrying on in Ohio. Do you recall that?

Mr. KELLER. I remember that both of our men were in Ohio but I thought it was in the following year.

Senator WOLCOTT. This was in 1914.

Mr. KELLER. I thought it was in 1915.

Senator WOLCOTT. I do not care when it was; we are inquiring generally.

Mr. KELLER. I thought you were taking it year by year. No; because in 1914 we were in Iowa and in Texas and in 1915 we were in Illinois and Ohio.

Senator WOLCOTT. You were in Illinois in 1914, too, in that congressional contest. I just read you a letter about it.

Mr. KELLER. That was 1914?

Senator WOLCOTT. Yes.

Mr. KELLER. I don't remember about it.

Senator WOLCOTT. There was some Ohio activity in 1914 again?

Mr. KELLER. I remember in Ohio that they had the question about the State-wide prohibition, and I thought it was 1915. I don't recollect it exactly.

Senator WOLCOTT. Well, just tell the committee briefly, not in great detail, all of your activity in connection with political questions throughout the whole time you were serving Mr. Andreae.

Mr. KELLER. In 1914 the two men started in Iowa, and then in the latter part of the summer they went down to Texas, and then Dr. Durand wrote for Mr. Soergel for two weeks longer and then he went two weeks to Iowa again and then Judge Schwaab asked him to deliver some addresses in Ohio. I remember now.

Senator WOLCOTT. Well, is that all?

Mr. KELLER. That year. No——

Senator WOLCOTT. That year you did something in the congressional district in Illinois, too?

Mr. KELLER. The only thing I did was to send Mr. Andreae's letter to the Peoria alliance. That is all that I did in that connection.

Senator WOLCOTT. Very well. The following year what did you do?

Mr. KELLER. In 1915 they organized in Illinois; but at that time, as far as I know, there was no election contest in 1915 in the State of Illinois. In the fall of the year they went over to Ohio. This was in October, 1915. In 1916, in the spring, they organized some branches in northern Indiana and in southern Indiana, and in the fall in some river towns in Missouri; and that closed the affair.

Senator WOLCOTT. Then, throughout the whole time, if I understand you correctly, your activities in carrying on this propaganda through the German-American Alliance were spread over the States of Iowa, Texas, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and Missouri?

Mr. KELLER. That is right; yes, sir.

Senator WOLCOTT. This activity consisted, did it not, not only in agitating the side that we call the wet side of the prohibition issue, but it also consisted in endeavoring to elect candidates for office favorable to the wet side?

Mr. KELLER. I think so.

Senator WOLCOTT. Not only did it consist, then, of discussion, but it consisted also in actually seeking votes for particular candidates on party tickets?

Mr. KELLER. Yes. But the State alliance generally did that, because I was not particularly known or did not know the candidates; we referred it to the State organization.

Senator WOLCOTT. They did it, though, under your incitement, so to speak; you got them to do it?

Mr. KELLER. Upon my advice, yes; but they would have done it of their own accord.

Senator WOLCOTT. Did you ever go into Minnesota in your activity?

Mr. KELLER. No; I never was in Minnesota.

Senator WOLCOTT. Well, did your committee, your organization committee, have any activity in Minnesota?

Mr. KELLER. No; not my men.

Senator WOLCOTT. Through Mr. Moersch?

Mr. KELLER. Mr. Moersch had no active part in my committee; as far as I remember Mr. Moersch was employed by a St. Paul brewing company.

Senator WOLCOTT. Distinct from your organization?

Mr. KELLER. Yes; I had nothing to do with Mr. Moersch.

Senator WOLCOTT. But he was a member of the German-American Alliance?

Mr. KELLER. Yes; he was president of the Minnesota branch.

Senator WOLCOTT. You were in conference with Mr. Moersch from time to time?

Mr. KELLER. Yes. I never had anything to do with Minnesota. Mr. Moersch was with me at Mr. Andreae's office, because I inquired of Mr. Moersch the way he conducted his campaigns. I was not familiar with it, and Mr. Moersch gave me some points the way he had done it formerly; but I never had anything to do with Minnesota.

Senator WOLCOTT. Did you ever get into Michigan?

Mr. KELLER. No.

Senator WOLCOTT. I think you made a suggestion that some work be done in Michigan, did you not?

Mr. KELLER. I was asked once by Mr. Andreae whether I knew anything about Michigan, and I told him no, I never was in Michigan.

Senator WOLCOTT. You mentioned Indiana, did you not?

Mr. KELLER. Yes; that is my own State; we had no campaign at the time we organized in Indiana.

Senator WOLCOTT. As an official of the German-American Alliance can you tell us whether or not the Alliance undertook to do any work of a political nature that had to do with other kinds of politics than prohibition?

Mr. KELLER. The only thing I know was that at Chicago—the State Alliance of Pennsylvania issued a call for a meeting in Chicago.

Senator WOLCOTT. That was in 1916?

Mr. KELLER. Well, regarding the presidential election, and I received an invitation from the State branch of Philadelphia; and the Indianapolis newspapers, one paper, I believe, stated that it was the National German-American Alliance; and then I asked one of the reporters over to my office and told him that the national body as such had nothing to do with it, that it was the State branch of Pennsylvania, that I personally was opposed to it; that I would not go to Chicago, and that no man from the Indiana Alliance would go to Chicago, that the tme was inopportune, and we had no right to gather in Chicago for a political gathering of that sort; and that appeared in the Indianapolis newspapers. I absolutely refused to have anything to do with it. But they met in Chicago.

Senator WOLCOTT. Well, as a matter of fact, a great many affiliated bodies under the German-American Alliance—affiliated with the German-American Alliance—did adopt resolutions during the campaign of 1916, did they not, opposing certain candidates?

Mr. KELLER. I could not tell you that. In our State we had positively refrained from it, absolutely.

Senator WOLCOTT. Who is the editor of the Bulletin?

Mr. KELLER. Mr. Seibel.

Senator WOLCOTT. He conducts this official publication of the German-American Alliance, does he not?

Mr. KELLER. It is always published in Philadelphia, you know, and Mr. Timm, the secretary of the Alliance, furnishes the material. You know I had the Bulletin for several months, and I was the one, you know, that got it out of the dirt again, and Mr. Andreae helped me and Mr. Timm.

Senator WOLCOTT. What do you mean by "got it out of the dirt again"?

Mr. KELLER. It was not printed, we did not have any finances to issue it, for nine months.

Senator WOLCOTT. And Mr. Andreae breathed life into it, resuscitated it?

Mr. KELLER. I went to Mr. Andreae and asked him whether I could not pay the printing bill for a few months, until the Bulletin could have enough subscribers to be self-sustaining, and Mr. Andreae allowed me in 1916 to do so, and I believe I paid the November, December, January, and February bills. And then, because I lifted the Bulletin into life again, Mr. Timm put my name as editor for the time on that paper.

Senator WOLCOTT. And did not put Mr. Andreae's name as editor?

Mr. KELLER. No. He sent me newspaper clippings and the proof sheets, and those articles that appeared there were generally marked with an O. K. and I put the whole thing in an envelope again, and Mr. Timm selected those articles and printed them.

Senator WOLCOTT. Are you aware of the fact that the man that the German-American Alliance now has editing that paper is the editor of a German newspaper in Pittsburgh, and that on the 4th of July last year he expressed the opinion in an editorial that our Declaration of Independence ought to be burned in effigy?

Mr. KELLER. I don't remember it.

Senator WOLCOTT. You do not know that?

Mr. KELLER. No.

Senator WOLCOTT. You do not know that that sort of a man is editing the Bulletin of this Alliance, do you?

Mr. KELLER. No; I have only seen the man once; I don't know him personally.

Senator WOLCOTT. Mr. Chairman, I would suggest that we have Mr. Keller look over this correspondence for identification purposes only, and then if we want it inserted in the record, or any part of it, we will have had it identified.

Senator KING. Yes; he may do that.

Senator WOLCOTT. Will you please look through this file and see if it is the correspondence that transpired between you and Mr. Andreae [handing witness a file of papers]?

Mr. KELLER (after examining papers). Here is a thing that I don't know anything about [indicating].

Senator WOLCOTT. That is the Anti-Saloon League——

Mr. KELLER. I have never seen that.

Senator WOLCOTT. That seems to have been an inclosure. Here is what you said:

He inclosed me a copy of a letter sent him by the Iowa Anti-Saloon League, which I herewith send you for your information.

I think that is the inclosure.

Mr. KELLER. Yes; that is the inclosure. I do not remember it. [After examining the papers further.] I don't remember this [indicating something else].

Senator WOLCOTT. On Saturday did you not find a letter in here where Mr. Keller has sent this Iowa list on to somebody?

Senator KING. Yes.

Mr. KELLER. To Dr. Durand?
Senator KING. Yes.
Senator WOLCOTT. What is there about it? You say you don't remember receiving the list?
Mr. KELLER. I say I don't remember about this list of candidates in Iowa. It is not familiar to me. I don't remember this list of candidates. I may have seen it.
Senator WOLCOTT. You say you may have seen it?
Mr. KELLER. I don't deny that I got it. [Continuing, after going through the entire file of papers.] All right.
Senator WOLCOTT. You say that is the genuine correspondence?
Mr. KELLER. Yes.
Senator WOLCOTT. Now, Mr. Keller, will you indicate to what extent your activity was indulged in Missouri; you say you did something in Missouri?
Mr. KELLER. Yes. We called on about 40 or 50 smaller places along the river.
Senator WOLCOTT. Along the Mississippi River?
Mr. KELLER. Yes; where most of the Germans live. You know, in the smaller places. It lasted from September until November or December, and we closed.
Senator WOLCOTT. In 1915 or 1914?
Mr. KELLER. In 1916, that is the end; just before I closed the bureau.
Senator WOLCOTT. About September, 1916?
Mr. KELLER. Yes; or August.
Senator WOLCOTT. And continued your activity there until you closed up in November or December, 1916?
Mr. KELLER. Yes.
Senator WOLCOTT. You visited these small towns?
Mr. KELLER. The organizers did; yes, sir.
Senator WOLCOTT. You visited them for what purpose?
Mr. KELLER. To organize the societies; and at that time they had a State-wide prohibition movement and a fight on that proposition in Missouri.
Senator WOLCOTT. You organized the Germans into societies to be allied with the National German-American Alliance?
Mr. KELLER. Yes; to the State Alliance of Missouri.
Senator WOLCOTT. And through that with the national organization?
Mr. KELLER. Yes.
Senator WOLCOTT. Through the State Alliance with the National Alliance?
Mr. KELLER. Yes.
Senator WOLCOTT. You say that they had a State-wide fight for prohibition?
Mr. KELLER. Yes, sir.
Senator WOLCOTT. In 1916 in Missouri?
Mr. KELLER. Yes, sir.
Senator WOLCOTT. Was that in the legislature or was it a constitutional fight?
Mr. KELLER. So far as I know, in the legislature; yes. No—I think it was the people; the people in the State voted upon the question, I think. That was when the people voted upon it.

Senator WOLCOTT. Did your activity in Missouri consist of favoring or opposing any particular candidates?

Mr. KELLER. No, sir; I did not know anything about the candidates. As a matter of fact there were no candidates up at that time; it was simply a vote by the people upon the prohibition question, the wet and dry issue.

Senator WOLCOTT. In addition to the moneys received by you from Mr. Andreae you also received some moneys in carrying on this work under Mr. Andreae, did you not, from the Iowa State Brewers' Association?

Mr. KELLER. No; I did not receive any money from the Iowa State breweries. I have heard from Mr. Andreae's testimony last Saturday that he received it. I did not receive it.

Senator WOLCOTT. If you got any money from the Iowa State Brewers' Association, that came through Mr. Andreae?

Mr. KELLER. It came through Mr. Andreae; yes.

Senator WOLCOTT. You were aware of the contribution by the Iowa State Brewers' Association?

Mr. KELLER. To Mr. Andreae?

Senator WOLCOTT. Before last Saturday, you heard of it before then?

Mr. KELLER. Oh, yes; I heard of it from Mr. Andreae; he mentioned the Iowa people.

Senator WOLCOTT. Do you remember how much that was—about $5,100, was it?

Mr. KELLER. I believe I sent $4,500 or $5,000 to Iowa.

Senator WOLCOTT. That was supposed to be the amount that the Iowa breweries had contributed?

Mr. KELLER. I don't know how much. But the Iowa people asked for about $5,000. I believe it was $4,500 or $5,000 that the Iowa people got in that year. How much the breweries put into Mr. Andreae's office I could not tell.

Senator STERLING. When was the election in Ohio to which you made contribution against the prohibition cause?

Mr. KELLER. Do you mean a contribution of money?

Senator STERLING. Yes.

Mr. KELLER. I did not make any contribution of money in Ohio.

Senator STERLING. Did you not spend money forwarded to you by Mr. Andreae in the State of Ohio?

Mr. KELLER. Our men went over there and delivered some addresses in the State of Ohio.

Senator STERLING. And you paid those men?

Mr. KELLER. I paid those men.

Senator STERLING. Do you know how much you paid for work done in Ohio?

Mr. KELLER. I could not remember now.

Senator STERLING. When was this election in Ohio?

Mr. KELLER. It was a vote by the people also on State-wide prohibition in Ohio. I believe it was 1915, if I am not mistaken.

Senator STERLING. Do you know how the vote stood?

Mr. KELLER. Yes; after the election Mr. Soergel, the man who was in Ohio—he is an Ohio man—he made a whole list up together of the different votes. He formerly lived in Ohio and went through several Ohio campaigns, and he made up a list of the votes in 1915,

I believe comparing with other years, and sent it to Judge Schwaab in Cincinnati.

Senator STERLING. On the face of the returns, do you remember what the vote was?

Mr. KELLER. No; I do not. I have no idea.

Senator STERLING. Did not prohibition win out on the face of the returns at that election in Ohio?

Mr. KELLER. I know that the prohibitionists were beaten, but I don't remember by what majority.

Senator STERLING. You do not remember the vote?

Mr. KELLER. No; I do not. I can not remember that.

Senator STERLING. And you do not remember by what majority prohibition was beaten?

Mr. KELLER. No.

Senator STERLING. You say that after the election you took the pains to find out what the vote was in different parts of the State?

Mr. KELLER. Mr. Soergel gathered from the newspapers in Cincinnati that data and made a list.

Senator STERLING. And sent it to whom?

Mr. KELLER. Sent it to Judge Schwaab, the State president of Ohio.

Senator STERLING. Do you know what the purpose of that was?

Mr. KELLER. No; simply to give him an idea and let him know how it stood. Mr. Soergel did the work; I didn't pay any attention to it. It showed the whole thing.

Senator STERLING. What connection had Mr. Soergel with the National Alliance?

Mr. KELLER. He was an organizer.

Senator STERLING. An organizer of the Alliance?

Mr. KELLER. Yes; in my bureau.

Senator STERLING. I am interested in this charter of the German-American Alliance and the purposes for which it is organized, according to the terms of the charter and the purposes as they are described in the act.

First is the "conservation of the principles of representative government". In soliciting and disbursing funds for the propaganda against prohibition were you carrying out that first purpose in the act, namely, the "conservation of the principles of representative government"?

Mr. KELLER. No.

Senator STERLING. Take another purpose—and I am going to enumerate all these purposes as described in the act—take "the protection and maintenance of all civil and political rights". Were you serving that purpose when you were collecting for Mr. Andreae these funds and disbursing them for the purpose of fighting prohibition in the different States; were you doing anything toward the maintenance of civil and political rights when you were collecting and disbursing these funds?

Mr. KELLER. No; I don't think so.

Senator STERLING. Let us take another purpose, "the protection of German immigrants against imposition and deception and to assist in their naturalization". That is the third purpose as described in the act giving the purposes for which you were organized. Were you serving that purpose when you collected this money and dis-

bursed it for the purpose of fighting prohibition and assisting elections in different States?

Mr. KELLER. No, sir.

Senator STERLING. No. Take another purpose, "the study of American institutions and the publication of American history". That is another purpose described in this act for which you were organized. Were you serving that purpose when you were collecting this money?

Mr. KELLER. No, sir; not in that way.

Senator STERLING. The "cultivation of the German language, literature, and drama, and the perpetuation of the memory and deeds of those early German pioneers". Were you serving that purpose?

Mr. KELLER. Not while fighting prohibition; no.

Senator STERLING. Then while you were collecting this money and disbursing it in fighting prohibition you were not serving any of the purposes for which you were organized by this act, were you?

Mr. KELLER. That is right; no.

Senator STERLING. Did you ever collect and disseminate any funds for the purpose of teaching the principles of representative government?

Mr. KELLER. We did not collect any funds for that purpose; no.

Senator STERLING. Or disseminate any?

Mr. KELLER. No.

Senator STERLING. You did not expend any money for literature for that purpose, did you?

Mr. KELLER. Not for that purpose as far as I know. What the national people did in Philadelphia I don't know.

Senator STERLING. And so far as you know no money was collected or disbursed for the protection and maintenance of civil and political rights, was there?

Mr. KELLER. No; not that I know of.

Senator STERLING. Nor for the study of American institutions and American history?

Mr. KELLER. I believe the State branch of Philadelphia collected money for such purposes, but I am not positive.

Senator STERLING. Do you know what they did with the money collected?

Mr. KELLER. No; I do not.

Senator STERLING. Do you know whether they sent out any literature?

Mr. KELLER. I could not tell you.

Senator STERLING. Or whether they sent out any speakers?

Mr. KELLER. That I could not tell you; no.

Senator STERLING. As far as you know no money has ever been collected and disbursed in propaganda for any of the purposes described in this charter?

Mr. KELLER. Excepting the writing of German-American history.

Senator STERLING. Except the writing of German-American history?

Mr. KELLER. Yes.

Senator STERLING. What German-American history did they write?

Mr. KELLER. There are two or three books published by the Alliance, the deeds of early pioneers that came from Germany to the

United States. And they collected money for those books and had them printed in Philadelphia. This Mr. Heinrici was editor.

Senator STERLING. Do you know when these books were published?

Mr. KELLER. I have one in my home myself; about 10 years ago, I think.

Senator STERLING. What is the title of the book?

Mr. KELLER. I am not positive, but it states the work that German pioneers have done in America in developing the cultural and social conditions or the work they have done in building up America.

Senator STERLING. How is that book used?

Mr. KELLER. It is purchased by members of the society and read often in the society meetings.

Senator STERLING. No such book has been used as a textbook in the schools, has it?

Mr. KELLER. No, sir.

Senator STERLING. And no book on American history has been published, has it, through or by or under the auspices of your Alliance?

Mr. KELLER. Not that I know of; no.

Senator STERLING. Has any book on civil government been published by your Alliance?

Mr. KELLER. I have never seen any.

Senator STERLING. Has the Alliance spent any funds, so far as you know, in the way of teaching civil government and American institutions?

Mr. KELLER. I don't know.

Senator STERLING. As a matter of fact, Mr. Keller, the principal activity of the National German-American Alliance, during the last four or five years anyhow, has been political, has it not?

Mr. KELLER. To some extent; yes.

Senator STERLING. Yes; and the principal thing in which it has been engaged is that of participating in the fight against prohibition; that is true, is it not?

Mr. KELLER. That is true.

Senator KING. Mr. Keller, did your organization at Indianapolis transmit or cause to be transmitted a large number of telegrams to Congressmen and Senators upon the sinking of the *Sussex?*

Mr. KELLER. When was that—in April, 1916?

Senator KING. Yes.

Mr. KELLER. That was not my organization. It was the City Alliance of Indianapolis.

Senator KING. Of the German-American Alliance?

Mr. KELLER. Yes.

Senator KING. They caused to be sent a large number of telegrams?

Mr. KELLER. Previous to that; after the *Sussex* was sunk about 20 well-known citizens and business men of Indianapolis gathered and presented Senator Taggart with a document to our President to implore him to save our country from war as long as possible, and when the condition became threatening those men asked if we would not——

Senator KING. Those 20 men.

Mr. KELLER. Some of our prominent business men of Indianapolis—if we would not send messages to our Congressmen in Washington. The German paper of Indianapolis had day by day a list of five telegrams, a schedule as to how they should write; and a Chicago organi-

zation, the Embargo Conference, also sent circulars all over the State, in fact all over the country, and sent those dispatches along the way they should be worded. We sent from the city alliance about, as far as I remember—from different men of our societies that gave the name to it and came up to the telegraph office and paid for it—we sent about three or four hundred messages from Indianapolis; and a prominent business man of Indianapolis gave me the money to pay for those dispatches not paid for, left the balance in the bank when I paid for it.

Senator KING. Did your State Alliance arrange to have a number of telegrams sent to Washington on a number of occasions?

Mr. KELLER. That is the only time I remember, during 1916. Previous, they sent dispatches to Washington about the Hobson interstate commerce bill.

Senator KING. Did the State Alliance take charge of that?

Mr. KELLER. Yes; my bureau had nothing to do with that; but I was connected with the State Alliance.

Senator KING. So, when the Hobson liquor bill was before the House your State Alliance took a prominent part in having telegrams sent?

Mr. KELLER. They had telegrams sent to Washington; but I can not tell how many.

Senator KING. What did your National Alliance do respecting that?

Mr. KELLER. I remember they issued a call to the State associations to send messages to Representatives in Congress.

Senator KING. What did your Alliance do when the *Lusitania* was sunk to have State alliances send telegrams to Congress?

Mr. KELLER. Nothing.

Senator KING. What, if anything, did your National Alliance do with respect to the embargo on munitions?

Mr. KELLER. Yes; I believe, but I am not positive——

Senator KING. Did Dr. Hexamer send out a call?

Mr. KELLER. Dr. Hexamer did, but whether our branch did I could not tell you.

Senator KING. But your national president——

Mr. KELLER (interposing). Oh, yes; more than one time I have received circulars in regard to it.

Senator KING. Your national president, then, upon numerous occasions communicated with the State alliances to send telegrams to Senators and Representatives relative to the embargo and other measures pending in Congress?

Mr. KELLER. Yes.

Senator KING. Then has your National Alliance attempted to use the organization to promote political matters and to favor or oppose measures pending in Congress?

Mr. KELLER. I don't remember; I could not tell you that exactly. Sometimes, oh, yes; but I can not recall the occasions.

Senator KING. You can not recall all the occasions?

Mr. KELLER. No, sir.

Senator KING. But the organization was used to promote or to oppose political measures.

Mr. KELLER. As far as I know.

Senator KING. Not only national but in the States.

Mr. KELLER. In the States.

Senator KING. When the *Lusitania* was sunk did the State organization or your local organization pass any resolutions denouncing that or approving it?

Mr. KELLER. The State organization only meets every year.

Senator KING. But did any of your organizations pass resolutions approving it?

Mr. KELLER. In one of our meetings there was no resolution taken but a great many spoke openly and freely against it. The feeling was not for it.

Senator KING. Do you recall a meeting in St. Louis after the sinking of the *Lusitania* at which von Bernstorff was thanked for having warned Americans——

Mr. KELLER. I only read it in the newspapers.

Senator KING (continuing). Not to go upon that boat?

Mr. KELLER. No.

Senator KING. Has your State or local or National Alliance since our country went to war said a single word by way of resolution urging fidelity and patriotism to the cause in which our country is engaged?

Mr. KELLER. The State Alliance has not had a meeting.

Senator KING. Has your National Alliance had a meeting?

Mr. KELLER. No; 1915 was the last one we had. But at the first meeting of our City Alliance I rose and spoke and urged the members to immediately subscribe for the American Red Cross fund, and our treasury was small but we took $100 and gave it to the American Red Cross. We asked them to immediately subscribe for Liberty Bonds, and I know of seven or eight societies that bought Liberty Bonds. I personally made a fight in the city for the American Red Cross. I have been a member of the American Red Cross for years. I asked our City Alliance to buy Liberty Bonds, with $700 that we had, and our treasurer has already made application for them.

Senator KING. That is very commendable.

Mr. KELLER. We have done everything within our power.

Senator KING. You mean your local alliance?

Mr. KELLER. I mean our local alliance, yes; and in the State I can not do anything because the societies are absolutely independent. But I told the men in the State when they had a chance to gather up and collect the money for the American Red Cross.

I would like to say that I have two boys in the American Army, who volunteered. One of them is now in New Mexico, at Deming, and the other is in Waco, Tex. Every one of my children have Liberty Bonds and every one of them wears a Red Cross button, and they are proud of it. I have two stars in my front window, and I am proud of that.

I am only sorry, Senator, that this attack came on me this afternoon regarding Indianapolis schools, because I have devoted my best interests, that is all my heart, for our schools, and we had an awful hard time. Our buildings were in bad shape, and our superintendent had to be changed and our librarian had to be changed. While I was chairman of the library committee we built a million-and-a-half dollar library. I had no chance and no time for any German propaganda, even if I had wanted to engage in it, and this is the first time

that there was any suggestion against me; but I have an enemy in Indianapolis that positively wrote this——

Senator KING. I call your attention to "Im Vaterland".

Mr. KELLER. This is the first time I saw it, upon my honor.

Senator KING. Is that used in the schools?

Mr. KELLER. I would say almost certainly no. I can say in regard to that that the Terre Haute school board threw that out of the schools. At the time that I heard of this book I telephoned to Prof. Scherer to know if we had this book in our schools, and as far as I know he positively told me that it was not used in the city schools of Indianapolis.

Senator KING. I had a telegram from a prominent citizen of your city stating that it was in the schools there.

Mr. KELLER. If you will permit me, Senator, I will make you a statement as soon as I get back.

Senator KING. The committee will be glad to receive it.

Mr. KELLER. Because if I had known of it, on my word of honor that book would not have stayed in the library for another day.

Senator KING. You will see that there is a description of the Kaiser and his family there [indicating], and a page there devoted to the glorification of the Kaiser.

Mr. KELLER. Yes; and I would almost take it upon my honor that this book is not used in the public schools of Indianapolis. Of course, I may be mistaken.

Senator KING. Have you seen this circular I am handing you now [handing witness circular]?

Mr. KELLER. Yes.

Senator KING. You issued that, did you not?

Mr. KELLER. The committee issued it at the convention, not my committee, but the committee on resolutions.

Senator KING. Your State committee?

Mr. KELLER. Yes. This was at the time——

Senator KING. When you were president of the State organization?

Mr. KELLER. Yes.

Senator KING. You were familiar with it?

Mr. KELLER. Yes.

Senator KING. And aided in its dissemination?

Mr. KELLER. That is against the constitutional convention. We put this out on the advice of a lawyer in Indianapolis.

Senator KING. But the committee disseminated it?

Mr. KELLER. Yes, sir.

Senator KING. It was adopted by your society, your State society, on August 29–September 1, 1914?

Mr. KELLER. Yes; at Hammond, Ind.

Senator KING. In this you say:

> We therefore recommend that our state alliance take an active stand against the proposal and that all our members and their friends vote against it in November.

Mr. KELLER. That is the constitutional convention, is it not?

Senator KING. Yes.

Mr. KELLER. Yes. We took it from an attorney—Addison C. Harris, I believe—who wrote a lengthy document about it.

Senator KING. You state:

The fury of the war is sweeping through the world. It is raging worst in Europe, where, urged on by the spirit of envy and revenge and the dark brood of a covetous semi-civilization, it is causing death and destruction.

You were referring to England, France, and Russia, were you not?

Mr. KELLER. And Germany, most likely.

Senator KING. Did you refer to the semicivilization of Germany, or were you not in this referring to the opponents of Germany?

Mr. KELLER. Even if I had been against that document I could not have stopped it from passage. The committee reported it at the convention.

Senator KING. To show you that you were referring to the allies let me refer to the next paragraph:

We have not assembled here to seek out the dark Hagen who has released it. Yet woe, thrice woe unto him who shall be branded before the world-tribunal as the instigator! With its fangs the fury has gripped Germany, who by a heroic struggle is seeking to free herself. She is carrying on her war not for the glorification of her throne, but for self-preservation and the conservation of her cultural achievements.

Your organization indorsed that?

Mr. KELLER. In 1914. This was in July, or what time—in August?

Senator KING. August 29.

Mr. KELLER. It was right after the war broke out.

Senator KING. Let me read a little further:

But the brooding powers are seeking "to darken that which is radiant." As in Germanic mythology and folklore Darkness is not able permanently to gain the upper hand over Light, so we hope in this world struggle that Light will eventually emerge triumphant. * * *

As American citizens *of German descent* our sympathy in this war belongs with the German people. We believe we understand the endeavors of modern Germany and therefore venture the assertion: "Her thought were free from murder." Far be it from us to expect the same feelings from all American citizens. * * * If the press—

speaking of the American press—

stands on the side of darkness, then the words so aptly applied to that Germanic offshoot north of the channel must also apply to it: "I regret with all my heart to find you in such company." And indeed Germany has not deserved it from America. By Germany's sun America has been warmed. With the blood of Germany's sons this Union was welded. The German-American gives this country the best that he has. The more closely he stands in touch with the culture of the Fatherland, the more he can give. The American of German extraction, through his industry and his devotion to the welfare of this country, is creating for himself a new Fatherland—the United States of America. He who seeks to deny his nationality—he cannot give it up—becomes not only an unworthy citizen, but also an unworthy man—a hypocrite. We do not count ourselves among the latter. We do our duty fully and completely, in order that we may become more firmly rooted in American soil, so that we may become ever more progressive and therefore better citizens. As loyal citizens we ask therefore only justice; that the German people in the present struggle for their existence be measured, on the part of the press and the public, by the standard of justice and truth. We desire no favor, we desire genuine neutrality.

The delegates are requested to work in their respective districts by word of mouth and by writing to the end that Germany, which in this war of self-preservation is sacrificing her best and her all, may be put in the right light. Furthermore the delegates are requested to arrange for collections in their respective cities, which shall later be sent to the survivors of needy fallen and wounded soldiers.

That was sent out by your organization?

Mr. KELLER. The State organization, right after the war broke out. We had a convention, and, if you will permit me, I was asked at that

time by the papers of Indianapolis to express my opinion regarding the convention and had an article in the newspapers and urged all Americans of German extraction to be absolutely neutral, in regard to the proclamation of our President.

Senator KING. Were you present at the meeting of the Alliance in San Francisco, Cal., August 5, 1915?

Mr. KELLER. Yes, sir.

Senator KING. Dr. Hexamer was there?

Mr. KELLER. Yes, sir; he was there.

Senator KING. Do you remember Mr. Hexamer making a speech at that time in which he said that in all future city, State, and national elections members of the Alliance shall work and vote for only such candidates as are favorable to German-American principles and ideas?

Mr. KELLER. I don't remember that; no. A great deal of my time was taken up in committee work, Senator. But if you will remember, if you permit me to say so, a Pennsylvania delegate introduced a letter in the committee, an open letter to our President, and I opposed it in the committee, and he threatened to bring it up on the floor of the convention and he did, and after the letter was read I jumped up on the platform and made a speech and said that if that letter was forwarded to our President I would not go back to Indianapolis as the State president, I would resign; and the letter did not go. The press at that time called attention to it. I did not want to say it, but you recalled my attention to it.

Senator KING. Do you recall a number of articles in the Bulletin in which it is stated in substance that the German-Americans must maintain their racial characteristics, be united, remain a solid bloc, and maintain the kultur of Germany?

Mr. KELLER. It may be. Have they appeared of late, Senator?

Senator KING. Within the past year.

Do you recall an address of Dr. Hexamer in the Bulletin in which he uses language something like this?

We have before us a bitter struggle, and we can wage it successfully only if we are united—a united race of brothers. The period of misunderstanding and jealousies in our societies and organizations must cease. Every disturbing influence must be set aside, and every one of us must enter upon the battle for our ideals with his whole heart and soul. Whoever casts aside his Germanism from him like an old glove, is not worthy to be spit upon. Such a rascal is a deserter, but I would prefer to use in place of this French expression a good German word which the great Blücher used, "such a rascal is a contemptible hound." We have long suffered the preachment that "you Germans must allow yourselves to be assimilated, you must merge in the American people"; but no one will ever find us prepared to descend to an inferior culture.

Mr. KELLER. I don't remember that.

Senator KING (reading further):

No, we have made it our aim to elevate the others to our level. We have in this land experienced different historical epochs, epochs which I may compare with the days of the week.

And then, omitting some of the article:

We will not allow our thousand-year culture to be trodden down in this land. Many are giving our German culture to this land of their children, but that is possible only if we stand together and conquer that dark spirit of muckerdom and prohibition, just as Siegfried slew the dragon. Let us stand up for our good right and hold together. Every society is as strong as the weakest member in the chain. Who would be weak? Be strong! Let every one be strong who stands forth for German culture. Be strong, and German. Remember, you German pioneers, that we are giving to this people the best the earth affords, the benefits of Germanic kultur."

Mr. KELLER. I don't remember that, but I have read some of his addresses previously.

Senator KING. Were you at the seventh convention of the National Alliance, held in 1913?

Mr. KELLER. It was in St. Louis?

Senator KING. I think so; yes.

Mr. KELLER. Yes; I was there.

Senator KING. Do you not remember Mr. Weismann being present?

Mr. KELLER. No; not at St. Louis. Mr. Weismann was here in Washington; that was at Washington.

Senator KING. Well, it was when Mr. Weismann was present.

Mr. KELLER. It was in Washington; right here.

Senator KING. The convention was held here, was it?

Mr. KELLER. Yes; and Mr. Weismann spoke and made an attack on Mr. Nagle, the Secretary of the Interior.

Senator KING. Do you remember his making a report which in effect was adopted as follows:

The importance of the preservation and maintenance of the German language increases as immigration from German-speaking countries declines. To meet this problem it becomes constantly more important that the younger generation be held to German instruction in the schools and the use of the German language in family circles. * * * The dying out of the German language is synonymous with the dissolution of the bond that holds us together and makes possible the continuance of our German-American Alliance. * * * For that reason we should take part in the elections, and secure the election of those only who are definitely pledged to favor the teaching of German.

Mr. KELLER. I don't believe that is Mr. Weismann, of New York, because he is a lawyer, and this is written by a school man, the way it is worded.

Senator KING. You remember that was said, anyway?

Mr. KELLER. It may have been, but I don't remember it exactly. It has been years ago.

Senator KING. That was approved by the convention?

Mr. KELLER. Most likely. I don't remember. I have got the whole proceedings.

Senator KING. Do you recall the New Year's greetings in your Bulletin, sent by President Hexamer, in the January number of the Official Bulletin for 1915, in which he says:

Never before has the call for unity been presented to us with such insistent power as in the last few months of the last year. It has produced great things, and even more glorious fruits will spring from the example which the German people in arms in its unity and in the solidarity of its interests has shown to the Germanism of the entire world. The greatest curse of the German race has for hundreds of years been its internal dissension and disunion. The German people has advanced itself from that and proves daily by its sacrifices of blood and money that German unity is no longer a hollow mockery, but has become an accomplished fact, and has driven the strata of the population of our old home to the union of all other powers for the defense of the honor of the German name and of the national existence of our fatherland. This brilliant example of the home land should be a mighty incentive to us German-Americans to cast aside all separate interests and to show ourselves worthy of our fatherland by showing to our fellow citizens of other races that for us also unity is not a hollow mockery.

Do you recall that?

Mr. KELLER. I believe I do.

Senator KING. And his further stating that a tremendous service to the Germanism in this entire land must be rendered when we send

forth the slogan of unity through all German America? You are familiar with the issues of the Bulletin?

Mr. KELLER. Yes. I know his writing.

Senator KING. Did your State organization or your national organization ever disavow any of those utterances contained in the Bulletin?

Mr. KELLER. We have very few of the readers of the Bulletin in my State.

Senator KING. Well, did your State Alliance or your National Alliance disavow any of those utterances contained in the Bulletin?

Mr. KELLER. We did not have a meeting for three or four years.

Senator KING. Were you present at the meeting of your society in 1907, the convention that was held in Philadelphia?

Mr. KELLER. No, sir.

Senator KING. Did you know at that time that there was an alliance or a cooperative union effected between your organization and the Hibernians?

Mr. KELLER. I read about it; I was not there. Mr. Theodore Sutro was familiar with it.

Senator KING. Do you know what has been done between the two organizations in pursuance of the arrangement that was made at that time—since, I mean?

Mr. KELLER. In some States I heard that they once or twice acted together in certain questions, but we in Indiana did not do much about it.

Senator KING. Did you know that certain publications in Germany referred to the German-American Alliance in this country as a bond or a power to strengthen Germany?

Mr. KELLER. I am not getting any publications from Germany. I have nobody over there at all.

Senator KING. Did you know that efforts were being made in Germany by the Pan-Germanic school to influence the activities of the Germans and the actions of the Germans in various other lands?

Mr. KELLER. I don't know anything about that.

Senator KING. And that Henry Oncken, in his "Political History," at page 119, stated that we would grasp the proffered hand and cherish the bond of a common culture? He said:

We should clearly understand that yonder Americanism——

That is, German-Americanism—

is a part of our national body * * * We should learn the great lesson that the German nation extends beyond and will extend beyond the German state in which we live.

Mr. KELLER. I don't know anything about that.

Senator KING. Are you acquainted with Prof. Goebel?

Mr. KELLER. Yes; I have read his writings.

Senator KING. His book was indorsed, was it not, by your organization?

Mr. KELLER. I don't know.

Senator KING. And by your Bulletin?

Mr. KELLER. I have got it at home; he sent it to me. It was dedicated to Theodore Roosevelt, I believe.

Senator KING. Were not his works or some of them indorsed and recommended by your organization?

Mr. KELLER. It might have been by the executive in Philadelphia, but I am not a member of that.

Senator KING. I mean your national organization.

Mr. KELLER. That is the question. I am living in Indianapolis, and the executive in Philadelphia does that. The vice presidents are absolutely the fifth wheel on the wagon.

Senator KING. Do you know that in one of his books which is used in the schools he states, when he speaks of the German language and German culture, that "The possession of them alone is sufficient to prevent the process of Americanization"?

Mr. KELLER. I don't remember that.

Senator KING. Would you advocate——

Mr. KELLER (interrupting). No.

Senator KING (continuing). Teaching in the public schools of this Republic——

Mr. KELLER (interrupting). I would not.

Senator KING. Advocating the use of any book that encouraged the solidarity of the German people?

Mr. KELLER. I would not.

Senator KING. Preventing the Americanization of those who are in this land?

Mr. KELLER. I would not; no. I am not built of that material.

Senator KING. If your national organization has indorsed folks of that character and has advocated racial solidarity, that the German people should maintain themselves en bloc and use their influence politically for Germanism and for German ideals, would you approve of it?

Mr. KELLER. No.

Senator KING. And if your organization has advocated that and stood for that, do you think it ought to have a charter from this Federal Congress or from any State?

Mr. KELLER. If it opposes all those ideals I do not think so.

Senator KING. Were you cognizant of a movement recently made by a number of German-Americans in this country, of whom Mr. Frank Seigal was one, wherein they sought to secure parliamentary reform; that is, to urge their friends in Germany to secure parliamentary reform in Germany?

Mr. KELLER. I read about it, that a movement of such was started in New York City.

Senator KING. But your organization has taken no part in that?

Mr. KELLER. No; we are absolutely silent. We are not doing any work whatever.

Senator KING. Your new leader, Dr. von Bosse, has not called the executive committee together?

Mr. KELLER. I have never met him. I have never seen him.

Senator KING. You have taken no steps as an organization to show your approval of our entrance into the war, or, rather, to show your support of the Government in this contest?

Mr. KELLER. The national body has not done it, but the local bodies stand by and with the Government, at least in my State.

Senator KING. You can not speak for the others?

Mr. KELLER. I can not; no.

Senator KING. By the way, do you know the president of the organization in Kansas?

Mr. KELLER. I have seen him.

Senator KING. Mr. Frohwerk.

Mr. KELLER. I heard he was here in Washington and spoke before your committee.

Senator KING. Do you know him?

Mr. KELLER. I only saw him at San Francisco. I am not personally acquainted with him.

Senator KING. Is he the editor of a German newspaper?

Mr. KELLER. I could not tell you. I have never talked 10 words with him. I don't know. I saw an account in the newspapers that he was arrested in his city on that account; and that is all I know, what I read in the newspaper.

Senator KING. You understand that he is under investigation for indictment now?

Mr. KELLER. He is.

Senator KING. For activities of a pro-German character.

Mr. KELLER. Yes.

Senator KING. The committee, I will say for the record, did not know that fact when he was before the committee.

Mr. KELLER. As I want to assure you again, we are loyal from top to bottom.

Senator KING. Do the other members of the committee wish to ask any questions?

Senator STERLING. Just one question: Referring, Mr. Keller, to the books which you mentioned a while ago and which you say gave an account of the achievement of Germans in America——

Mr. KELLER. Yes; there were three of them published——

Senator STERLING. And which the Alliance recommended; were they books that were published at the expense of the authors?

Mr. KELLER. Partly. The secretaries of the State alliances, local alliances, helped it along, because they did not have enough money to pay for the printing.

Senator STERLING. Did the National Alliance contribute anything toward the publication of those books?

Mr. KELLER. I could not tell whether the National Alliance did or not.

Senator STERLING. So far as you know, then, it was all by arrangement between the authors and the publishers and the State alliances?

Mr. KELLER. So far as I know. I remember we sent a few dollars or helped defray the expenses of one book of which Mr. Heinrici was editor. The other book, of which Mr. Cronau is the author, is being backed in New York. He received the prize, about $1,500 so far as I know, and that book is in the market; and so is Prof. Faust's book, Prof. Faust being at some eastern university.

Senator STERLING. Of whom did he receive the prize of the $1,500?

Mr. KELLER. A rich widow some years ago gave a prize for the best book written of that character, and I believe Rev. von Bosse's father received the second prize, if I remember rightly.

Senator STERLING. But the Alliance contributed nothing, so far as you know, toward the distribution of those books?

Mr. KELLER. I do not know that; no.

Senator KING. By the way, those books to which you refer were printed in Germany, were they not; that by the Rev. von Bosse and others?

Mr. KELLER. No; I do not know that; but the last one was printed in Philadelphia, so far as I remember. That is Faust's book.

Senator KING. That was printed in Berlin, was it not [indicating a copy of "Drei Jahrhunderte deutschen Lebens in Amerika," by Rudolf Cronau, published in Berlin, 1909]?

Mr. KELLER. Oh, yes; I can see it from here. That is Cronau's book. He has all of his books printed in Germany.

Senator KING. And this was printed in Stuttgart [indicating a copy of "Das Deutsche Element in den Vereinigten Staaten," by Georg von Bosse, published in Stuttgart, 1908]?

Mr. KELLER. Yes; but the book I speak of that was issued under the auspices of the Alliance was printed in Philadelphia, a great big book.

Senator STERLING. What book was that?

Mr. KELLER. The title was "The Germans in America and their Cultural Development," I believe.

Senator KING. Who is the editor of that?

Mr. KELLER. Heinrici.

Senator KING. The editor of the Official Bulletin?

Mr. KELLER. Yes. In every State of the Union some writers worked along with him and sent in the articles on the work in their own State.

Senator STERLING. When you say this was printed under the auspices of the Alliance you do not mean that it was printed at the expense of the Alliance?

Mr. KELLER. No; but the Alliance was responsible for it and helped to publish it.

Senator WOLCOTT. It is true, is it not, that in handling the funds which Andreae supplied you you devised a scheme whereby the origin of those funds would not appear in the regular accounts of the Alliance?

Mr. KELLER. Of the National Alliance?

Senator WOLCOTT. Would not be manifest, rather?

Mr. KELLER. In the accounts of the National Alliance?

Senator WOLCOTT. Yes.

Mr. KELLER. That was not the scheme. Dr. Hexamer would not accept the finances, and I told Dr. Hexamer in Philadelphia and told Mr. Andreae in Chicago that I would not, under any conditions, handle the finances myself; and then Mr. Tjarks, of Baltimore, who was on the stand yesterday——

Senator WOLCOTT. I just want to develop this point, and I wish you would tell me if it is not true that the plan contemplated using the German-American Alliance but that the financing of it should be under cover, so to speak, and not connected with the German-American Alliance?

Mr. KELLER. Senator, I have expressed my opinion several times that I would have preferred that the Alliance should have managed the money. I would have preferred that.

Senator WOLCOTT. But that was not done?

Mr. KELLER. But that was not done.

Senator WOLCOTT. I show you a copy of the Official Bulletin dated December 15, and on the margin there you will observe a notation [indicating].

Mr. KELLER. Yes.

Senator WOLCOTT. I just call your attention to the place I want you to refer to [indicating]. Now I am going to read you what purports to be a translation, and you state to me if what I read is a correct translation of the Bulletin at the places I have indicated. As you see, the Bulletin there has what purports to be a copy of Dr. Hexamer's speech at Milwaukee.

Mr. KELLER. I see.

Senator WOLCOTT. And it is printed in German.

Mr. KELLER. Yes.

Senator WOLCOTT. Now follow this translation [reading]:

Who shall say to us that we German-Americans have no right here in this country?

Mr. KELLER. That is right.

Senator WOLCOTT (reading):

Be he Harry or Theodore or Woodrow; we answer him that we have the right and title and we will let it be taken away by none, least of all by people of such ilk.

Mr. KELLER. That is right.

Senator WOLCOTT (reading):

It is high time that we "hyphenated" Americans wake up and bring the miserable rabble to the understanding that our land and our laws do not know how to ward off English encroachment.

Mr. KELLER. That is right.

Senator WOLCOTT (reading):

If the German-Americans and the Irish act together, then I hope that our country will be freed of the ignominy of longer bearing England's rod.

Mr. KELLER. That is right.

Senator WOLCOTT (reading):

Then, I hope, this weak-kneed, miserable administration, that says a thing to-day and takes it back to-morrow, will be voted out.

Mr. KELLER. That is a correct translation.

Senator WOLCOTT (reading):

We do not wish, however, to found any new political party, no German party. A party built upon race prejudice or religion would be no benefit but a cancer to the country. We have other means by which to express our will. The German-American has sense enough to know how he shall and must vote, if we indicate to him the records of the candidates.

Mr. KELLER. That is a correct translation.

Senator WOLCOTT. Now turn over the pages of that Bulletin and you will find another place marked for reference, there [indicating]. Does not the same speech in German contain this sentence of which I am about to read a translation [reading]?

Cursed be he who in our beautiful country, in our noble Republic, sows the spirit of race prejudice, be he Tom, Dick, and Harry, Theodore, or Woodrow.

Mr. KELLER. That is right.

Senator WOLCOTT. Now turn to page 9 of the Bulletin. I refer you to another portion of that speech in German, which, translated, reads as follows, and I ask you to correct me if the translation is incorrect:

The sole object of the National German-American Alliance is to teach the American people all that modern Germany has to give and thereby fulfill a patriotic duty of the highest degree.

Mr. KELLER. That is right; but that was not Dr. Hexamer, was it?

Senator WOLCOTT. Yes; it continues, there [indicating].

Mr. KELLER. Yes. The translation is right.

Senator WOLCOTT. That is still Dr. Hexamer speaking. according to the Bulletin?

Mr. KELLER. Yes; according to the Bulletin.

Senator WOLCOTT. Now, I want to say, for myself—you can not take the time to testify to this particular thing—Mr. Chairman, I want to insert this in the record.

Senator KING. Very well.

Senator WOLCOTT. The same issue of the Bulletin contains in English the address of Dr. C. J. Hexamer, president of the National German-American Alliance, at the tenth anniversary of the German-American Alliance of Wisconsin, on the 22d, at the auditorium in Milwaukee, Wis. It contains an English account of the speech from which I have just read a few translated excerpts. I am advised by the person who made this translation that those excerpts, which appear in German and the translation of which I have read, do not appear in the English copy of the speech in the same Bulletin. I have glanced over the English text as thoroughly as I could and have verified that statement. I want to make that statement because it seems to me to be of some significance.

Senator KING. If it is an incorreot translation, and it is since the passage of the recent law of Congress, it would be an offense, a violation of the Federal statute.

Senator WOLCOTT. It was November 15. That is the date.

Of course there is no way to tell whether the English version of the speech is incomplete and incorrect and the German version correct.

Senator KING. Are you acquainted with the Zeitgeist, a newspaper published in Chicago?

Mr. KELLER. I have seen a copy of it. I am familiar with the contents. It is a new paper, as far as I hear.

Senator KING. Dr. Singer is the editor?

Mr. KELLER. I have heard of Dr. Singer, but I do not know him and I do not know his publication. I have never read it. It is a new publication.

Senator STERLING. How old is it?

Mr. KELLER. I could not tell you, only it appeared a short while ago.

Senator KING. In a recent publication he used this language:

They [Americans of German birth or descent] must prepare for their self-defense. The sooner the better. They have for this purpose the most powerful weapon at their command.—The vote.

The national elections will be held in the fall, the primaries in the spring. It is not sufficient to cast your vote. This time every German-American citizen must conspicuously show that he is a German-American citizen, although we hate to push the racial question into the political life of the country.

The right of self-defense makes it obligatory for the German-Americans to organize themselves as a political body. German-American societies and civic bodies must be raised in the cities and in the country, without party affiliations, and they should vote for Republicans, Democrats or Socialists without discrimination provided that the candidate in question gives the solemn pledge to champion without fear nor favor and in everybody's defense the integrity and inviolability of our civic rights.

In case the German-Americans should fail to do so, if they should prefer to await in cowardly indolence the coming of better days, then they have forfeited the right

to complain, if they should be placed in the public opinion below the niggers concerning their social and political standing.

Mr. KELLER. I do not know anything about that.

Senator KING. Would you approve of the organization by the Irish into one political party?

Mr. KELLER. No.

Senator KING. Or the Welsh or the English——

Mr. KELLER. No; I am absolutely against it.

Senator KING (continuing). Or the Scandinavians or the Germans?

Mr. KELLER. Nor the Germans, neither.

Senator KING. And if your organization through its papers and through its officers has been urging racial solidarity and all Germans voting and standing together, that would be wrong?

Mr. KELLER. I am opposed to it, absolutely.

Senator KING. And you would feel that the national organization had perverted its charter?

Mr. KELLER. Yes. I am not thinking that way.

Senator KING. Will you read this from Dr. Goebel's book, just a sentence down there at the bottom of this page [indicating a page in "Das Deutschtum in den Vereinigten Staaten von Nord-Amerika," by Dr. Julius Goebel, published in München, 1904]? Will you translate that?

Mr. KELLER. He speaks here about the German-Americans.

He says [translating] he knows that the German education and German thought are the bulwark of American liberty. Only there would it be possible, in the German family and in the German school, to elevate the worth of those high ideals to a proud feeling—to a life possession. There will always remain the subject of the mother tongue and the very best of our people.

Senator KING. Will you read the next sentence.

Mr. KELLER [translating]:

For on this possession must not only the slight process of Americanizing go to pieces, but in it Germans and Americans will find themselves on a common, higher ground.

Senator WOLCOTT. You do not approve of that doctrine?

Mr. KELLER. Of course; that is Mr. Goebel's book, you know.

Senator WOLCOTT. Do you know, as a matter of fact, whether this book that you read from has ever received the indorsement of the Bulletin, for instance?

Mr. KELLER. No, sir; I know nothing about it. That book is out for a number of years. I believe it was published when Mr. Theodore Roosevelt was President, and he dedicated it to him.

Senator WOLCOTT. He dedicated it to Mr. Roosevelt?

Mr. KELLER. Yes; I believe it is in the front of the book.

Senator KING. Yes; that is right.

Mr. KELLER. He is now a professor of the State University of Illinois.

Senator KING. Is there anything else you want to ask Mr. Keller?

Senator STERLING. No.

Senator WOLCOTT. No.

Senator KING. I think that is all, Mr. Keller.

We will now hear Mr. Humes.

Mr. Scholtz, have you a copy of all the Bulletins?

Mr. SCHOLTZ. No; I have not them, but they will be here. Mr. Timm did not bring them down the last time, but he has instructions to bring them the next time he comes. Personally I have no complete file of the Bulletin.

Mr. KELLER. Have you finished with me, Senator?

Senator KING. Yes; you may go.

Mr. KELLER. And if you will permit me, Senator, I will send you those documents from Indianapolis to prove that I was on the right side.

Senator KING. Very well; anything you send the committee will give consideration to. And you will write us about those books you were asked about?

Mr. KELLER. I will submit a report on all the books used in the schools of Indianapolis.

Senator KING. And particularly the spelling book; and then find whether this book "Im Vaterland" is used.

Mr. KELLER. Yes; I will do so.

Senator King. You are excused, Mr. Keller.

TESTIMONY OF MR. HUMES—Resumed and Concluded.

Senator KING. State your full name.

Mr. HUMES. Edwin Lowry Humes.

Senator KING. And your occupation?

Mr. HUMES. I am United States Attorney for the Western District of Pennsylvania.

Senator KING. How long have you lived in Pennsylvania?

Mr. HUMES. All my life.

Senator KING. Do you know Mr. C. J. Hexamer?

Mr. HUMES. I do.

Senator KING. Did you hear him make any statement in which the question of our form of government was involved?

Mr. HUMES. Yes, sir.

Senator KING. State when and where and what was said.

Mr. HUMES. On the 23d of March, 1916, he was in my office in the Government building in Erie and a friendly discussion was in progress, and in the discussion Dr. Hexamer made the following statement:

This form of government is a failure and the only correct form of government is a constitutional monarchy.

He also stated that, after a long study of the matter, he was convinced that a monarchcial form of government was better than our form of government. He also stated that the legal system in the laws of Germany was more concrete and better than the laws of this country. He held the laws of Germany up as a model. He added that there was much more liberty under the laws of Germany, as well as under the more liberal monarchies of England and Italy, than there was under the laws of this country.

I was so surprised at his remarks that I turned to a stenographer who was sitting there and dictated them, in his presence, and had them transcribed.

Senator KING. Was an investigation being conducted at that time showing the connection between the National Alliance and the organization of which Mr. Andreae was the president?

Mr. HUMES. An investigation of the activities of certain corporations was going on, and one of the ramifications extended into the German-American Alliance and he had been summoned as a witness; and between sessions of court the conversation was had, in my office.

Senator KING. Did Dr. Hexamer state to you what the relations were between his organization and Mr. Andreae's organization?

Mr. HUMES. The only statement that Mr. Hexamer made in that connection was his sworn testimony in the grand-jury room.

Senator KING. Well, then, the committee will not require that.

Mr. HUMES. Yes.

Senator KING. Do you know anything about the political activity of the National German-American Alliance in the State of Pennsylvania, either the national or its subsidiary organizations?

Mr. HUMES. The subpoena that was served on me required me to produce all of the data that I had with reference to activities of the German-American Alliance. I have here a circular sent to all German citizens of Massachusetts, referring to action taken at a meeting of the German-American Alliance—the State branch of Massachusetts—embracing a resolution that was adopted at that time, which has not yet been presented. Shall I read the resolution?

Senator KING. You may read it.

Mr. HUMES. It was as follows:

Resolved, That we, American citizens assembled in Worcester, do not desire as an organization, to indorse any candidate for Governor, but we believe in the desirability of discussing the qualifications of the gubernatorial candidates. We are, however, firmy opposed to the re-election of Woodrow Wilson as president of the United States.

I present that in response to the subpœna that has been served upon me.

Also, I produce a pamphlet purporting to be a statement of the principles and objects of the National German-American Alliance of the United States of America, and there are two or three paragraphs in the statement of their principles that are probably apropos to this investigation. Shall I read them?

Senator KING. Read them.

Mr. HUMES (reading):

3. It recommends the introduction of the study of German into the public schools on the following broad basis:

Along with English, German is a world language; wherever the pioneer of civilization, trade and commerce have penetrated, we find the people of both languages represented; wherever real knowledge of another language prevails more generally, there an independent, clear and unprejudiced understanding is more easily formed and mutual friendly relations promoted.

* * * * * * *

6. It calls on all Germans to acquire the right of citizenship as soon as they are legally entitled to it, to take an active part in public life, and to exercise their right at the polls fearlessly and according to their own judgment.

7. It recommends either a liberal and modern interpretation or the abolition of laws, that put unnecessary difficulties in the way of acquiring the right of citizenship, and frequently entirely preventing it. Good character, unblamable upright life, obedience to laws should decide, and not the answering or non-answering of arbitrarily selected political or historical questions, which easily confuse the applicant.

8. It opposes any and every restriction of immigration of healthy persons from Europe, exclusive of convicted criminals and anarchists.

* * * * * * *

10. It recommends the founding of educational societies which will foster the German language and literature, teach those anxious to learn, and arrange courses of lectures on art and science and questions of general interest.

I think that is all there is in that.

Senator STERLING. When was that pamphlet published, Mr. Humes?

Mr. HUMES. I do not know. There seems to be no date given on it.

Senator STERLING. Does it contain the articles of incorporation of the Alliance?

Mr. HUMES. No, sir.

Senator STERLING. Or any part thereof, reciting the purposes as defined in the act of incorporation?

Mr. HUMES. No, sir. I find none such. It contains a letter from Dr. Hexamer.

Senator STERLING. This preface on the first page is signed by "John Bodenstab, Sec'y, German-American Alliance, Hornell, N. Y." Do you know when he was secretary?

Mr. HUMES. I do not. That was published by the New York State branch, I think.

I also have a letter that was sent as a confidential communication by the United States Brewers' Association, dated October 30, 1915, which reads as follows:

UNITED STATES BREWERS' ASSOCIATION,
50 UNION SQUARE,
New York, October 30, 1916.

[Confidential.]

GENTLEMEN: I enclose for your information a valuable report on naturalization work in Pennsylvania, which speaks for itself. The very effective and practical manner in which the work has been conducted will suggest possibilities for similar work in other States.

While we have been privileged to see this report we are not in any way responsible for it.

Very truly yours,

HUGH F. FOX, *Secretary.*

Senator KING. He is secretary——

Mr. HUMES. Of the United States Brewers' Association.

Senator KING. When he addressed this letter in this way, "Gentlemen", do you take it he was sending that out to the association?

Mr. HUMES. It is a circular letter. I do not know whom it was sent to. It is a confidential circular that has been sent out, and the inclosure is printed and is headed "National German-American Alliance Incorporated by act of Congress, State Branch of Pennsylvania." They inclosed some of the forms that they use in the naturalization work and also what purports to be a confidential circular of naturalization work in Pennsylvania, signed by "Adolph Timm, State and National Secretary German American Alliance."

There are two paragraphs from this that may be of interest to this committee in the matter under consideration. I read one of them, as follows:

Among those catering to new citizens the politicians and the Y. M. C. A.'s must be recorded. While their work shall not be underestimated, their purpose is selfish, because they fail to teach the candidates the fundamental principles of the Constitution of the United States. What is needed is a united effort to save the new citizens from those who, under the pretense to help them, try to make them vote against their conviction.

The German-American Alliance as it is organized in Pennsylvania has been very active in politics, and that has been its principal occupation.

Senator WOLCOTT. Politics generally?

Mr. HUMES. Yes.

Senator WOLCOTT. Not confined to the political question as to prohibition and antiprohibition?

Mr. HUMES. No; the election of individual candidates.

Senator WOLCOTT. Will you tell us about that?

Mr. HUMES. It has become simply an adjunct to a political organization and a political machine, and I have here the minutes of the Allegheny County Branch of the German-American Alliance, which covers practically the western part of Pennsylvania. There are one hundred and forty-three German societies—singing societies, social clubs, and literary clubs—that have been brought together under the Alliance; and the Alliance is simply used to weld all of those organizations into one bloc, to make them more effective for the political purposes of the organization.

Senator STERLING. You say that is in western Pennsylvania?

Mr. HUMES. Western Pennsylvania; and I base that on the minutes of the organization, translations of which I have. I do not know how you want this presented, whether I had better read extracts from it or not.

Senator WOLCOTT. Of course we are not concerned about the minutes that have to do with ordinary routine matters. Any of the minutes that you might find of any meeting that had to do with organized political activity, you might read.

Mr. HUMES. Yes; or foreign matters?

Senator WOLCOTT. By "foreign matters" you mean foreign relations?

Mr. HUMES. Yes.

Senator WOLCOTT. Oh, certainly; anything of that kind I think we would like to have.

Senator STERLING. Yes; certainly.

Mr. HUMES. I will read as follows:

Pittsburgh, August 6, 1914. Special executive meeting.

Senator WOLCOTT. Now, pardon me, all that you are going to read is from the minutes of the Allegheny branch?

Mr. HUMES. Yes; this is the Allegheny County Branch, consisting of 143 separate organizations in western Pennsylvania. The minutes of that meeting were as follows:

It was a meeting of protest against a one-sided attitude taken by the greater part of the English language press in the country. Resolutions were passed to that end. It was resolved to have 20,000 copies of Prof. H. M. Ferren's protest printed, same to be sent to all newspapers and members of branches for distribution.

The next is dated August 23.

Senator WOLCOTT. What year?

Mr. HUMES. There was an executive meeting.

Senator WOLCOTT. In 1914 or 1915?

Mr. HUMES. In 1914.

Senator WOLCOTT. One question, there: Have you any evidence there as to what was this protest that has been spoken of; what was the nature of it?

Mr. HUMES. No; it was simply a general protest against the unfairness of the English newspapers, and no specific article or specific paper was mentioned.

These next minutes are as follows:

EXECUTIVE MEETING.

PITTSBURGH, *August 23, 1914.*

After the routine business an extensive talk on the European situation was entered upon. Mr. H. C. Bloedel made the following remarks:

"In these sad hours of trial, in which Germania is engaged in its most momentous struggle for 'to be or not to be', fighting for its very existence, in a war wrought upon them by hate, contest, and the lowest instincts, it is no more than natural and proper that Germania's children in foreign countries be not merely onlookers of this titanic struggle, but do their best in noble sacrificing spirit and come to their kinfolks' aid in their time of vicissitude and trial. It is an elevating spectacle to see the entire German-American press and people unified in their efforts to oppose the malice of the lying and hateful press and lay open their infamy."

R. ULLRICH, *Secretary.*

Senator WOLCOTT. That appears on the minutes?

Mr. HUMES. Yes; on the minutes of that meeting, signed by the secretary.

The next is as follows:

BUSINESS MEETING.

EAST PITTSBURGH, *August 30, 1914.*

After the reading of minutes a rousing protest was raised against the willfully lying Anglo-American press in their issues on the happenings in the European war. It was further resolved to organize a German relief fund to aid widows and orphans of the fallen warriors. It was also resolved to open collections for a German Red Cross fund.

[Nothing else of interest.]

R. ULLRICH, *Secretary.*

The next is as follows:

EXECUTIVE MEETING.

PITTSBURGH, *September 27, 1914.*

After unimportant routine business H. C. Bloedel made the motion (carried) to transfer $16,000 to the treasurer of the finance committee of the Central Alliance, Mr. John Tjarks, in Baltimore. The amount to be evenly divided among the war sufferers both in Germany and Austria.

[Nothing else of special interest.]

R. ULLRICH, *Secretary.*

The next is dated October 25, 1914.

Senator STERLING. Mr. John Tjarks is the gentleman who testified here on Saturday?

Mr. HUMES. Yes.

Senator STERLING. The chairman of the finance committee of the National German-American Alliance?

Mr. HUMES. Yes.

These minutes read as follows:

EXECUTIVE MEETING.

PITTSBURGH, *October 25, 1914.*

Following routine business and a spirited talk on the coming election, H. C. Bloedel took the floor, making the following remarks:

"In these very serious days of gravest happenings in the old fatherland, we must above all not lose sight of the earnest problems to be solved in our country by adoption. It is our foremost duty to serve our country first. While the news from the battlefields and the great doings of our kins abroad, of which we daily receive reports, make our hearts rejoice, we must always keep in mind the great battle before us in the November 3d election. The law of self-preservation urges that we use our energies doubly in the objects to be attained. We must not only say that we are a one-minded people of brethren in the prosecution of personal liberty and progress of human rights, but must help to make our ideals become true at the polls, by exercising them with all the might we can muster in its behalf."

R. ULLRICH, *Secretary.*

The minutes of November 22, 1914, are as follows:

EXECUTIVE MEETING.

PITTSBURGH, *November 22, 1914.*

Following routine business, President H. C. Bloedel handed in the receipt given by John Tjarks, president of finance committee, general German relief funds, for the initial contributions made to the amount of $16,000, also receipt issued by the German and Austrian Embassies were turned in. By a resolution passed by the executive H. C. Bloedel was ordered to forward another contribution of $10,000 to the good of the aforesaid funds. It was sounded that the Allegheny Branch again stood first rank among contributing branches. Then a cheerful talk between the members about the victorious results on the recent election in Philadelphia was in sway. Tenor of it was that all but two of their candidates were elected.

[Nothing else of special interest.]

R. ULLRICH, *Secretary.*

Senator WOLCOTT. Their candidates; the German-American Alliance's candidates?

Mr. HUMES. I assume that. It is taken from the minutes.

Senator WOLCOTT. I assume the minutes would not employ the words "their candidates", would it, if it meant German-American Alliance candidates? They would say "our candidates"?

Mr. HUMES. Knowing something of the facts of the case, I think that they used it in the sense of "our"; but I can not put that interpretation on it except that that interpretation would fit the facts, knowing of their activities.

On January 24, 1915, the minutes read as follows:

EXECUTIVE MEETING.

S. S. PITTSBURGH, *January 24, 1915.*

* * * * * * *

Mr. Bloedel made the motion to announce through the press the wording of the protest entered by the alliance-executive pertaining the neutrality break of our Government—exporting war materials, munitions, horses, etc., into England, France, and Russia, as being in contradiction with the Government's assured neutrality, and be it therefore asked of every American citizen to join in on that protest, and copy same as published, and have such copy sent forth to both United States Senators of Pennsylvania and the Congressmen thereof.

On January 31, 1915, the minutes read as follows:

BUSINESS MEETING.

McKEES ROCKS, *January 31, 1915.*

Following unimportant business it was resolved to present Richard Bartholdt, whose term shortly expires, with a love gift, for which all branches be invited to contribute.

It was further resolved to extend a vote of thanks to Congressman A. J. Barchfeld for the energetic stand he had taken against the Hobson bill recommending national prohibition.

One of those Congressmen, Mr. Bartholdt, was from Missouri and the other, Mr. Barchfeld, was from Allegheny County, Pa.

On April 25, 1915, the minutes show the following:

EXECUTIVE MEETING.

PITTSBURGH, PA., *April 25, 1915.*

Following opening proceedings, Jos. Klaus made the motion: To have 2,000 iron rings ordered and have them given out for the price of their weight in gold or at a minimum cost of $1. Carried.

It was resolved to order those iron rings with the Whitehead Hoag Co., of Newark, N. J.

Wm. Benkiser, manager foreign department, First National Bank, made the offer to open quarters for the purpose of selling the rings, and to make his department the selling station. This was accepted with thanks. The proceeds to be for the German-Austrian relief fund.

H. C. Bloedel made report on the ——— at Harrisburg last Wednesday—

The translator has left out one word there and left a blank space for it—

passing final vote on the local-option bill. The voting resulted in 78 votes in favor and 128 votes against the measure, thus giving the liberal element a majority of 50 votes. The members of the Allegheny Branch are being congratulated on this victory, as of the 24 legislature members (recommended for election) 20 had voted against the bill, and but 4 in favor of the measure; proof that at this time the executive had recommended and supported candidates, etc.

Mr. H. C. Bloedel then made mention of the steadily increasing German relief fund here already amounting to $36,890.70. The untiring efforts in behalf of this fund made by churches, lodges, and organizations of all kinds are beyond reproach and unequaled.

In conclusion Mr. Bloedel reminded of the lecture by B. Ridder, and the magnificent entertainment in the Exposition Hall, and expressed hope that this world's war may soon come to an end with Germany-Austria being victorious.

R. ULLRICH, *Secretary.*

The minutes for May 23, 1915, show the following:

EXECUTIVE MEETING.

CARRICK, PA., *May 23, 1915.*

After reading the minutes of last meeting, a communication was read from the German-American Literary Defense Committee of New York, organized shortly after the outbreak of the war, under the auspices of the united organizations of Greater New York and the States organization, to offset the agitation against the German-American element and the stirring up of public opinion against everything German.

In this communication this committee speaks in the interest of the great and good cause of Germany's and then prays for moral and financial support.

Considering the many similar propaganda and the many requests for aid, it was resolved to lend support to but those who actually do show practical success in their efforts.

A pamphlet by Jos. Keller, first vice president of the National Alliance, which is titled "An earnest word in earnest times," and laid before the members in session, was found to be excellently qualified for agitation purposes. After discussion, it was resolved to order 300 copies of that pamphlet and to distribute them next Sunday among the delegates.

Upon recommendation by H. C. Bloedel, it was resolved to visit in corpore a debate on the topic: "A neutral power has not the right to supply belligerent powers with munitions." This debate had for speakers on the one side George Seibel, editor of Volksblat, and Freiheitsfreund, and Dr. J. F. L. Raschen, professor of German literature, University of Pittsburgh, and on the other side Rev. Dr. E. H. Ward, rector of St. Peters, and Rev. Charles E. Snyder, pastor of the North Side Unitarian Church.

Following this, Secretary R. Ullrich reported on the proceedings of the State convention recently held (May 8, 9, 10) at Lancaster. Among other things, he pointed out that one of the most important resolutions passed at that convention was to recommend to the national convention at San Francisco the employment of a press agent, whose business it be to supply the English language papers with the necessary information and to rectify all erroneous statements or malicious "dumpings of truth" therein.

[Further proceedings of no interest.]

R. ULLRICH, *Secretary.*

The minutes of May 30, 1915, are as follows:

BUSINESS MEETING.

CARRICK, PA., *May 30, 1915.*

After routine business of minor interest a petition of the organization of American ladies for retaining strict neutrality was submitted, in which support and subscription was asked for circulating and protesting against munition export. The necessity of an

embargo on war materials was urged and a resolution carried to use every means to that end. The delegates were requested to gather signatures among their neighbors and friends to that protest.

R. ULLRICH, *Secretary.*

The minutes of June 28, 1915, are as follows:

MILLVALE, PA., *June 28, 1915.*

Following unimportant proceedings, Dr. Carl Stahl made a motion to resolve thanks to J. Frank, president United Engineering & Foundry Co., and to the Beacon Light Co. for their refusal to accept war contracts. Carried.

Further, to extend thanks to Prof. Raschen and Rev. Eisele for the excellent speeches made at the German friendly mass meeting in the Beneficial Union Hall at Arlington Avenue, recently held. Carried.

The attention was then called to a pamphlet on "Made in America," by Geo. Seibel. Same was warmly recommended to the members.

John Yenny acquainted the members with a communication received, "that the Swiss Federation Counsel had made earnest protestation to those in French language appearing newspapers in Geneva and Lausanne (French Swiss) that they were requested to abandon their unfair agitation against Germany or be forced out of business."

[No further interesting business.]

R. ULLRICH, *Secretary.*

The minutes of July 25, 1915, show the following:

CARRICK, PA., *July 25, 1915.*

* * * the members were requested by the executive, after prolonged and detailed bespeaking, to take in particular position to the coming county election. The following candidates were found worthy of support of the members of the Allegheny County Branch, German-American Alliance: A. C. Gumbert and Frank J. Harris; prothonotary, David B. Johns; county treasurer, E. D. Friebertshauser; county recorder, John D. Graham; clerk of courts, W. R. Bailey; county controller, John P. Morrow; registrar, R. F. McGrath.

Resolved, Mr. H. C. Bloedel, representative of Pennsylvania to the convention of the Alliance, at San Francisco, be requested, if opportune, to enter a motion that the executive of the Alliance be ordered to make request with the United States Government to call an extra session of Congress, in which an embargo on guns and war materials for the belligerents in Europe be enacted.

R. ULLRICH, *Secretary.*

I next read from the minutes of August 29, 1915, as follows:

BRIDGEVILLE, PA., *August 29, 1915.*

After unimportant routine business, President H. C. Bloedel gave a detailed interesting report on the national convention held at San Francisco, in conclusion of which he said:

"The motion already made at the convention of 1911 in Washington, D. C., then not carried, namely, to employ a special press agent for the English-language papers in the country was at this last convention carried unanimously."

The open letter to President Wilson, laid before the June meeting of the executive by Mr. Bloedel, which was at that time received by the members of the local organization with great applause, was deplorably turned down by the national convention. Unfounded protest and the threatened withdrawal of a number of leading members and presidents of seven State organizations of the Alliance made its passage impossible.

Mr. Bloedel further reported the steady increase of the war-relief fund, which at present amounts to $43,723. It was stated that the sacrificing spirit of the ladies' aid societies was above praise, and that Pittsburgh does not need take a back seat among other cities in the Union. Poor and rich, everyone is invited to contribute to this benevolent cause.

Then it was announced that the central bureau of the State of Pennsylvania at Philadelphia was to supply the entire German-language press with items on the work done by the Alliance.

As representatives of the branch unit to the Chicago convention on September 6 held by the "Friends of Peace," the following members were appointed: J. E. Hirsch, John Qoos, Louis Volz, Reinhard Ullrich, Henry Heck, and Ludwig Enzian.

The names of candidates proposed by the executive were indorsed by the members.

[Of no further interest.]

R. ULLRICH, *Secretary.*

Senator WOLCOTT. What is the date of that?

Mr. HUMES. That was August 29, 1915.

Next I have the minutes of September 26, 1915. I read from them as follows:

EXECUTIVE MEETING.

PITTSBURGH, *September 26, 1915.*

Routine business unimportant at first, then President H. C. Bloedel called attention to matters as follows:

"There are English-French emissaries in our country, coming here for the purpose to make a war loan of $500,000,000. The officers of the Alliance extend their warnings to all their brethren to not support the foreigners' object and have already sent out warnings to the banks of the city and to all Germans and English language papers that their members must not participate in this war loan.

Prof. H. M. Ferren made a motion to sustain action taken thus by the officers. This was voted on and carried.

Following a motion made by Secretary Ullrich it was resolved to notify the banks and their officers in which funds of the Allegheny Branch of the Alliance were deposited that such funds were to be withdrawn immediately if those banks should be found assisting financing this proposed war loan. Owing to the fact that the contribution for the German-Austrian relief funds begin slacking a committee was appointed by the chair, consisting of Messrs. H. C. Bloedel, Louis Volz, Reinhard Ullrich, John Seiferth, Wm. Benkiser, and Dr. Carl Stahl, to cooperate in conjunction with one hundred committee and assist in the arrangement for a patriotic festivity to be held in Exposition Hall in behalf of this relief fund, etc.

R. ULLRICH, *Secretary.*

Next I read from the minutes of October 31, 1915:

BUSINESS MEETING.

PITTSBURGH, *October 31, 1915.*

Opened with President H. C. Bloedel presiding.

Prof. H. M. Ferren was made a life member of the National Alliance. Reports were given on the bazaar. Progress. Then woman suffrage came up for dispute. The chairman, H. C. Bloedel, voiced his opinions on the matter, stating that its introduction meant simply the strengthening of the nativistic elements that which sees sin and crime in every innocent pleasure, and that German-Americans can not therefore support such policy and give their vote in its favor, etc. Mr. Bloedel concluded his remarks as following:

"The, in Anglo-American circles, generally unveiled hate for all that is 'German' makes it a duty for every German-American to watch over the right and privileges, guaranteed him by the glorious Constitution of the United States, that none of those rights be reduced. No American of German ancestry must be influenced by the animosity shown him by those backing up the ignorant and spiteful yellow press, neither should it have any bearing on his self-respect and self-confidence. Unalterably he must stand up for those ideals and aims helping to develop the welfare of our country by adoption and its glorious institutions."

R. ULLRICH, *Secretary.*

Senator STERLING. The Prof. H. M. Ferren referred to there is the same man who wrote the protest about which there was so much enthusiasm?

Mr. HUMES. I assume so. The initials are the same, and I assume that it is the same man.

We come now to the minutes of December 26, 1915. I read as follows:

EXECUTIVE MEETING.

PITTSBURGH, *December 26, 1915.*

Opened in the Trohsinn quarters with Chairman Emanuel Schillo presiding. At first unimportant routine business; then John Dimmling reported financial success of the bazaar, and that Allegheny County would bring up at least $100,000 for the German and Austrian relief fund.

R. ULLRICH, *Secretary.*

I have the minutes of January 23, 1916. I read from them as follows:

EXECUTIVE MEETING.

PITTSBURGH, PA., *January 23, 1916.*

Minutes unimportant. Under "New business" as following:

Resolved, To order 5,000 copies of the issue on "Embargo" against munition and war material export to belligerents, and that they be distributed among the delegates on Sunday, the 30th.

John Dimmling again made an earnest and impressive appeal to the members of the executive to do all in their power to raise the $100,000 for the Red Cross. At the same time he extended warning to be on guard against the action of the prohibitionists.

AUGUST BUCHHOLTZ, *Secretary.*

Senator STERLING. That is the German Red Cross mentioned there?

Mr. HUMES. I assume so. He was referring to the $100,000 for that purpose in the preceding minutes.

I read from the next minutes as follows:

EXECUTIVE MEETING.

PITTSBURGH, *January 27, 1916.*

Following unimportant business routine, replies were read as to former communications in connection with petitions made to Senators and Congressmen. Replies were received from Hon. B. Penrose, George Oliver, Stephen Porter, H. W. Coleman, John M. Morin, H. M. Garland, Andrew Barchfeld.

Next are the minutes of January 30, 1916:

BUSINESS MEETING.

MOUNT OLIVER, *January 30, 1916.*

[First part of minutes unimportant.] Following correspondences were read:

A communication from the secretary of the Alliance, stating that post cards having bearing on the embargo may be obtained through him; further, that all members be urged to promptly participate in the distribution of those petitions put up by the National Alliance.

The legislative committee, through G. Falkenstein, submitted the following petitions:

(1) Breaking of international laws on post department matters by the allies.
(2) Ship traffic and food shipment with neutral countries.
(3) Embargo of all kind of munitions and war materials.
(4) Abuse of the American flag.
(5) No American should be granted a pass to travel on ships of belligerents.
(6) Protest on the prohibition amendment (Wells bill).

Resolved, To have these magnificient items printed and sent to all branches of the alliance, to enable them to communicate them to the Members of Congress.

Senator STERLING. The secretary of the Alliance therein referred to is the secretary of the National Alliance, I take it?

Mr. HUMES. I assume so. It says "that all members be urged to promptly participate in the distribution of those petitions put up by the National Alliance."

Next are the minutes of March 26, 1916, from which I read as follows:

EXECUTIVE MEETING.

PITTSBURGH, *March 26, 1916.*

After uneventful routine a communication of the Imperial District Controller, E. Hecker, delegate to the German Red Cross, was read. In this the alliance was requested to forward to the German collection office contributions.

Resolved, To answer this communication and to advise writer that since two years already this was done through the "Volksblatt und Freiheitsfreund" acting as agency, and that the people here deem it more practical to continue to do so further, in preference to the suggestion made by the imperial official.

Communications from H. M. Garland and Stephen Porter were read. A lengthy discussion followed in reference to Mr. Porter's position as to the Gore bill.

Resolved, That the legislative committee on April 16 was to appear in corpore in the State's legislative meeting to represent there the Allegheny County Branch.

The State convention to take place on the 5th, 6th, and 7th of August in Erie, Pa., to which all branches were to send delegates, 1 delegate to every 100 members, and that they be notified by circular letters.

[Nothing else of importance.]

AUG. BUCHHOLTZ, *Secretary.*

Senator STERLING. As to the "Imperial District Controller" referred to there and afterwards referred to as the "imperial official," do you understand, Mr. Humes, that he was an official of the Imperial German Government?

Mr. HUMES. I am not sure of that, but I remember in glancing yesterday at the checks which were produced here his name appeared on some of the checks that were drawn by the National German-American Alliance from their relief fund; I remember that name appearing on some of the checks.

Mr. SCHOLTZ. He was a delegate from the German Red Cross to accept funds.

Mr. HUMES. From the minutes of April 23, 1916, I read as follows:

EXECUTIVE MEETING.

PITTSBURGH, *April 23, 1916.*

A communication from the American Embargo Conference, Chicago, Ill., was read in which the branch was requested to give financial support.

It was resolved to comply with the request and send a check for $25.

(Translation of communication as follows:)

PROTEST TELEGRAM.

"The Allegheny County Branch of the German-American Alliance to protest the action of the time-being Government in its discrimination made as to the German Empire.

"Over 20,000 American citizens, members of the Allegheny Branch of the German-American National Alliance, put forth protest, in the name of true humanity (not sham humanity), against efforts to draw the United States into war.

"We may, for the protection of our own country, be in dire need of submarines ourselves, and should therefore not destroy our best weapon, merely to help and assist England, our country's worst enemy.

"No one man seeking eagerly reelection should be permitted to sacrifice American blood and property just to satisfy his political whim and aspirations.

"By order of the German-American Alliance, Allegheny County Branch,

"REINHARD ULLRICH, *President.*"

Mr. W. Benkiser read then in German translation the telegrams sent April 20 to Washington, to avoid a break with Germany.

Resolved, To make the telegram part of the minutes.

Resolved, To send that night letter (telegram) of the American Embargo Conference to all members of the executive, that they might be enabled to join in on this protestation against the action of the United States Government.

The next minutes are as follows:

BUSINESS MEETING.

BRADDOCK, PA., *April 30, 1916.*

After unimportant proceedings (routine) several communications of Congressmen and Senators were read, in which they expressed their readiness to do all in their power to retain the United States in peace. Especially found Hon. Stephen Porter's communication favor with the members. It was resolved to thank those gentlemen in writing for their attitude toward peace.

W. Benkiser reported about proceedings in the legislative committee when in session in Altoona, April 16, 1916. In particular he called attention as to the creation of a conference body consisting of members from all branch units all over the United States.

A. C. Stein then took the floor, speaking on the elections, urging unity in purpose.

George Falkenstein read the list of candidates. It was resolved, following debate, to send a circular letter to that end to every branch unit and their officers; further, to have 4,000 election ballots printed for distribution among the members; further, to have the list of candidates published in two German-language newspapers.

The list of candidates is as follows:

GERMAN-AMERICAN ALLIANCE.

All members are requested to vote for the following candidates, primary election, Tuesday, May 16, 1916:

President: Henry Ford (write his name in).

United States Senator: P. C. Knox.

Congressmen at large (vote for 4): Thomas S. Crago, M. M. Garland, Joseph McLaughlin, and Isadore Sobel.

Congress: Stephen G. Porter, twenty-ninth district; William H. Coleman, thirtieth district; John M. Morin, thirty-first district; A. J. Barchfeld, thirty-second district.

State Senate: Charles J. Magee, forty-third district; Norman Whitten, forty-fifth district.

Legislature: Thomas P. Geary, first district; S. Somerman, first district; William C. McCaig, second district; John C. Sullivan, second district; John Lawler, third district; William W. Mearkle, fourth district; H. B. Todd, fifth district; G. A. Wickman, sixth district; William Mangan, sixth district; William Howarth, sixth district; Charles Michel, seventh district; Richard B. Scandrett, seventh district; Ed. Hough, eighth district; William F. Stadtlander, eighth district; James F. Woodward, ninth district; Carl C. Baldridge, tenth district; Wallace Benn, tenth district; W. C. Murdock, tenth district; Heber Ditrich, eleventh district; J. H. W. Simpson, eleventh district; Dr. Joseph G. Steedle, eleventh district; William C. Wagner, eleventh district; J. J. Meyer, twelfth district; A. J. Moon, twelfth district.

The minutes of May 26, 1916, are as follows:

EXECUTIVE MEETING.

PITTSBURGH, PA., *May 26, 1916.*

After usual opening and proceedings Dr. Max Schlotbom was recommended for membership and elected.

Resolved, To forward another $15,000 to the German war-prisoners relief.

[Nothing of further interest.]

AUGUST BUCHHOLTZ, *Secretary.*

The minutes of June 25, 1916, are as follows:

EXECUTIVE MEETING.

CARRICK, PA., *June 25, 1916.*

Routine business unimportant.

Resolved, That Mr. L. Hirsch be requested to draw $2,000 for Germany's war prisoners in Siberia, and $1,000 for the colonial war prisoners in Kakerun (Africa).

Following this, Mr. Benkiser addressed the meeting on the nomination of a presidential candidate; he also reported on the Chicago conference happenings. His appeal was in particular to elect in November the right man.

George Falkenstein, second vice president, gave a detailed report as to the primary election May 16. A very animated debate followed his address, the tenor of which was to make greater efforts to elect "more favorable men" into the Legislature of Pennsylvania.

Following this, the elections of delegates to the convention taking place in Erie, Pa., on the 5th, 6th, and 7th of August, 1916, was in order.

Senator WOLCOTT. I understand you must leave town to-night?

Mr. HUMES. I have got to get away to-night, yes. I am just selecting certain parts of these minutes and cutting out the other parts.

I pass now to the minutes of July 30, 1916, from which I read as follows:

George Falkenstein gave a detailed report on the primary election, appearing very favorable. The meeting passed a vote of thanks to the legislative committee, and in particular to G. Falkenstein for his successful efforts in the matter.

John Dimmling gave a very detailed report on the Chicago conference held to nominate the President of the United States. He urged the members to stand solidly by the cause and unify at its prosecution, to help elect a President who is solely for America only, and not for the interest of foreign nations.

A motion was made to create a "Domestic Gazette," the tendency of which to be outlined as following: The sound development of the American Nation necessitates the influence of German intellectuality, which is diminishing by lack of immigration and the subsequent dying out of the German language.

The pioneers of German intellect—the church, press, and society—reach no longer the new, but solely the immigrated generation.

The German home is without sufficient literary means in its efforts to raise their children to the proper understanding for German kultur and conception of German mind and its life's philosophy.

As a matter of fact, it is made for German parents at present practically impossible to properly influence their children on racial matters, who find it so much easier to read and grasp the English-language literature, thus leading them apart from their parents' viewpoints as to mode of life, etc. Their aim, therefore, must be to furnish them with a paper written in our country's language that sets forth those ideals, free of prejudice and animosity against our people.

Senator WOLCOTT. Does he say "written in our country's language"?

Mr. HUMES. Yes; "written in our country's language".

Senator WOLCOTT. Meaning in the German? Is that the idea?

Mr. HUMES. I suppose so; they are contending that they wanted a paper published in German. [Continuing reading:]

Even through novels and kindred literature, read by them, a streak of animosity, spite, and disrespect for everything that is German is interwoven by which means the children (yet small or grown up) lose respect for their parents and the native land and peoples of the United States, thus causing already (here and there) disharmony in the family.

We consider, therefore, the founding of a "Domestic Gazette," published in American language, an absolute necessity.

I beg your pardon; what they wanted to do was to publish a German paper in the English language. [Continuing reading:]

This "Domestic Gazette" must be bearing the spirit of truth and enlightenment, so as to inspire the present and coming generation, and sharpen their conscience so as to make them see their great mission as Americans of German descent. It is theirs and our part to safeguard German intellect and its effect upon American life, spelling true American patriotism.

Senator WOLCOTT. That would seem to be one instance where they were getting away from the idea of preserving and conserving the German tongue amongst German-Americans.

Mr. HUMES. Well, I think these minutes, and their activities in Pennsylvania at least, would indicate that it was the preservation of unity for any political purpose rather than the preservation of any German ideals that led them to strain themselves.

Next are the minutes of August 27, 1916. I read as follows:

EXECUTIVE MEETING.

MILLVALE, PA., *August 27, 1916.*

After other unimportant routine business, the motion was made and voted on to take $2,500 out of the general funds and present this amount in the form of a building fund for the erection of two houses in East Prussia. The motion was lost. Instead of it it was resolved to give two entertainments during the winter, the proceeds of which to be used for the purpose heretofore mentioned.

Senator STERLING. The date of that is August 27, 1916?

Mr. HUMES. Yes. Through the minutes of several days there is a discussion of that East Prussian matter.

The minutes of September 24, 1916, are the next. There is in the minutes the ticket headed "German-American Central Alliance, Allegheny County Branch":

All members are requested to vote for the candidates forthwith: President, Charles E. Hughes; Vice President, Charles Fairbanks.

Then follow United States Senators, Congressmen, judges of the supreme court, and every member of the legislature.

Senator WOLCOTT. The whole National and State tickets?

Mr. HUMES. The whole National, State, and legislative ticket included, and it has this notation at the bottom:

The voters of the twelfth legislature district are requested to X-mark the names of the nominated candidates on the Democratic ticket.

Senator WOLCOTT. That, you say, appears in the minutes?

Mr. HUMES. My recollection is that this was printed and that it was pasted in the minutes as part of the literature they got out. Then below that it says:

Take this election ballot with you to the booth.

Next I have the minutes of October 23, 1916, in which there is the following statement:

George Falkenstein, chairman of the legislative committee, announces that the candidates agreed upon were considered worthy of being elected.

Senator WOLCOTT. Referring to the tickets that had been elected?

Mr. HUMES. Yes; to this list.

Senator STERLING. Does that list embrace men from both parties or from more than one party?

Mr. HUMES. Unless, perhaps, the two members of the legislature from the twelfth legislative district, which is referred to, are Democrats, and the notation would imply that every other candidate is a Republican; and this organization is an adjunct of the Republican organization in the county.

Senator WOLCOTT. That is, the Allegheny County Branch?

Mr. HUMES. Yes.

I read further from the minutes of October 23, 1916, as follows:

Resolved, To have 10,000 election bills printed and to have the same distributed among the various societies.

Resolved, Considering the expenses for the primary election as being quite an important item, the various branch units are requested to contribute to a fund created for the purpose of carrying the expenses to be incurred.

In the minutes of October 29, 1916, I find this among other things:

It was announced that in the evening a lecture was to be given by Jeremiah O'Leary in the Fort Pitt Theater, the topic of which was to be "The Suppression of Ireland England."

The members were requested to appear in a body.

In the minutes of November 26, 1916, I find the following:

George Falkenstein reported again on the last election, and explains the causes of the defeat of Coleman and Barchfeld.

Following this a lengthy debate ensued as to the position to be taken by the branch units toward future elections.

Senator WOLCOTT. They were in politics, that is clear; clear up to the neck.

Mr. HUMES. I read further:

The following communication was received, and reads as follows:

PITTSBURGH, PA., *November 21, 1916.*

To the Allegheny County Branch of the German-American Central Alliance.

Your committee on the German war relief fund has made investigation into the books and reports as follows:

In accordance with the books and the published lists issued by the Volksblatt-Freiheitsfreund, there has been, from the 12th of August, 1914, to the 13th of November, 1916, received a total of $115,379.97 in the treasury. Of this amount $111,130 were carried over to the funds of the national committee, for which receipts are at hand. The offices of the Western Savings & Deposit Bank can verify that on the 13th of November, 1916, the balance of the funds were amounting to $4,249.97.

The rest of that is simply thanking those who keep the records.

Next I will take the minutes of December 31, 1916. I read as follows:

The annual report (1916) of the president, Mr. Rinehard Ullrich, given on the 31st of December, 1916, in the hall of the Franz Abt Singing Society, Millvale, Pa.:

"MESSRS. DELEGATES AND MEMBERS OF THE EXECUTIVE:

"To-day cometh the last of the year. It is my duty to give report and account as to work accomplished, ensuing happenings pertaining to this branch unit during the year passing out.

"Abundantly rich in world-shaking incidents was the past year to the old Fatherland; but the excitement and restiveness brought upon us in this, our country, have been neither an easy burden to carry.

"The unfriendly attitude of many issues of the Anglo-American press and the open and covert attacks on the part of the Chief Executive of our Government upon the hyphen Americans, and in particular the German-Americans, being characterized as undesirable citizens and traitors, has caused the State legislative committee of Pennsylvania, in a meeting held on the 24th of March last in Altoona, to pass the resolution to invite all the presidents (respectively their representatives), of the State organizations of the National Alliance, and all of the German church congregations, furthermore all beneficial societies, to meet in May in Chicago to put forth protest against the unneutral attitude of our Government, and to select a presidential candidate who has the interest of the country and its citizens at heart and is to represent them in an honest and impartial manner.

"At this conference, however, the members did not unite on a presidential candidate, but later on it was agreed upon Charles E. Hughes, the Republican candidate, who then was recommended to the German voters as the Alliance's choice to be voted for at the national election.

"Unluckily, the same was defeated in the November election by his Democratic opponent, Wilson.

"Mr. Hughes's defeat was in one way due to his affiliations with that saber-rattling Roosevelt, and on the other hand caused by his indistinct replies given to questioning as to his policies, etc.

"So saddening the defeat of our presidential candidate is, so deplorable is the non-reelection of the two Congressmen, A. J. Barchfeld and William H. Coleman.

"Mr. Barchfeld supported fearlessly all legislative ordinances that were for the good of the country, but fought also all issues serving individual interests without regard

for the possible consequences that might have bearing upon his own personal welfare. He fell a victim of his personal convictions.

"At the election for the legislature, from the 22 recommended candidates by the Central Federation of the Alliance 20 were elected.

"The election of the Speaker in the House of Representatives will be between the Penrose and Brumbaugh factions, and will lead undoubtedly to a bitter contest. The result of the voting on this matter will in substance clearly point out the future, thus indicating to us the camp to be considered in our political dealings.

"When I, in my last year's report, spoke of the work done in the interest of suffering mankind, expressing hope for an early peace-and-victory feast, nobody thought it possible that after a year's turn we would stand exactly as distant from this desired goal as we do to-day.

"Up to the time being thousands of thousands have suffered death for the fatherland, uncounted thousands have lost their providers and protectors. Beyond expression in words are the sacrifices patiently and resignedly assumed by our kinfolks. But together with the miseries and numbers of the dependents in the old country abroad, our own land is evermore increasingly becoming needful of the sacrificing spirit of the citizens.

"Everywhere collections are made, social entertainments, rafflings, etc., for the good of the help funds [relief funds] are arranged, whereby we have during the last year realized for the noble cause $75,000 in this local branch, which amount was properly carried over into the custody of those entitled to receive those funds.

"At present the branch unit is at work to raise $12,000, an intended gift for the devastated East Prussian people.

"The Allegheny County Branch consists at present of 143 society units, with 20,500 members. [The conclusion of this report is of no further importance.]

"With German greetings.

"R. ULLRICH, *President.*"

Senator STERLING. Right there, Mr. Humes; the Alliance is perhaps stronger in the State of Pennsylvania than in any other State, is it not?

Mr. HUMES. I could not state comparatively.

Senator STERLING. Do you know about what the membership is in the State?

Mr. HUMES. No; I do not know what it is in the State at large.

Senator STERLING. You have seen no estimate of it?

Mr. HUMES. No; I have not any figures.

Here I have the minutes of January 28, 1917. From them I read the following resolution:

Resolved, That all members of this branch of the Alliance and also the entire German population shall be invited through the press, being urged to make a big turnout.

That is for German day at the Irish bazaar.

I read further:

The following resolutions are respectfully submitted to the honorable, the Members of Congress, and to the honorable, the members of the General Assembly of Pennsylvania.

The Allegheny County Branch of the German-American Alliance of Pennsylvania, consisting of loyal citizens of this country and belonging almost entirely to the laboring classes, adopted the following resolutions:

"In view of the constant increase in the cost of the most essential food products, this being caused not by a poor harvest, but simply by the tremendous export of grains and other food products to other countries; be it

"*Resolved*, That we most earnestly condemn that cause of action which brings need to the citizens of America while it favors foreign peoples, thereby bringing the principle 'America first' to naught; and be it further

"*Resolved*, That we voice an insistent and especially urgent demand to command a stop to such unheard-of conditions and to place an embargo on the export of all grains and food products; and be it further

"*Resolved*, That we demand the appointment of a commission consisting of men representative of all classes of our citizenship, which shall act against each and every unjust raising of prices for purposes of speculation where necessary food articles are concerned; and be it finally

"*Resolved*, That these resolutions be presented to the responsible parties and brought to the notice of the public through the medium of the press.

"Respectfully presented.

"———— ————, *Secretary*.

"PITTSBURGH, PA., *January 2, 1917*."

Next are the minutes of February 25, 1917:

Executive meeting, February 25, 1917. Correspondences:

A communication from the federal treasurer was read in which he again asks for contributions in behalf of the war prisoners in Siberia.

In connection with this, President R. Ullrich reported that $4,000 for the East Prussian Help Society was forwarded. Also they contributed sums for the German Siberian prisoners.

Resolved, To write to the federal treasurer inquiring of him whether the money to be sent to Germany was to be sent by way of committee to Berlin or through the Swiss Embassy.

Senator STERLING. Who is meant by the "federal treasurer"?

Mr. HUMES. That is the national treasurer. That is undoubtedly a matter of translating. The translator put it "federal treasurer" when it might have been translated "national treasurer", I am very confident.

Senator WOLCOTT. That is Mr. Tjarks?

Senator STERLING. Probably.

Mr. SCHOLTZ. Is that the contribution for the Siberian prisoners?

Mr. HUMES. Yes.

Mr. SCHOLTZ. That went through the Red Cross by way of Vladivostok?

Mr. HUMES. The question was asked here whether it was to be sent to Berlin or through the Swiss Embassy.

Senator STERLING. What is the date of that?

Mr. HUMES. February 25, 1917.

Senator STERLING. Mr. Scholtz, do you think that was sent through the American Red Cross at that time?

Mr. SCHOLTZ. There was at one time a sort of connection between the relief fund and the American Red Cross as to conveying funds to the German prisoners in Siberia.

Mr. HUMES. Yes.

Senator STERLING. Do you think as late as February 25, 1917, that would have gone through Siberia?

Mr. SCHOLTZ. Oh, no; I beg your pardon. I did not catch the date.

Mr. HUMES. No; that was after the severance of diplomatic relations.

I read further, down below:

Resolved, To stand by the protest raised by the federal committee of the Alliance against local option and that this protest was to be forwarded to Harrisburg.

Next are the minutes of the meeting of March 25, 1917, from which I read as follows:

Executive meeting, March 25, 1917. Correspondences:

(1) A communication from the chief treasurer of the relief fund, Baltimore, Md., in which he advises that all moneys to Germany may be sent by wireless, was read.

(2) A communication of the State secretary, Mr. Adolph Timm, was read, in which attention was called to the following:

(3) Protest against local option was raised and carried.

I have not a translation of the other two items because they were not anything that we were concerned with. I do not know what they were.

Next I take the minutes of the general meeting of July 29, 1917, from which I read as follows:

Committee reports:

The legislative committee presented, through George Falkenstein, chairman, its report.

The teacher-pension bill was voted on and passed with 166 votes in its favor, with very little alterations as to its original form.

Regards the city and county elections the committee could at this time make no further recommendations, owing to the then pending uncertainty as to who were to be the winners.

Subsequently it was resolved to give the legislative committee power of attorney to put up the best and most fitting candidates for approval of the next executive meeting.

* * * * * * *

The committee on the East Prussian fund reported through its chairman, John Dimling, and Secretary August Buchholtz, that all outstanding collection books should be withdrawn and recalled, for reasons obvious.

Senator WOLCOTT. What is the date of that?

Mr. HUMES. July 29, 1917. [Continuing reading:]

Following a little debate, President R. Ullrich decided that all those books be withdrawn, and furthermore that the secretary be ordered to deposit all incoming money with a bank, from which upon revision amounts be carried over into the hands of the treasurer.

One thousand postcards were distributed in behalf of the organization, to ask the Congress to reopen mail connection with Germany and vice versa under censorship.

Senator STERLING. That is July 29, 1917?

Mr. HUMES. Yes. [Continuing reading:]

Carl Erdlen reported that from now on a collection-depository for the Swiss Red Cross was opened by the "Volksblatt and Freiheitsfreund." The members resolved to give $50 to this fund.

Senator WOLCOTT. To the Swiss Red Cross?

Mr. HUMES. To the Swiss Red Cross. I read further:

C. F. Ludwig calls attention to a church paper, "Current Events," in which in the most indecent and unfair manner everything German and of German descent is branded. It was resolved to protest against such discrimination, and the officers were ordered to take the proper recourse in the matter.

Senator STERLING. Is there any further reference, anywhere, to the Swiss Red Cross and to what might ultimately become of the moneys contributed to the Swiss Red Cross?

Mr. HUMES. I understand that was subsequently abandoned, but I am not sure whether I have that knowledge from these minutes or from other sources. There was money raised; but they were not successful, and they raised only a small amount and then abandoned the undertaking. I think I have that information from other sources, though, than these minutes.

Next are the minutes of September 9, 1917. I read as follows:

EXECUTIVE MEETING.

CARRICK, *September 9, 1917.*

The meeting was called to order at 9.15 by President Reinhard Ullrich.

The meeting was announced to be a secret one, and those only who gave their word of honor not to divulge a word of the business enacted should be permitted to be present.

The minutes were read and accepted.

A communication from John Luckhardt, treasurer of the second Red Cross bazaar, was read, in which he acknowledges the receipt of the money voted in last meeting of delegates.

Mr. George Falkenstein, chairman of the legislative committee, reported that his committee had agreed upon the following candidates:

For mayor: E. V. Babcock.

For judges: John D. Schaefer, Josiah Cohen, Thomas Ford, Charles Kline.

For coroner: S. C. Jamison.

For council: Enoch Rauh, W. J. Brennan, Clifford B. Connelly, John W. Slayton.

In a lengthy address Falkenstein spoke of the particular importance of this year's election. Other speakers followed him, among them Gustave Wickmann, Ch. Saam, Louis Volz, Dr. Schlar [?]. It was finally resolved to receive the report on candidates favorably and recommend them to German organizations for election.

The members of the legislative committee together with the officials were authorized to make nominations for district attorney and sheriff.

They are not included in the list. [Continuing reading:]

In a lengthy speech Dr. Schl[?] pictured the situation in the West, and particularly in Chicago.

George Seibel, chairman of the workingmen employment bureau, reported progress, and that the bureau has had but few applicants, owing to the fact that everyone who wishes to work need not be idle.

Senator WOLCOTT. That minute shows the indorsement of somebody for mayor—Babcock?

Mr. HUMES. Yes; E. V. Babcock.

Senator WOLCOTT. Mayor of Pittsburgh?

Mr. HUMES. Yes; Pittsburgh.

Senator WOLCOTT. I think I have seen a political circular gotten out——

Mr. HUMES. Yes; I have this same thing with the legislative ticket that they sent to all their branches.

Next I have the minutes of September 30, 1917, in which among other things there was a letter from the State secretary, Mr. Adolph Timm. I read as follows:

A letter of the State secretary, Mr. Adolph Timm, was read, in which he asks the branch for financial support in the defense of the arrested officials of the Philadelphia Tageblattes [Philadelphia Daily Ledger or Gazette].

After a two hours' debate following this request, the assemblage resolved to omit action and thus notify the Philadelphia branch to that end.

George Falkenstein, chairman of the legislative committee, reported on primary election matters, stating that all candidates nominated by the branch here had received a majority of votes cast, except two of them.

As to the election in November, Mr. Falkenstein was presently unable to offer advices, as the exact results of the primaries were still then in doubt. It was resolved and carried to give the legislative committee power of attorney to select suitable candidates to be supported in the November election, and submit the list to the next executive meeting, in which then, if passed upon, these selected candidates should be recommended for election and their names published in the German newspapers.

On October 21, 1917, almost all of the minutes are pertinent to this investigation. I read as follows:

EXECUTIVE MEETING.

OCTOBER 21, 1917.

The meeting opened at 2.45 p. m. The president, Rinehard Ullrich, opened the same. The minutes of the last executive meeting were read and accepted.

Correspondences:

(1) A communication of the American Red Cross was read in which it was pointed out that under present conditions mail connection with Germany is a matter of impossibility.

(2) A communication from McAdoo, Treasurer of the Government, was read, in which this branch and all the branches and the members thereof, were called upon to subscribe liberally to the Liberty Loan. As to this communication it was resolved that as an act of necessity $1,000 were to be taken out of the memorial fund and this amount to be set aside for the purchase of Liberty Bonds (second issue, 4 per cent). The treasurer, Th. L——, was ordered to draw the sum of $1,000 and invest in the purchasing of those bonds.

It was further resolved to have the communication of the Treasurer of the Government printed, same to be sent to all branches of the society with the request that they all should do their best to fulfill the desire of the administration to help the good cause along.

Further resolved, that the secretary was to communicate the above resolutions to Washington.

George Falkenstein, chairman of the legislative committee, made, in the name of this committee, recommendations for the next election, taking place November 6, 1917:

For mayor: E. V. Babcock.

For council: Charles Anderson, M. T. Brennan, Clifford B. Connelly, John H. Daily, Enoch Rauh.

For coroner: Samuel C. Jamison.

For district attorney: Harry H. Rowand.

For sheriff: W. S. Haddock.

For judges: Josiah Cohen, James P. Drew, Thomas J. Ford, Charles H. Kline, John D. Schaefer.

For jury commissioner: W. T. Wright.

After a lengthy debate it was resolved to have the members requested to vote for all those candidates.

Resolved, to leave the legislative committee free hand as to the means and ways they might see fit to announce this recommendation to the members of the society.

Senator WOLCOTT. Do you know how they did announce it?

Mr. HUMES. Yes; I have it right here. This is one of the cards [indicating]. This is the election card that was sent to all the societies. I did have a complete translation, but I have here only a printed translation that I borrowed. I have lost my original translation. However, I think this is correct. The translation of the back of that card is as follows:

In the September primaries the German element stood firm and true behind its candidates. If we do the same in the election on November 6, we will win a great victory and the muckers and German haters will encounter an overthrow. Now as never before must we stand together.

The legislative committee has given the selected candidates a fundamental tryout. It has considered all aspects and now recommends these candidates with the most earnest assurances that no one will regret having voted for them.

We will not waste many words. It is a time of great significance. Be as one and victory is ours.

On the reverse side is the slate of candidates.

Senator WOLCOTT. That is not a complete translation of what is on the card?

Mr. HUMES. No, sir; that is only a translation of a part of it. This is only a circular that was gotten up. My original translation has been misplaced in some way.

From the minutes of November 26, 1917, I read as follows:

Since the days of the foundation of the organization, for the first time the reading of the minutes on previous business had to be postponed, owing to the action of United States Attorney Humes, who had ordered the books being turned over to him for inspection.

After some routine business of lesser importance, George F. Falkenstein, chairman of the legislative committee, reported at length of the recent elections, the outcome of which he considered quite satisfactory. He pointed out the exerted influence used by the branch and complimented the committee as to the results and the solid unity shown at that election.

IMPORTANT SESSION IN CHICAGO.

President Rinehard Ullrich informed the members as to the next congress of presidents of all the State organizations to take place at Chicago on the 28th of November, during which session, among other important business, a new president of the federation was to be elected. Louis Volz, vice president of the Allegheny County Branch, was delegated to that congress.

To be incorporated into the local history of the Alliance:

Election papers were to be forwarded next week to all branch organizations, and at the same time request be made to all of them to furnish Secretary August Buchholtz with the names, respectively, age, and addresses of all members and their sons who volunteer in the National Army or were drafted.

"Halt's Maul" (Keep your mouth shut) remains the parole in the gathering places and homes of German societies. (Thus members were cautioned.)

The minutes of December 31, 1917, are taken from a German newspaper of which Mr. Seibel, who has been referred to as the editor of the Bulletin, was editor, and it contains only a speech, a large part of which is a message of the president of the local branch. There is one paragraph of it that might be pertinent. I read that as follows:

At the November elections of city and county officials the alliance branch has asserted itself to such an extent and with such success that even its opponents had to acknowledge that the results of the election were largely due to the efforts of the alliance.

The retirement of our former federation president, Dr. C. J. Hexamer, has brought upon us an irrecoverable loss. Mr. Hexamer was at the helm of the Alliance since its very beginning and has served the organization in the most unselfish spirit, having given the work his best years. It is due to us to vote the retiring president, Dr. Hexamer, our hearty thanks for the caretaking of the Alliance interests and the spreading of its noble principles.

I think that covers all the important parts of those minutes.

Senator WOLCOTT. I gathered from the proceedings at one of our meetings that you got hold of these minutes not through any grand-jury proceedings but you just called for them.

Mr. HUMES. Yes; I just called for them and they voluntarily surrendered them.

Senator WOLCOTT. Are you aware of any political activities of the German-American Alliance in the State of Pennsylvania other than is disclosed by these minutes and other than you have indicated in your testimony?

Mr. HUMES. I have a good deal of knowledge of their activities, but it is not the kind of knowledge that one could testify to. I know of their activities for years, but——

Senator WOLCOTT. Of course the minutes themselves disclose very conclusively that they were an organization up there, at least the Allegheny County Branch, steeped in politics.

Mr. HUMES. Yes.

Senator WOLCOTT. Did they hold themselves out as a political club?

Mr. HUMES. No; they do not do that. These 143 organizations that composed this alliance are singing societies, social clubs, gymnastic clubs, and organizations of that kind; anything that has to do with the so-called German kultur applies only to those local organizations. They have their singing and they have their gymnastics and all that sort of thing. But the German-American Alliance, the Allegheny County Branch and the Alliance proper, is simply an organization to draw all of those German societies together into a

solid bloc to use them for their own purposes, whether the purpose is political or otherwise; and it happens in Pennsylvania to be political.

Senator STERLING. The organization the minutes of which you have been reading, Mr. Humes, is made up, is it, from members of these other local societies?

Mr. HUMES. Yes; they are the members of this organization; and the alliance is really run by an executive committee that is composed of a limited number of men.

Senator STERLING. You spoke about the contributions made at different times to the German and Austrian relief funds, and, if I remember correctly, it includes the Bulgarian fund also. Do you remember the total of those contributions?

Mr. HUMES. The minutes show that they collected over $115,000 for that purpose.

If I may be just pardoned for digressing a moment: Because of this political activity, the activity of this organization shows clearly that the source of political corruption in this country to-day is in volunteer organizations of this kind, because there is absolutely no legal check upon their political activities, and whether they have a charter or whether they have not a charter is not going to assist in clearing the political situation at all; and the testimony that you gentlemen are taking ought to point out to you the importance of some corrupt-practices legislation that will put under the control of the law all political expenditures, whether they are made by political parties or made by organizations of this kind; and the question of whether they have a national charter or a State charter is a matter of absolutely no consequence under the existing state of the law, except in so far as it is a badge of approval.

Senator WOLCOTT. Of course such organizations can operate, whether incorporated or unincorporated?

Mr. HUMES. Yes.

Senator WOLCOTT. It might, however, be a very pertinent inquiry to make, Should the Federal Congress give a charter to an organization that encourages that sort of conduct?

Mr. HUMES. Yes.

Senator WOLCOTT. Not because if it was taken away it would stop; but as a matter of propriety ought Congress to grant such a charter?

Mr. HUMES. Yes; but the suggestion I am making is this: The bill under consideration proposes to accomplish a certain thing. The passage of this bill alone, repealing the charter, is not going to prevent the activities that are reprehensible on the part of this organization and possibly other organizations.

Senator WOLCOTT. There is no question about that.

Mr. HUMES. It has got to be supplemented by some kind of a corrupt-practices act that will prohibit organizations of this kind from participating in politics except under legal supervision and with control over their expenditures.

Senator STERLING. Well, there is this to be said; in the event of the cancellation of this charter they would no longer be acting under color of the charter, of an act of Congress.

Mr. HUMES. One of the reasons for the existence of the German-American Alliance has been the corrupt-practices acts that have been passed by the Federal Government and the governments of the

States. Prior to these corrupt-practices acts money in politics was used by political candidates. The law assumed control over the expenditures of candidates and political committees and it gave publicity to their expenditures. Therefore it became necessary to devise some way by which political expenditures could be concealed from the public view, and, being beyond the purview of the law, therefore, all these organizations have sprung up and are now used for political purposes because they are not supervised in any way by the law. They do not have to give publicity to their accounts. They can expend any amount they want to, so far as the corrupt-practices acts are concerned; and it makes it possible for candidates and the friends of candidates and political committees to carry on their corruption or their propaganda without having any supervision, by any official, of their expenditures; and that is the reason for the existence of just such organizations as this.

Mr. SCHOLTZ. With the permission of the committee, may I say, Would not that apply equally well to the Anti-Saloon League?

Mr. HUMES. Absolutely, to every organization.

Mr. SCHOLTZ. I agree with you that it ought to be prevented.

Mr. HUMES. No man ought to have a right to spend money in politics unless he is willing to submit himself to the limitations that the law puts upon a candidate or a political committee.

Senator WOLCOTT. You, of course, are a lawyer and are well posted on the relevancy of evidence. We are not going to undertake to ask you detailed questions, fishing for something. You know whether you have any information that is at all pertinent to our inquiry in addition to what you have given. Have you any such?

Mr. HUMES. Nothing except hearsay; nothing that would be competent evidence. If I should start off with hearsay it would take me a week.

Senator WOLCOTT. We would not want that.

Senator STERLING. As a member of the committee I want to express my appreciation of Mr. Humes's care and patience in the submission of this evidence and his assistance to the committee.

Senator WOLCOTT. I quite join you in that. Mr. Humes has been of great assistance to us.

(After informal discussion, the subcommittee, at 6.40 o'clock p. m., adjourned, subject to the call of the chairman.)

NATIONAL GERMAN-AMERICAN ALLIANCE.

TUESDAY, MARCH 19, 1918.

UNITED STATES SENATE,
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY,
Washington, D. C.

The subcommittee met at 2 o'clock p. m. in the room of the Committee on the Judiciary in the Capitol.

Present: Senators King (chairman), Wolcott, and Sterling.

Senator KING. The subcommittee will be in order.

Mr. von Bosse, you were sworn when you were here before, were you not?

Mr. VON BOSSE. Yes; I was sworn when I was here last time.

TESTIMONY OF THE REV. MR. S. G. VON BOSSE, PRESIDENT OF THE NATIONAL GERMAN-AMERICAN ALLIANCE.

Senator KING. You may proceed. Have you a statement you wish to offer?

Mr. VON BOSSE. Yes; I have prepared a statement, and if I may I will read it.

Senator KING. Proceed.

Mr. VON BOSSE (reading from prepared statement). "Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, when this bill, which has for its object the annulment of our charter was first presented to the august Senate by Senator King of Utah for consideration we wondered what reasons he might have had for demanding the passage of said bill. Since that time a series of charges has been heard here from men, who seemingly were qualified to speak on the activities of the Alliance. They produced material from the official bulletin, which surely did *sound* incriminating to a most alarming degree. I am only surprised that a witness like Mr. Ohlinger, who is so fluent in translating German into English 'as he goes along' should have failed so miserably in also giving the true meaning of the numerous expressions and phrases, which he cited in support of his contention, that the Alliance has been disloyal and which I shall take occasion to explain later on in our defense.

"In this country a man is innocent until he is adjudged guilty. No man is condemned until he has been granted a fair trial and investigation. We have been charged in a general way with being a 'menace to this country', with 'having supported disloyal aims and persons' and 'with having received moneys from un-patriotic and disloyal sources.' Besides this there are a number of specific charges, which I shall answer in their turn. At present there is one chief aim before me, and that is to emphatically refute the charge of dis-

loyalty, which has been lodged against the organization, of which I happen to be the president. Mr. Ohlinger's assertions notwithstanding, that the millions of German Americans are loyal, the attack upon the Alliance charter with its attending charges is an attack upon every member of the Alliance, whether there be thousands or millions of these in our country.

"Anticipating just such an action, as has come to pass here I wrote an article last December for a New York magazine, 'The New Republic.' It was rejected, as were all of the articles we prepared for our defense. Forthwith I offered it to the 'Issues and Events' for publication. It contains part of my defense of the Alliance and its members."

Now, if you wish, I will present this for the record, or read it.

Senator KING. You say they declined to publish it?

Mr. VON BOSSE. "The New Republic" declined to public it; yes, sir.

Senator WOLCOTT. It got publication?

Mr. VON BOSE. It got publication in "Issues and Events" [Volume VII, Nos. 7 and 8].

Senator WOLCOTT. In Issues and Events?

Mr. VON BOSSE. In Issues and Events, in New York.

Senator WOLCOTT. That is a monthly publication or weekly?

Mr. VON BOSSE. Weekly.

Senator KING. You may do just as you please, read it or not. We will, of course, read the record.

Mr. VON BOSSE. You will read the record?

Senator KING. Oh, yes; so that if you want to pretermit the reading——

Mr. VON BOSSE. I will read that part of it which deals with the Alliance directly and present the rest of it for printing in the record.

Senator KING. It will be printed in the record, and, of course, the committee will examine very carefully whatever is printed.

Mr. VON BOSSE. Very well.

(The portions of the article not read into the record by Mr. von Bosse are as follows:)

"A nation divided against itself will fail."

How certainly the Christ divined the rock-bottom truth concerning nations in this, His terse comment of nineteen hundred years ago. Solidarity, support of the government, undivided allegiance are no longer catch phrases, with which to beguile the public, but ironclad axioms of necessity in every nation to-day.

President Wilson has spoken of the "enemies within," and care has been taken to guard possessions, materials, strategic points, and, above all, the public, against those who out of a sense of malice or fanaticism might commit overt acts and outrages. We have made our harbors, our munition plants, our depots and every spot of war activity safe from the "enemy within." We have demanded a full pledge of loyalty on the part of Americans, and have devised a system of supervision for non-Americans. By the advantageous employment of the press, of loan and subscription campaigns, we have tested the support offered the Government by our people, and we have not been disappointed.

One "enemy within" remains, however, apparently undisturbed in his activities, enjoying the full use of that liberty which has been denied men and women of harmless tendencies. Those who, by accident of birth, are numbered among the "alien enemy" are far more innocent and less to be feared than the "enemy within" who is left to his course of depravity.

Deluded by a fancy that he will gain fame and position, this "enemy within" is doing more to undermine our needed unity than all the troops of the Kaiser could ever accomplish. In common jargon he would be termed a scandal monger.

In making my plea for real unity, I am also making a defense of that part of our nation which is at the present time enduring a Gethsemane of suffering with admirable loyalty and endurance for the right. A plea of this kind is needed, in spite of the assurances which editorial writers in the New York Times et alia have thrown to these people as a crumb of consolation.

HYMNS OF HATE.

A veritable Hymn of Hate against everything and everybody that smacks of Teutonic origin or foreign tincture, not English or French, is sweeping over our fair land from one end to the other. The label "Made in Germany" has long since become a symbol of all that belongs to brutalized and inhuman terrorism.

If I understand this war and participation in it correctly, however, the "made in Germany" is supposed to refer only to the militarism and autocracy which we have been called upon to fight. Is it possible that a deliberate and insistent propaganda is officially permitted to undermine our efforts at unity by making an application of an odious term with regard to one single phase to everything that might bear that description? The protest against the use of innocent German-made scissors by our soldiers is but one of the least evidences of this deplorable development. The latter has spread in the minds of well-meaning, but deluded, fanatics with a sordid and tortuous path from material to things mental and spiritual, and things not correlated but descended. The schools are paging through their German textbooks to discover and eradicate hidden bits of German propaganda. The golden voices of leading operatic stars in German notes are silenced. Concerts with music by German composers of a past era are viewed with alarm as precious bits of German perfidy. And day by day veritable battles are fought to a successful conclusion with catastrophal effects for the German army as evidence of the prowess of Roosevelt and his supporters.

When Lissauer's notorious bit of verse first gained publicity in this country we were horrified over such sentiments. Americans who heard the verses recited at public gatherings in Germany declare that a tremor of misgiving clutched the spines of the hearers as in a vise. Our antipathy to such things is natural and honest, and the American, above all others, is capable of loathing a "thing" without detesting the person himself. We are at heart an upright, fair and godly people. But we are also an easily inflamed people. Ours is the experience of every republic since the establishment of the first Roman rule by the people. Excessively patient in some things, we are excessively impatient in others. Every national and municipal election bears this out.

To me this characteristic of our nation seems to offer the only key to the manifestations of the hour to shun everything that may have had any connection with Teutonism, in spite of the fact that the one man who seems to know his people as well as, or better than, the best informed of his contemporaries, proclaimed an unbiased treatment of and a friendly attitude to all of those who are burdened with the heavy cross of racial prejudice.

True, there have been no riots or wholesale attacks upon German stores or newspapers in this country, as in Brazil and England. The "mob spirit" against which the President warned at Buffalo has nowhere been in evidence. But the campaign of malicious "haters" is conducted in a more detrimental fashion, much as the workings of a slowly killing poison, and it is only a question of time when such affairs as we dread may take place, exchanging hatred of heart for violence of hand.

When the sum total of the effect is measured which comes from the causal channels of inflammatory denunciation by men held in high regard in their communities it offers food for fearsome speculations. What is true of the German people, namely, that they are not responsible for the acts of their superiors, is doubly true of their relatives in this country and of the works and accomplishments of Teutonic origin.

PROVOCATIONS.

Attacks on German Americans in general and their organizations in particular have afforded the most enjoyable pastime to those who have attained their purpose in stopping what they considered dangerous in German music, art and literature. Belgian atrocities, etc., have not had the effect in unifying our nation that these slurs have in disunifying our nation.

This system of warfare, which fights Germany here rather than abroad, and wastes a vast amount of good energy, has enlisted not only the press, but also the pulpit and forum to a most alarming degree. A motion-picture play carried the message: "Look at your neighbor carefully, he may be one of those described in the picture," meaning by that a despicable spy. Everyone who was known to have favored Germany before February [1917,] as against her enemies of that day, is looked upon as a potential spy. [I understand that.] In New York, a newspaper editor was asked to resign from the Home Defense Committee because he was engaged in publishing an American newspaper in the German tongue. In many communities citizens have been aroused to such an extent that they distrust friends and shun associates whom they have known and loved for years. Special care has been taken to direct the gaze of communities to societies, churches and gatherings where American citizens of German descent congregate.

The term "German American" is a misnomer. It were better had it never been coined. But as it goes with many other figures of speech, these hyphenate expressions (Franco-American soups; Irish-American A. A., etc.) are here, and must be treated as accepted facts. If the need of a careful watch of the so-called German Americans were imperative, it could not have been more successfully consummated than by the methods employed to date. But why go further? Why inflame the citizens of other nationalities against those who form an integral part with them of the melting pot, who are here to stay, and whose children will be among the leaders of to-morrow? Why preach the gospel of hate against them when we thereby are disrupting a unity which is the most vital need of the hour?

If a history of the propaganda thus being conducted against American citizens should ever be published, it could not be read without a blush of shame: Every descendant of Germans is classed with pacifists, traitors and spies, despite the fact that these people are subject to draft rules and are contributing to every war campaign with the others.

PART OF GERMAN AMERICANS IN WAR.

If it be true that one-fourth of the nation has German blood in its system, then it also stands to reason that one-fourth of the fighters and contributors are of German blood! And, lest we forget: Where are the slackers with German names? It jars on the feelings of men and women whose sons and brothers and relatives are in camp to hear themselves denounced as traitors!

Fame is a busy old lady. She tells of Red Cross supplies poisoned by German American women; she announces that a vote for a certain man is a vote for the Kaiser; she declares that a vote for the brewer is a vote for Hohenzollern; she carries the epithet "Huns" and "barbarians" on to those of German descent; she depicts the German American in cartoons as an imbecile; she accuses him of starting rumors of sunken transports, of shortage in salt, of graft and the like. But Fame has not yet apprehended a single German American engaged in such disastrous propaganda. And what is more, she never will.

Is it necessary to state the position of these despised German Americans, these people who share the rule of the country with equal rights and privileges and duties? If ever a statement regarding these people was deserved and correct as a prophecy, it was that of Henry Eastabrook, Esq., before the Associated Advertising Clubs of the World in Chicago on June 21, 1915, when he said:

"Strange," says Shakespeare—

> Strange is it that our blood
> Of color, might and heat, poured all together,
> Would quite confound distinction, yet stand off
> In differences so mighty.

"That statement is as true to-day as when Shakespeare wrote it, save only in our own big, tolerant, humane and hospitable country, where the bloods of all nationalities are poured together without distinction to the making of that ultimate being—greater, freer, nobler than any king on earth—an American, on whose shoulder a sovereign people hath laid the accolade of man.

"But while I condemn Imperial Germany for the beginning and conduct of this war, I have only the most hearty sympathy and brotherly affection for our fellow-citizens of German extraction, whose position no act of theirs has

ever made equivocal, however much others have tried to make it so. It is my candid opinion that there is no healthier or more loyal blood in human arteries or that infiltrates our American life than the blood pulsing in the hearts of those who either acknowledged Germany as their fatherland or the German people as their progenitors.

"These citizens of ours, for the most part, have frankly favored Germany against her enemies in the field. Would any of you have done otherwise if standing in their shoes? It was an American who pledged himself to his country, right or wrong, and we have often applauded his creed as voicing our very own. A man may throw off his allegiance to a government, but he cannot throw off his consanguinity to a country or its people. Personally, I appreciate the sentiment that would link to the home of one's children the home of one's childhood, if only by a hyphen—what is it but the umbilical connection with mother earth? And we do know that there come events and crises in events when every hyphen, copula, vinculum and all the Greek and Latin stuffing of our language is knocked out of it, and there stands forth the solid concrete fact of citizenship! Think of that heroic deed in Santiago harbor. Who were the brave fellows who floated into that maelstrom of shot and shell just to put a cork in a bottle? An Irishman or two, a German or two, a Frenchman or two, and Clausen, the stowaway—Clausen, a Swede, if there ever was a Swede—Clausen, for whom neither Spanish guns nor American yardarms had terrors to keep him out of the melee. Save Hobson himself, these men were foreigners, perhaps, but no greater Americanism has any man than this, that he is willing to lay down his life for the American republic.

"God forbid that it should ever be the tragic fate of German Americans to fight Germany in defense of their adopted country. But if that time should come—look to your own fealty; don't worry about theirs!"

Yes, this time has come, and while the boys with German names are fighting against their own kin at Cambrai and other points in France, insidious mischief-makers are making the lot of their parents at home a hard one to bear.

THE GERMAN PRESS.

An attack upon the American Press in German tongue has been one of the wedges in this campaign. But what do we see? A Long Island paper describes the aim of the Foreign Language Newspapers of America in the following words:

"'To help preserve the ideals and sacred traditions of this, our adopted country, the United States of America. To revere its laws and inspire others to respect and obey them. To strive unceasingly to quicken the public's sense of civic duty. In all ways to aid in making this country greater and better than we found it.'

"The Long Island Beobachter and Freie Presse stands steadfastly and firmly for America; as every foreign language newspaper in this country is an American newspaper, it must stand for this country.

"It is first and last and all the time an American newspaper, published in the German and English languages. It stands for America, for American rights, for the honor of the American flag.

"We disseminate the news and express editorially American opinions, views and ideals in the language medium which alone is understood by our readers. Were they to be suppressed, whoever depends upon them now to keep in touch with the events of the world would have the choice of remaining in the dark or depending upon imported journals, whose views are not always those most helpful to this country."

The press report of the German Catholic Central Verein, which covers whole America, [and with which the Alliance is friendly,] states:

"The present crisis demands of us extraordinary efforts. Times of war test not only the physical but still more the moral fiber of a nation. They test the people's sense of social duty and its faculty for organized effort. It becomes, therefore, our duty to increase and intensify all of those activities heretofore carried on which may tend to assist and strengthen the moral, physical and material preparedness of our country; to initiate such new endeavors as may seem necessary. We must not remain indifferent or inactive; we must demonstrate to our people how to meet the difficulties arising from the war. Instruction and organization, ever the watchword of the Central Verein, must be insisted upon even more than formerly."

A PROUD HERITAGE.

These are but a few of the proofs of German American loyalty. They should suffice, for they show that the German American is bent upon preserving his heritage untarnished for the future generations.

May 20, 1775, twenty-seven German Americans of Mecklenburg County, South Carolina, promulgated the first Declaration of Independence. June 19, 1776, marked the decisive vote on the national declaration with the victorious vote coming from the German Pennsylvania delegation. The names of Nikolaus Herckheimer, Dekalb, Steuben and Muehlenberg are enshrined in our nation's annals, never to be forgotten. Daniel Pastorious first protested against slavery. Francis Lieber and Karl Follen and Carl Schurz succeeded him, and Engelmann, Willich, Blenker, Hecker, Salomo, Schimmelpfennig, Weber, Baillier, Bohlen, Moor, Wangelin, von Steinweber, Sigel, Stahel, Osterhaus, Kautz, Ammen and Weitzel served as generals in the cause they espoused to save the Union.

The German American is proud of these, and he is also proud of every one that comes from his circle who wears the uniform. To my mind, it is a most dangerous proceeding on the part of many of my fellow citizens to persist in their calumnious attacks upon these people.

Mr. VON BOSSE. I will read this part of it [reading]:

If an organized effort can be denoted in this widespread fan it is that which has been directed chiefly against the National German American Alliance. All the disfavor and displeasure which has been entertained for anything German has been concentrated in the reports on the Alliance and its activities. Its officers have been hounded, its papers investigated, and its members watched like a band of criminals.

Senator WOLCOTT. Just a moment. Without duplicating it in the record, will you read just that last sentence again?

(The witness repeated the last sentence read by him.)

Senator WOLCOTT. By "its papers" you mean its private papers, I suppose?

Mr. VON BOSSE. Private letters; yes. [Continuing reading from article:]

The reason for this is the prominence of the body, for in its societies, churches and other organizations of every description are represented to the grand total of about 2,500,000 members. In all affairs of Germanic taste during the past seventeen years, congressional and local, the Alliance has been considered the chief representative of the German element. I have yet to see an authoritative and illuminating article in a leading journal on the Alliance in retort to the maze of attacks which were leveled against it.

In its preamble to the constitution, the Alliance makes plain its purposes without equivocation. Here it declares:

"The National German American Alliance aims to awaken and strengthen the sense of unity among the people of German origin in America, with a view to promote the useful and healthy development of the power inherent in them as a united body for the mutual energetic protection of such legitimate desires and interests not inconsistent with the common good of the country, and the rights and duties of good citizens; to check nativistic encroachments; to maintain and safeguard the good friendly relations existing between America and the old German fatherland. To read the history of German immigration is to be convinced how much it has contributed to the advancement of the spiritual and economic development of this country, and to realize what it is still destined to contribute, and how the German immigrant has at all times stood by his adopted country in weal and woe. The Alliance demands, therefore, the full honest recognition of these merits and opposes any attempt to belittle them. Always true to the adopted country, ever ready to risk all its welfare, sincere and unselfish in the exercise of the duties of citizenship, respecting the law still remains the watchword! It has no exclusive interest in view, nor the founding of a state within a state, but sees in the centralization of the inhabitants of German origin the shortest road and the surest guarantee for the attainment of the aims set forth in this constitution."

Senator WOLCOTT. That is all from the constitution of the Alliance?

Mr. VON BOSSE. That is from the preamble to the constitution.

Senator WOLCOTT. What does it mean by the words "to check nativistic encroachments"?

Mr. VON BOSSE. I suppose that means the attempt in some quarters to, by some means, stop the exercise of customs that the German-American people want to practice.

Senator WOLCOTT. For instance?

Mr. VON BOSSE. Such as the study of German, their congregating together in their own circles and societies.

Senator WOLCOTT. Are you aware of any attempt ever having been made to prevent the people of German extraction in this country from meeting together in societies and clubs?

Mr. VON BOSSE. Not directly, possibly, but indirectly, through the so-called puritan attempts and prohibition attempts, which were considered nativistic encroachments by the men of that day.

Senator WOLCOTT. The "nativistic encroachments" that are sought to be——

Senator KING. Combated?

Senator WOLCOTT. Yes; combated—are the so-called puritanical notions of conduct, are they?

Mr. VON BOSSE. Partly.

Senator WOLCOTT. What else? Have those puritanical notions and conduct to do with prohibition?

Mr. VON BOSSE. Partly.

Senator WOLCOTT. What else?

Mr. VON BOSSE. Possibly chiefly. Another point that is considered nativistic encroachment is the suppression or the impossibility at times of having German taught in the public schools for children of German parents. I shall come to that later.

Senator WOLCOTT. Have you anything else that you would include under that descriptive phrase "nativistic encroachments"?

Mr. VON BOSSE. Another point that was up at one time was the immigration question, of the literacy test, whereby many thousands of Germans who came to this country would have been excluded, although they were ablebodied.

Senator WOLCOTT. Do you call that a nativistic encroachment? Would you think that would be embraced in the phrase "nativistic encroachments"?

Mr. VON BOSSE. I am not answering for myself. I suppose that was one of the reasons. I am almost certain that it was. I do not know if I would call it that, but I understand that has always been looked upon in German-American circles as such.

Senator WOLCOTT. Have you any other thing that occurs to you as coming under that heading?

Mr. VON BOSSE. Not under a general heading, at present.

Senator WOLCOTT. Very well.

Senator STERLING. Will you read the last sentence or two of the paragraph you have just read—that you were just reading?

Mr. VON BOSSE (reading):

"Always true to the adopted country, ever ready to risk all for its welfare, sincere and unselfish in the exercise of the duties of citizenship, respecting the law still remains the watchword! It has no exclusive interest in view, nor the

founding of a state within a state, but sees in the centralization of the inhabitants of German origin the shortest road and the surest guarantee for the attainment of the aims set forth in this constitution."

Senator STERLING. You have used the word "centralization". Just what is meant there, as you understand it, by "the centralization of the inhabitants of German origin"?

Mr. VON BOSSE. As I understand it, centralization, the use of which is much older than by membership in the Alliance, means, probably, the gathering together of the German-Americans in societies, and so forth; but more specifically it means the ideas of German-Americans in the line of social customs and so forth in the American fabric.

Senator STERLING. The words would almost seem to import, would they not, a Germany in America—"the centralization of the inhabitants of German origin"?

Mr. VON BOSSE. They might to you; they do not to me, Senator.

Senator STERLING. They do not?

Mr. VON BOSSE. No, sir.

Senator WOLCOTT. Has it not been your idea all the time that perhaps the German-American Alliance was, as a matter of fact, a centralization in one cohesive, strong organization of the German-American citizens so that they might stand together in the interests of German-Americans?

Mr. VON BOSSE. Not so much in the interest of German-Americans, Senator, as in the interest of the United States, for which we wish to preserve the best that our fathers brought to this country.

Senator WOLCOTT. And that, according to your conception, is the best colored with German-Americanism, is it not? Is it your belief, as expressed by you in the public press from time to time, that the best thing for this country—I should say that the best service that the German-American people of this country can render to this country—is to instill into its body politic German-American ideals?

Mr. VON BOSSE. German-American ideals as we see them; yes.

Senator WOLCOTT. And they are ideas that come, in the main, from the fatherland?

Mr. VON BOSSE. Naturally.

Senator WOLCOTT. I know you have been quite an active propagandist in that behalf in the Wilmington newspapers, and, if I recall correctly, you did on one occasion refer to the activity of the German-American Alliance in welding together that great portion of our population of German extraction. That is true, is it not?

Mr. VON BOSSE. I do not remember upon what occasion you mean or in what connection.

Senator WOLCOTT. Perhaps I can find it in my files here.

Mr. VON BOSSE. I may have said that, certainly, but I would not make an unqualified admission, because I would like to know in what connection I said it.

Senator WOLCOTT. I think you said it in connection with the election of 1916.

Mr. VON BOSSE. And what was the statement?

Senator WOLCOTT. You go ahead now with your statement, and if I find it later on we will come back to it.

Mr. VON BOSSE (continuing reading from article):

Among the detailed professions of its aims the following briefly states a certain and uncompromising attitude:

"The Alliance, as such, refrains from all interference in party politics, reserving, however, the right and duty to defend its principles, also in the political field, in case they should be attacked or endangered by political measures. Questions and matters of religion are strictly excluded. The Alliance will labor for the introduction of systematic and practical gymnastic (physical culture) instruction in the public schools. It further declares in favor of taking the school out of politics. It calls on all Germans to acquire the right of citizenship as soon as they are legally entitled to it, to take an active part in public life, and to exercise their rights at the polls fearlessly and according to their own judgment. The Alliance advocates all legal and economically correct measures for the protection of the forests of the United States."

That the Congress of the United States, after a deliberate investigation of all the aims of this body, should have been willing to grant a charter to it, as was done on February 25, 1907, is the best evidence of the loyalty and patriotic position of the organization. The Alliance in the seventeen years of its existence has formed a great central clearing house for all matters which concern Americans of German birth or blood. As a corporation to which was granted the right in perpetuity, it has undertaken the placing of monuments, the awarding of medals, the promulgation of legal measures, the founding of citizenship, schools, etc. Briefly, then, the question, "What is the Alliance?" can best be answered in the terms, "A patriotic and educational organization." That thousands of naturalized citizens are affiliated with it is no detriment, but rather a good sign of its success and integrity.

"In further explanation let me state how the Alliance is constituted:

ITS MAKE-UP.

"The National German American Alliance consists of a president, eight vice-presidents, a secretary, a treasurer, a financial secretary, a finance committee of five, and a member from every State organization, these constitute the Board or Executive Committee.

"A bi-ennial convention is held, at which the officers are elected and all business transacted which shall be binding upon the membership of the Alliance.

"Any constituent association may suggest legislation and ask that it be acted upon by the Executive Committee. To get the opinion of the members of the Executive Committee a mail vote is taken. If in the affirmative the proposition has the force of law, but if any constituent member declines to carry out or accept it there is no means in the Alliance for enforcing its laws or actions. Nor is this desired as every organization is an independent unit and free to go its own way.

"The Official Bulletin (Mitteilungen) in addition to the official announcements of the National Alliance contain news of the work of the constituent bodies either sent in by the secretaries or clipped from the Newspapers. Also any announcement a local body may desire to make is given publicity without thereby receiving the indorsement of the National body. Other news items deemed of interest are given publicity. The editor is solely responsible for any writings he may publish and his actions in no wise bind the Alliance.

STATE ORGANIZATIONS.

"Some are incorporated and others unincorporated. The National Alliance has no authority nor has it ever attempted to grant charters. All that it has done was to organize the existing local organizations

and form a local city or county organization. Delegates from these come together and form the State organization. Every State organization is entitled to two votes in the national conventions.

"City and country organizations are made up of delegates representing the different local societies. Usually one delegate for every fifty members. Individuals are often admitted to membership but usually with some restriction upon their voting privilege. Women have equal rights with the men.

"Membership in most of the constituent societies that make up the local and county bodies is usually of two kinds, active and passive. The active members are they, for instance, in a singing society, who regularly rehearse and sing; the passive, those who belong to the society only for its social features. The latter are generally more numerous. Hence as dues are only paid for the active members the strength of the Alliance cannot be exactly expressed."

[Note by the clerk.—The 10 paragraphs next following are a part of the article from "Issues and Events."]

The question has often been raised, What connection has the Alliance with Germany? At one time Dr. C. J. Hexamer, the former president of the Alliance, was accused of taking his orders from Potsdam. As early as 1903 the charge was made by the then Major-General Arthur McArthur in a speech at Honolulu, that the German Americans were disloyal and that the Pan-German movement was spreading in America. Dr. Hexamer, in the name of the executive board of the Alliance, sent him the following answer:

"We beg leave to inform you that what is spreading among the German American population is a spirit of co-operation. The National German American Alliance is a thoroughly patriotic American organization, whose members will fight for the Stars and Stripes against any nation, but who want the services of their forefathers acknowledged in our histories, and are not to be wantonly insulted by notoriety seekers of any kind."

In 1885 a German American School Society was founded in Chicago under the auspices of the "Verein fur das Deutschtum im Auslande." When the call was issued for branch organizations throughout the country the most prominent German Americans of the nation warned against the movement, declaring that the suspicion might be justified as to a state within a state, thereby causing needless embitterment against the German American element. The society soon ceased to exist, and reported to its sponsers that the German Americans subscribed to the "world citizenship tendency of the Forty-eighters" and shared their "democratic beliefs." A German paper remarked recently that they should have added that the German Americans are too real Americans to permit any non-American body to make use of them.

* * * * * * *

The Alliance has never entertained even the remotest official connection with the German Government or the German people. It is a simon-pure American organization, existing only for those living in this country, having American patriotism, American loyalty and American love for liberty written upon its banners. The object is to maintain the best that can be found in the immigrant's gift to this nation of nations, and secure a place for it in the fabric of the future American, who shall be entirely removed from foreign connections. To this end the study of German and the promulgation of German customs is deemed a necessity by the Alliance. If anything had been needed to prove the determined position of the Alliance, the diatribes of the "Kreuzzeitung" in Berlin would have been sufficient.

Upon the outbreak of hostilities in Europe the members took sides with their birthland. When America entered the war, however, there was but one choice to make, and it was made, not with shoutings and hurrahs, perhaps, for it meant a war against brothers and fathers, but dignified and obediently. At the present time the Alliance is engaged in collecting statistics, stating the numbers of men given the country by the German American element, these to

be published later in the official organ of the body the Mittellungen. The latter bears the following article at the head of its editorial page in each issue:

"WHERE WE STAND.

"We are citizens of a republic and have no other allegiance. America is our country, and any disaster to America would be our disaster. Whatever our language, we love the same flag. Whatever blood runs in our veins, there is but one loyalty in our hearts. The victory of American ideals in this war means for the German people the realization of the hopes and dreams of the revolution of 1848. America, now and forever!"

"THE VALUE OF THE ALLIANCE."

Upon the outbreak of our war there were fears among those who were unacquainted with the Alliance as to the stand it would take. Those who are classed "alien enemies" to-day, perhaps, expected a radical action of some kind. But the heads of the Alliance, by their immediate avowal of staunch fidelity to the only country they claim citizenship in, saved the Government much embarrassment.

My plea in this respect is to discard the prevalent system of persecution for the above-named reasons, to beware of including the Alliance above all in the campaign of "sedition slammers," but to turn about and make use of the Alliance as a patriotic and educational institution.

The Government has realized the value of the German language in reaching those of its citizens who are more familiar with that tongue in its distribution of pamphlets, etc. Here, then, is a great opportunity to do still more effective work by co-operation in every degree. The redoubtable Sam Blythe recently wrote: "The United States must, in fact, be united, down to the last man, the last dollar, the last individual sacrifice. Else we shall fail." And to those who are disrupting the real unity of the nation by a brass-band display of bullying tactics, seeking sedition where none is to be found, will come the disgrace of failure, if they are permitted to persist in their nefarious conduct.

Even this, the worst of all wars, will come to an end. And a trusted, cooperating set of citizens coming from German stock will be in an enviable position when the day arrives for healing wounds and bringing about a rapproachment. First comes the war. We need unity for it. Then comes peace. And we will need still more unity for that. May America, the fair, ever be proud of her sons and daughters, and not be put to shame by those who to-day are acting in such a deplorable manner.

"Due to attacks on our organization by a writer in the December (1917) number of the 'Atlantic Monthly' and widespread use of the article in question several of our members formulated answers to this magazine, offering a defense against the attacks as they appeared there and were used especially by the so-called 'Friends of German Democracy.'"

Senator KING. You say this was in 1917?

Mr. VON BOSSE. Yes.

Senator KING. By whom was the article?

Mr. VON BOSSE. By a man named Rudolph Heinrichs. I will ask Mr. Scholtz, Was it in 1917?

Mr. SCHOLTZ. Yes.

Senator KING. I am familiar with that article.

Mr. VON BOSSE (reading):

REPLY TO A FAMILY LETTER—PURPORTED TO HAVE BEEN WRITTEN BY RUDOLPH HEINRICHS TO HIS BROTHER AND GENERALLY ADDRESSED TO GERMAN AMERICANS.

MON CHER COUSIN: For it is as a cousin-German that I take the liberty of breaking into print to controvert some of the statements made by you in your dehortatory epistle which appeared in the "Atlantic Monthly" of December last.

I shall pass over those purely personal parts wherein you so grandiosly sit in judgment upon your brother. As to the decency of your action only one opinion is tenable.

But when in the conceit of your righteousness and sure-pure patriotism you bumptiously "bawl" out the German-Americans; when in one breath you laud their virtues to the sky and then like a veritable Jove, chide them with faults of your own magnifying, then cousin, it concerns me; for after all, I have racial pride enough to demand a straight story and a true reckoning.

Further I am free and frank enough to say to you that what you have said about the National German American Alliance is either born of ignorance or uttered in malice. One is as contemptible as the other.

I am sure but if it were put to the test, you and your publishers are guilty of defamation of character amounting to libel, which, if it were applicable to an individual, would make you criminally liable.

If you are honest and mistaken and will give heed to some of the facts herein recited you may blush for shame. If you are not honest you will contentedly lick your chops feeling that you have well done our work and that mischief is afoot.

FOREIGN SUPPORT?

Your first charge is—

"In the United States the influential social, athletic and other clubs have been firmly knit together into the National German American Alliance, with branches firmly established socially and politically in every State. This Alliance has been, in various ways, encouraged and supported by the German government, not for sentimental reasons it is safe to assume, or for the benefit which the German government expects the American people to derive from the spread of Teutonic culture. It has been supported because Germany realizes that societies of German Americans with a highly centralized organization can exercise an enormous influence in spreading the gospel of German cultural superiority and general infallibility, and will exercise it if given a start under pro-German auspices."

The inference is plain here, as throughout your letter, that the German government has financially supported the Alliance.

What evidence have you hereof?

If any, it should be produced; the agents of the Government of the United States are entitled to have it. For if it be true, the Alliance has no right to existence in our land and those who received any money should be branded and imprisoned.

If you have no evidence except that engendered by the heat of your hysterical fancy and you make so serious a charge knowing that lies have long legs and no amount of explanation can overtake them, then sir, you are indeed a poor wretch. Even so if you have evidence and fail to produce it.

Neither you nor anyone else can show that the Alliance, or its officers, have ever directly or indirectly, received any support, financial or otherwise, from the German government, or anyone representing German interests.

THE BIRTH OF THE ALLIANCE.

As one thoroughly conversant with the beginnings of the National German American Alliance, having been present at its birth and stood at the font when it was named and watched its growth to the very present, it may not be amiss for me to briefly outline its history.

(Let me say right here that when the word German is used of things German here in America it is to be understood only as a racial distinction; it has not now nor has it ever had any political or imperial German significance.)

About the year 1900 puritanism was enjoying one of its periodical sprees and its zealots were furiously running amuck through the land. As elsewhere, the good people of Maryland were being harassed by an outbreak of blue lawlessness which caused a number of liberal-minded men to issue a call for the forming of an organization to fight this evil.

A call was issued to practically all the organizations of Baltimore City to send representatives to a conference. To the first meeting but few came, and these only from the German-speaking bodies. Another call was issued, more came. I attended as a representative of the Turnverein of which I am a member, found the men sincere and helped shape the affairs of the new organization from that day to the present.

Such was the beginning of the Independent Citizens' Union of Maryland. Its purposes are succinctly set forth as follows:

The object of the Independent Citizens' Union is to bring about the unification of all German American organizations of this State in one central body, and so bring their combined strength and influence to bear in securing a recognition of their rights and proper demands.

It proposes nothing incompatible with the general welfare of the community or conflicting with duties of citizenship.

It is independent; nonpartisan and nonsectarian.

It seeks to perpetuate the memory and deeds of those early German pioneers whose influence has been of incalculable benefit in the intellectual and economical development of this country, and whose loyalty in stress and trouble is a matter of history.

It seeks to cultivate and assure a continuance of friendly relation between the new homeland and the old fatherland.

To oppose the attacks and encroachments of "knownothingism."

It recommends a continuance of instruction in the German language in the public schools: The requirements of trade, science and learning make a knowledge of German necessary to compete successfully in the world's markets; civilization is advancing, and the learning deemed sufficient in primitive times is absolutely inadequate in the present. Furthermore there is a sufficiently large element of our citizens who desire such instruction for their children, not for the purpose of making Germans out of them, but because it will make them better Americans; and their wishes should receive fair consideration.

It seeks a more thorough introduction of systematic physical exercise in the public schools, the condition of modern civilization demanding the largest perfection of body and mind to successfully cope in the struggle for existence.

It purposes exercising a beneficial supervision over public affairs and to secure an honest, efficient and economic government of municipality and state; ascertaining the fitness and character of candidates for office; and, when elected, keeping a record of their official action; to safeguard the principles of representative government and protect the civil and political rights of its members; to effect the repeal of obsolete and pernicious laws; and generally to promote the welfare of the people by all honorable and legitimate means.

In 1904 it was granted a charter by the General Assembly of the State of Maryland.

It has consistently advocated all measures of benefit to the community; it has sought to encourage its members to actively take an interest in politics—not as partisans, but independently and according to their best understanding.

It has originated and recommended legislation for the public good and has had the satisfaction of seeing many of its suggestions adopted.

It has fought prohibition locally and nationally, as a matter of principle. That the liquor interests profited thereby was incidental. In Maryland, it can be said, that the saloon business has nearly passed out of the hands of the Germans.

It has fought for a better and more enlightened observance of Sunday, and though legislation is still lacking, public opinion is today more tolerant than ever in the past.

It has participated in all public movements and, as far as its slender means permitted, contributed to public benevolences.

Today the Independent Citizens' Union enjoys the respect of every class in the community.

You may ask, What has the Union to do with the National German American Alliance? Much, very much, as will be fairly shown.

As the Independent Citizens' Union is in its work and character, so are the other bodies throughout the States that affiliate with and form the National German American Alliance.

For the Alliance is a federation made up of these State bodies—which are distinct entities and exist independently of the national body; each works locally along its own lines and is solely responsible for its actions and utterances.

Not all have as distinctive a name as the Maryland Branch; in fact, confusion has sometimes been caused because many State bodies call themselves the German American Alliance of their State.

The same causes that prompted the formation of the Independent Citizens' Union led to the creation of like organizations elsewhere. The newspapers chronicled these formations and to secure better results and an interchange

of ideas the secretary of the Union was instructed to get in touch with other bodies and find out how they worked and what they intended doing.

This led to the suggestion of a conference for the purpose of forming a working union and Philadelphia was chosen as the meeting place. In June, 1900, delegates came together from a number of the eastern cities and after a day of discussion adjourned to report back to their principals. In October a second meeting was held in Philadelphia, at the home of the ancient German Society, a larger attendance was present, and the National German American Alliance was formed.

Personally, I did not consider the choice of the name a very happy one; it seemed to me likely to cause misconception and distrust. Apt names are not always ready at hand and as we were after results the name was adopted.

So was born the National German American Alliance. Not the child of brewers—for they were not present in person or by proxy. Nor even less as the foster-child of the Kaiser. For the men there present were not amenable to the influences of either force.

The Alliance was formed as an American institution, formed by Americans and dedicated solely to America.

Its purposes are set forth in its declaration of principles.

In 1907, during the presidency of Theodore Roosevelt, it was granted a charter by Congress, this after a full and fair investigation by the Committee of its character and purposes.

THE ALLIANCE MEMBERSHIP.

Its membership embraces every class and condition of the community. Men and women, radical and conservative, liberal and orthodox, the scholar and the laborer, all are equally represented and bound together by pride of race. Bound together by the knowledge that their blood had manfully contributed to the upbuilding of this great Nation and determined that they and their deeds should not be submerged as inferior by the local Anglo-Saxons.

At no time has the Alliance ever harbored the delusion that it could supplant the English language with the German. Much less has it ever attempted to further Imperial Germany's political game in this country. It has endeavored to perpetuate that good feeling that had ever existed between the German people and the United States from the time when Frederick the Great first recognized the young republic as a nation to the distressing days of the world war.

Dr. C. J. Hexamer was the first president of the Alliance and remained so until November, 1917, when the state of his health prompted him to resign. There is naught in Dr. Hexamer's life record to justify anyone in saying a word against his devotion to America. His father was a revolutionary of 1848 and served gallantly in our Civil War, and the son, born in America, is a truer and better American than thousands whose lip-patriotism noisily jars the very clouds.

THE ALLIANCE AND PROHIBITION.

The Alliance has constantly fought liberalism and ignorance. In doing so it has incurred, among others, the hatred of the Anti-saloon Leaguers, who, some honestly and others meretriciously, are interested in forcing prohibition upon the people of the United States. These are against the Alliance and no story is too absurd nor too vile for them to use in defaming the character of the Alliance or its members.

From this source no doubt comes the fable of the brewers controlling the Alliance. It is true that in fighting prohibition we were aiding the brewers and to that extent their way was the same. Further we know that in some instances some men profited by this fact. But instances are not unknown of patriot profiteers taking advantage of their Country's distress. Men are human, and Germans not less.

The National German American Alliance has always fought openly and fairly. Its books and records are open, and always have been open, to anyone rightfully interested, to inspect, and when it is charged, as it has been by persons or interests, ignorantly or wilfully, that it acted in the interest of Germany as against the interest of America, then there is no better term to use than the lie direct.

From the inception of the world war in 1914 to the day of our entry into the conflict the sympathy of the members of the Alliance was in the main, with the people of Germany. Because of this and more so because we believed it to be to the best interest of America to remain neutral, we opposed every attempt on the part of the Allies' advocates to precipitate our Country into the bloody fray.

When the die was cast, we resignedly but loyally accepted the decision and have since met every duty faithfully and unflinchingly.

Despite this that baiting of the German American on the part of the press which was so marked and so suspiciously uniform in character and extent before the war has continued to the present day.

The worst foes that this Country momentarily holds are men of your ilk—serious to the point of absurdity—who spout patriotism and hold that all not as noisy as they cannot be good Americans.

"ENEMY PATRIOTS."

Dr. Singer, of Chicago, has coined a phrase which aptly fits this class: "Enemy Patriots."

The stirring up of antagonism, fear and hatred among our own people when the largest degree of unity and harmony attainable should prevail is not a patriotic labor, but the work of an enemy.

Enemy patriots are rampant throughout the land. Personally I know no other Country than these United States. The Constitution and the Declaration of Independence are to me sacred writ; the fathers are my saints; but I am of German blood and I refuse to go to assemblies where the Germans and everything German are indiscriminately abused and villified. I feel that this is a sign of weakness, a childishness unworthy of a great people having a definite and serious work in hand. And when men like you, of German blood, join in this ranting and proclaim your patriotism so noisily I am tempted to question your honesty.

Your attacks upon the preachers and the press, the teachers and the language, are as baseless as your attack upon the Alliance and hence need no further answer.

Carl Schurz knew the temper and the mind of the German Americans better than you can ever conceive and there is as much truth in his words today as when he uttered them years ago:

"Let me tell you there is no better American patriotism than that which in this land utters itself in German speech."

I am, biene-aime, yours,

KARL A. M. SCHOLTZ,
Baltimore, Md.

Then, here is a statement which I gave to the press when the bill was reported in. I will read it if you wish to hear it. It contains that editorial from the Bulletin headed "Where we stand" and contains an extract from the charter.

Senator KING. If you wish to read it, you may do so, or you may file it.

Senator WOLCOTT. That is all in evidence?

Mr. VON BOSSE. Yes.

Senator WOLCOTT. I think it is there.

Mr. VON BOSSE. I do not remember reading it in the stenographic report; I mean, I do not remember reading it anywhere.

Senator KING. I say, you can insert it in your remarks.

Mr. VON BOSSE. Very well.

"I wish briefly to add a supplementary statement, which I submitted as an interview to the 'Philadelphia Evening Ledger' and the 'Philadelphia North American' when news was first published of the bill on January 16, 1918."

(The article referred to is as follows:)

The introduction of a bill by Senator King, of Utah, asking for a revocation of the charter, which was granted to the National German-American Alliance by the Congress of the United States in 1907, cannot be considered a surprise

in these days of turmoil, especially when one considers the continued misrepresentation suffered by the Alliance at the hand of those who are unacquainted with it. We have no doubt but that a fair and just investigation will be conducted now, as it was before the charter was granted, regarding the affairs of the body and can only welcome such an investigation. We have always been proud of the fact that we possessed a charter granted by Congress.

Two years ago Dr. C. J. Hexamer requested an investigation by Congress as the best means by which to refute the charges brought against the organization of which he was the founder and president at that time. The members of the Alliance are American citizens who have ever been zealous in the performance of their civic duties. The records of the body will show that there has never been any connection between the Alliance and any foreign body or government. A rigid investigation into all our activities will be its best vindication. In our monthly bulletin we have repeatedly stated: "All our acts are and should be able to endure the most exact public scrutiny." Our editorial page is headed by the following article:

WHERE WE STAND.

We are citizens of a republic, and know no other allegiance. America is our country, and any disaster to America would be our disaster. Whatever our language, we have the same flag. Whatever blood runs in our veins, there is but one loyalty in our hearts. The victory of American ideals in this war means for the German people the realization of the hopes and dreams of the revolution of 1848. America, now and forever!

Our aims are set forth in the charter as follows:

"The conservation of the principles of representative government and the protection and maintenance of all civil and political rights; the protection of German immigrants against imposition and deception and to assist in their naturalization; the study of American institutions and the publication of American history; the cultivation of the German language, literature, and drama, and the perpetuation of the memory and deeds of those early German pioneers whose influence has been of incalculable benefit to the intellectual and economic development of this country and whose loyalty in times of stress and strife is a matter of history."

We stand and fall by this public profession of our policy.

Mr. VON BOSSE. Next I have a letter by Oscar A. Price to Judge John Schwaab, of Cincinnati, on the latter's protest against the bill, which may also serve as a defense of our attitude. I believe you have that also?

Senator WOLCOTT. I do not recall it.

Senator KING. I do not recall it. You may read it if you want to.

Mr. VON BOSSE. This letter reads as follows:

This will acknowledge your esteemed letter of January 17. Permit me to assure you that your personal efforts in the interest of financial undertakings of the Federal Government and the assistance given by papers printed in the German language in your city are equally well recommended as endeavors toward conducting a well-organized campaign in clubs, societies, etc., whose members are of German descent or birth, not only in regard to war savings, but also as to bond issues. There can not be any doubt for us that the results of such a campaign systematically carried out will serve in no small degree to refute the assertions from certain sources which aim to discredit the patriotism, the loyalty, and the frugality of Americans of German birth or descent, generally or individually. The declaration of such facts will also result in weakening the desire for radical laws. Permit me also to point out the fact that neither our President nor the members of his Cabinet have made utterances at any time which would put in doubt the patriotism, the loyalty, and the frugality of that class of our citizens. Upon thorough investigation you will find that insinuations of this kind come from sources that are less responsible. Assuring you of our readiness to cooperate with you and help wherever possible, and also of our best wishes for a successful campaign, I remain,

Sincerely yours,

OSCAR A. PRICE, *Director of Publicity.*

Judge Schwaab had written as a vice president of the national organization. [Reading:]

"In addition to these documents I wish to offer the following thoughts:

"THE ATTITUDE OF THE ALLIANCE TOWARD THE WAR.

"The Alliance by its declarations of firm loyalty when hostilities were imminent, even before a state of war was declared, served the Government in a most beneficent manner by immediately putting on record the German Americans as ardent supporters of the Government."

Senator WOLCOTT. How long before war was declared did the Alliance do that

Mr. VON BOSSE. Do you know when that meeting was held in Philadelphia, Mr. Timm?

Mr. TIMM. Two months before.

Mr. VON BOSSE. Was it two months before?

Mr. TIMM. Yes.

Mr. VON BOSSE. Immediately after the breaking off of diplomatic relations.

Mr. SCHOLTZ. In fact, generally the German organizations sent out notices in the matter.

Mr. VON BOSSE. I think our alliance in Delaware sent out declarations of loyalty which were published in the Sunday Star.

Mr. SCHOLTZ. And in Maryland the same.

Mr. VON BOSSE (reading):

"I venture to state, that the outbreaks, which were feared by many at the beginning of our participation in the war would perhaps have materialized, if it had not been for the unequivocal stand taken by Dr. Hexamer at that time. Since then the Alliance has neither in its publications nor in any of its utterances reverted back to conditions before the war, but has steadfastly in spite of attacks from the inside and outside proved its loyalty by asking for subscriptions to the various loans, by admonishing heed of all laws without criticism, by beginning the compilation of lists of American citizens of German extraction in the ranks, etc. Where the Alliance had never entertained even the remotest relationship with either the German Government or the German people before the war and had repeatedly refused connections with German institutions as can readily be seen from the accompanying convention rulings it has naturally not sought such connections during the war."

Page 17 * * 1908, October. * * * Foreign societies (German societies of Canada, etc.) excluded from membership. Only citizens of the United States eligible as members; National German-American Alliance declines to become a member of "Deutscher Flottenverein" * * *.

Page 30 * * 1911, at Washington, D. C. * * * Recommendations of North Dakota Branch for a national German-American celebration on October 18, 1913—defeated; * * *.

That was the celebration of the one hundredth anniversary of the Völkerschlacht at Leipzig—the Battle of Nations. [Continuing reading:]

"What is being sought by the 'Friends of German Democracy' was long ago expressed editorially by the Alliance in its official com-

munication, for in spite of Mr. Ohlinger's claims there is a difference between the editorials and the reading matter, as he himself admits, when he points out, that he was made the subject of some complimentary editorials. The Alliance has been aided in this respect by a patriotic German language press, which received the full indorsement of not only President Wilson, when he lauded the stand of the American citizens of German extraction, but also that of Theodore Roosevelt in his last public utterance before his operation confined him to the hospital. I repeat, that the Alliance performed a most acceptable service to the nation, when it avowed its patriotism from the very start of the war.

"The witness Ohlinger cannot comprehend, in fact, is perplexed and puzzled to note, that the German-Americans were not hilariously enthusiastic at America's entry into the war.

"He says:

> The enthusiasm for the United States is not commensurate in any degree with the enthusiasm that was manifested on behalf of Germany when the war broke out against Germany in 1914.

"This statement so clearly reflects the shallowness of mind of the witness that we can easily let it stand as an exhibit for the defense.

"Considering that for over two years the German-Americans had espoused the cause of Germany against Great Britain which caused them to be assailed and berated as traitors to America—for their opponents—honest and otherwise from the very beginning indiscriminately confounded the Allies interests with those of America. A confusion that still confounds them despite President Wilson's efforts to clearly show that we are not tied to the Allied cause.

"Another exhibit equally valuable as evidence to convict the Alliance is found in the fact that it did not upon the outbreak of the war between the United States and Germany, at once send out summons for the—

> Formation of press agencies or bureaus to vindicate the cause of America or the cause for which she was in the war.

"If Dr. Hexamer, as President of the Alliance had issued a call to 'vindicate the cause of America', it surely would have been counted against him as an assumption that America's cause stood in need of vindication, *i. e.*, a justification or defense."

Senator WOLCOTT. Do you quite agree with that? That is your opinion, is it?

Mr. VON BOSSE. That is my opinion that I am giving you. That is my answer to the charges made against us.

Senator WOLCOTT. Do you think it is true that any person or any publication that openly espouses the cause of America in this war is open to the charge, that inferentially that person or publication is open to the opinion, that possibly America is in wrong, on the wrong side?

Mr. VON BOSSE. No, sir.

Senator WOLCOTT. Is not that what you say?

Mr. VON BOSSE. Of German publications and of the German-American Alliance as such, it would immediately be looked upon as dishonest tactics, from what the Alliance has done before. That is what I wish to convey.

Senator WOLCOTT. Your point of view, then, is that the Germans are—I will not use the familiar word—blamed if they do and blamed if they don't?

Mr. VON BOSSE. Mr. Attorney General Gregory said when the war broke out, and we expressed it in German in a notice we sent out to all our societies, "Halts Maul"—that is "Keep your mouth shut"—that it was the safe thing for us to say nothing and not to arouse any misconstruction.

Senator WOLCOTT. Mr. Gregory gave that advice when?

Mr. VON BOSSE. At the beginning of the war, I believe.

Senator WOLCOTT. Did the German-Americans follow it then?

Mr. VON BOSSE. Yes; so far as I know they did.

Senator WOLCOTT. You did not, did you?

Mr. VON BOSSE. I did as soon as the war was declared, Senator. You can not find a thing that I said against——

Senator WOLCOTT. When do you mean? You are not understanding the date——

Mr. VON BOSSE. April 30, 1917.

Senator WOLCOTT. Did not Mr. Attorney General Gregory give that advice a long time before that?

Mr. VON BOSSE. I do not think so. I could not tell you.

Senator WOLCOTT. Shortly after the European war started?

Mr. VON BOSSE. No, sir; I do not think so. What was said at the outbreak of the war——

Senator WOLCOTT. I will not dispute you; my memory is not clear.

Mr. VON BOSSE (continuing). Was said by President Wilson when he said that we should not take sides.

Senator WOLCOTT. A member of the "Fourth Estate" informs me that the Attorney General gave that advice when we entered the war. I accept his interpretation.

Senator KING. Was not President Wilson, when he used that very brusque term "Keep your mouth shut," addressing himself to those who were not citizens, but aliens, and who desired to remain in our midst and continue their business activities? Was it not a statement to them, "You can live here in peace and carry on your business, although you are Germans or Austrians, although you are our enemies, but you must keep your mouths shut"? Did it not apply to them rather than to you German-Americans who were citizens of this country?

Mr. VON BOSSE. I could not tell that. My opinion was, as I recollect, that it was intended for any of those who had come from Germany.

Senator KING. Would you not believe that every American citizen, whether he was born in Ireland or in England or in Germany or was the descendent of those born in those countries, when the war broke out would be for our country, and that there was no necessity to admonish them to keep their mouths shut, because the presumption would be that they would be openly advocating the cause of their country?

Mr. VON BOSSE. We did do that. We gave avowals of loyalty, Senator. What is meant is simply this, that no organized effort was made by the German-American Alliance or by German societies to send out circulars or to publish dispatches, and so forth, in that way.

That is all I meant to convey by it. We gave our declarations of loyalty and, as I will show, did more than that, but kept quiet since that day. I know that I did personally and I know that others did.

Senator WOLCOTT. Let me get this point clearly. You think that an American citizen of German extraction ought to keep quiet in the present state of affairs we have here now——

Mr. VON BOSSE. It depends upon——

Senator WOLCOTT (continuing). And ought not to openly proclaim, as vociferously as he possibly can, the cause of America as against Germany. Do you think he ought not to do that?

Mr. VON BOSSE. It depends upon the circumstances, Senator. If I were sitting together with you, man to man, I could do that; yes.

Senator WOLCOTT. Do you not think it would be a magnificent and a very wholesome thing if you, as the president of the German-American Alliance, took the national platform and took up the argument in behalf of America in this contest with Germany and denounced Germany as the enemy of America? Do you think your conduct could properly be subjected to unjust, unfair, or hostile criticism by anybody?

Mr. VON BOSSE. I could not say that. I do not know what would occur——

Senator WOLCOTT. Have you any doubt about it?

Mr. VON BOSSE. I do not know what would occur, Senator. It just depends upon conditions and peoples. If we condemned Kaiserism there is no doubt that it would be looked upon as a laudable thing, and if we condemned——

Senator WOLCOTT. But then, of course, you would not condemn Kaiserism, because you have advocated it so much; but you could praise America and Americanism without subjecting yourself to any hostile criticism, could you not?

Mr. VON BOSSE. We have done that.

Senator WOLCOTT. You say you have not since we went into the war?

Mr. VON BOSSE. We have not sent out circulars, as I stated in my testimony, and we have not made publications for distribution. We have given simply the plain facts that we are for America, what America has meant to us, and why it is necessary that America's victory should be made sure, because her veracity is ours, her defeat is ours. To that extent——

Senator WOLCOTT. I do not want to argue it with you. I just wanted to get your point of view. It seems to me, in all frankness, it is a rather curious one.

Mr. VON BOSSE. I do not see how. Well, there are views that are incompatible. I think we can both be perfectly good Americans from different points of view.

Senator WOLCOTT. I am not assailing your Americanism.

Mr. VON BOSSE. I live in a different environment from yours.

Senator WOLCOTT. I am not assailing your Americanism. I do not want you to understand me that way; only, I say that your point of view, that this organization could not take up the cudgels in behalf of America, to me is curious, to say the least.

Mr. VON BOSSE. It takes them up in behalf of America, and has to a certain extent in certain things in support of the Government, in all things which the Government demanded of us.

Senator KING. What have you had to say in condemnation of the sinking of the *Lusitania*?

Mr. VON BOSSE. What has who said?

Senator KING. You.

Mr. VON BOSSE. The *Lusitania* was sunk before we were at war with Germany.

Senator KING. I know; but what have you individually said?

Mr. VON BOSSE. I have said that it was a big mistake and I have been sorry it ever occurred.

Senator KING. Have you defended it?

Mr. VON BOSSE. I defended certain legal aspects; but I think you will find, in speeches and articles that I put out before the war, that I admitted it was a great mistake and I said I was sorry it ever occurred.

Senator KING. You justified it, did you not?

Mr. VON BOSSE. Legally.

Senator KING. And morally?

Mr. VON BOSSE. Not morally.

Senator WOLCOTT. Did you say anything about it morally?

Mr. VON BOSSE. Sir?

Senator WOLCOTT. Did you say anything about it morally?

Mr. VON BOSSE. I can not recollect, at present.

Senator WOLCOTT. I do not think you did, Mr. von Bosse.

Mr. VON BOSSE. I do not know if I did or did not.

Senator WOLCOTT. The only thing you said about the submarine behavior of Germany, as far as I recall—and I wish you would correct me if I am in error—was, I will not say a defense of submarine outrages and murders, but was to apologize for them. At no time did you condemn them, so far as I can recall.

Mr. VON BOSSE. Senator, I think you will recall the controversy I had with Mr. Carter in Wilmington, in the Evening Journal, before we were at war, in which he asked me the question, "Do you favor"—or something to that effect—"the submarine sinkings?" and I gave a clear statement of the fact that I was absolutely opposed to submarine sinkings of American vessels. That was my statement at that time.

Senator WOLCOTT. But that did not go to the extent of saying that you were absolutely opposed to the submarine sinking of a neutral ship upon which Americans were.

Mr. VON BOSSE. I meant neutral ships.

Senator KING. You did not say neutral vessels.

Mr. VON BOSSE. I said that they were justified in sinking belligerent vessels. That was my opinion at that time.

Senator WOLCOTT. Here is language of yours; see if it expresses your idea:

> Unfortunate as they are, the destruction of merchant vessels are justified, according to all precepts of war. If it be true, that the presence of a single American is sufficient to make a ship immune from a submarine attack it would be a tremendously profitable business for the Allies to place Americans on board to force us into an unjust war. But this would be no better than placing Americans in the beleaguered cities of Europe to save them from being bombarded.

Mr. VON BOSSE. I suppose that was a sarcastic remark I made at that time.

Senator WOLCOTT. You mean you did not mean that to be taken literally?

Mr. VON BOSSE. That was a piece of sarcasm, such as you will find throughout my articles.

Senator WOLCOTT. I think it is very thinly veiled.

Senator KING. Did you mean or did you not mean by that that you justified German's attacking cities and towns as she has been doing and murdering women and children in the schoolhouses and hospitals?

Mr. VON BOSSE. No, sir.

Senator WOLCOTT. Here is another expression of your view of the submarine question—another reference to it, rather. You said as follows:

> There is a remarkable unanimity among the organs of the German-Americans and from coast to coast there is but one view on such problems as the embargo question, the sinking of vessels by submarines, the President's message to Congress, etc.

You do not express there what that one view is, but there is one view, you say, entertained to the point of unanimity, among the "organs of the German-Americans and from coast to coast". What is that one view?

Mr. VON BOSSE. I would have to take up each subject there.

Senator WOLCOTT. On the submarine, I am asking.

Mr. VON BOSSE. That Americans should not travel on belligerent vessels. That was the view. I think, if you will look at the date, you will find that I am correct.

Senator WOLCOTT. I have not the date here.

Mr. VON BOSSE. If I am not mistaken there was a bill up in Congress at that time to warn Americans from traveling on belligerent vessels, and I have no doubt that that refers to that.

Senator WOLCOTT. I must call attention to this again. This one view is not in opposition to Americans traveling on belligerent vessels. This one view is on the submarine question.

Mr. VON BOSSE. I would have to know the date and the whole connection.

Senator WOLCOTT. The date is January 16, but I do not know what year it was.

Senator KING. Did not practically all the German press of the United States, including Herman Ridder's paper, take the view that the submarine warfare as conducted by Germany, unrestricted, cruel, wanton, wicked, bloody, was justifiable, and did you not take that view yourself?

Mr. VON BOSSE. Justifiable against belligerent vessels carrying munitions of war. I think I made that clear toward the end more than in the beginning, when I first began publishing articles, and I think you will find that in almost all of our German papers they held that view.

Senator WOLCOTT. You would have condemned, then, the sinking of that American ship that was coming away from England to this country in ballast?

Mr. VON BOSSE. Yes, sir.

Senator WOLCOTT. Which was sunk by a German submarine, with the destruction of American life?

Mr. VON BOSSE. Well, we were at peace with Germany, absolutely.

Senator WOLCOTT. Yes; and also the sinking of that ship—I think it was a Standard Oil ship—coming, if I am not mistaken, from a Dutch port—a neutral port—to an American port?

Mr. VON BOSSE. An American vessel?

Senator WOLCOTT. An American vessel.

Mr. VON BOSSE. Yes.

Senator WOLCOTT. Coming from one neutral port to another neutral port.

Mr. VON BOSSE. I would have condemned that.

Senator WOLCOTT. With the destruction of American lives?

Mr. VON BOSSE. And if I am not mistaken I did condemn that, publicly, where there was occasion.

Senator WOLCOTT. Well, I hope you did, Mr. von Bosse.

Mr. VON BOSSE. I am under oath here, and I can not say positively, but it is the best of my recollection that I did.

Senator WOLCOTT. There was a perfectly clear impression conveyed by your letters to the public of Wilmington, so far as I came in touch with the expression of public opinion there, that you were a staunch defender of the whole German submarine campaign.

Mr. VON BOSSE. I know I was accused of that.

Senator WOLCOTT. And you gave expression to just such things as I have indicated here that tended strongly to support that view.

Mr. VON BOSSE. It was almost impossible, Senator—and you know that yourself—to take up the other side and not be thrown together with Germany; and many views that we have changed since that time—since we are in the war—were held by all of us at that time.

Senator WOLCOTT. You would not change the view concerning the matter that had to do with the rights of the United States simply because we have gotten into the war?

Mr. VON BOSSE. I might.

Senator WOLCOTT. If Germany had the right then, she has it now.

Mr. VON BOSSE. I might, if I was convinced of the wrong of it at the present time.

Senator WOLCOTT. I noticed you said in your last letter to the editor of the Evening Journal that your views had undergone a change.

Mr. VON BOSSE. That was not the last letter, but the second last.

Senator KING. Proceed, Mr. von Bosse.

Mr. VON BOSSE (reading):

"Another specimen of shallow thinking with its consequential ill-balanced conclusions is found in his accusation that the Alliance though it had readily responded to help the German Red Cross had failed to do the like for the American Red Cross.

"As a matter of fact the membership of the Alliance did respond—as liberally and as representatively throughout the land as any other part of the community. It is true it did not form an organization and solicit funds, for this there was no need, as the American Red Cross had its chapters in every town and hamlet throughout the land by which they contributed."

I am speaking now of all this testimony I have heard. [Continuing reading:]

"The American Red Cross got the amount it asked for and when it again issues a call the German-Americans will not be found wanting.

"When they gave to the German Red Cross they gave out of sympathy for their distant kin, when they give to the American Red Cross it is for their own sons. The German-Americans know their duty better than their accusers and belittlers seem to know their own.

"Bias, when it gives rein to the imagination and lets fancy run away with judgment, plays strange tricks indeed. Hence this persecution of things German in our own land.

"Disregarding the fact that since the foundation of our republic and down to the present war peace and friendship existed between Germany and the United States, and that consequentially schoolbooks hitherto published treated of Germany and conditions German in a cordial and appreciative manner, it has been forsooth discovered that there was some deep intent, a malevolent Germanic purpose as it were, hidden therein, and that naught but traitors would so write. Truly a Jack-Cadean view. Amusing for its childish simplicity.

"To preserve a true proportion we must not forget time, place and conditions. Failing to do so and applying the yardstick of the present to the goods of the past we get but a shrunken mental measure.

"Your Honorable Committee clearly evinces concern at the deplorable absence of any show of enthusiasm by the German-American upon the declaration of war by our country against Germany.

"This inability of sharply changing about is a marked characteristic of the German mind. Hence he, despite his many years of residence in America, cannot understand the facile agility with which politicians who have in the most violent manner aspersed the character of a candidate in the primaries, turn about and with great laudations support the same man at the general elections.

"Lacking this ready wit of quickly bridging a delicate situation, he failed in not instantaneously adopting resolutions approving the Nation's entry into war.

"Again he had been a believer in Germany and the justice of its cause and the war came unexpectedly.

"He may have thought, not being a politician but just a simple minded soul, that even if he did adopt loud resolutions it would not suffice to satisfy anyone as to his honesty, therefore he maintained an attitude of passive loyalty, trusting to let his conduct prove his fealty rather than to take shelter behind a barrier of words.

"With patient resignation he has accepted the decision of his Country's Congress. Suppressing his heart's sorrow, he loyally responds to duty's every call; of his money he gives as of his sons he has given.

"Such is the burden of the poem 'Enough'! Not resentment but resignation. Not an appeal for sympathy but a cry for understanding.

"Despite the fact that the German-American was not for the war he is in the war; and though he may have a right to say that those who were so eager for the fray should first respond he yet responds among the first. Every casualty list will show that the blood of German-Americans is being spilled in their country's cause. And the while the sons are fighting their kinsmen abroad, their own kin are suspect and aspersed at home. 'Enough'—there is no wisdom in such a course."

Of course, it would ill become us to suggest——

Senator STERLING. Mr. von Bosse, do you mean to say there, as a part of your own statement and as your own belief, that "their own kin"—that is, meaning Germans generally—are "aspersed at home"?

Mr. VON BOSSE. Yes, sir.

Senator STERLING. You mean to say that as a general statement?

Mr. VON BOSSE. Yes.

Senator STERLING. You would say that, notwithstanding the first witness in this proceeding, Mr. Ohlinger, stated, and repeated it, that he believed the great, the overwhelming majority of Germans in this country were loyal and patriotic? you would still say that, would you?

Mr. VON BOSSE. Yes, sir.

Senator STERLING. That they are aspersed at home—Germans generally?

Mr. VON BOSSE. I do not say Germans generally. I make a general statement that they are aspersed.

Senator STERLING. Then your statement makes it even worse. You say those at home, those who have sent boys to the Army, are aspersed?

Mr. VON BOSSE. I come in contact with it every day.

Senator STERLING. It would be worse to say that than to say the Germans generally are aspersed.

Mr. VON BOSSE (reading):

> And the while the sons are fighting their kinsmen abroad, their own kin are suspect and aspersed at home.

Senator STERLING. Yes.

Senator KING. Mr. von Bosse, do you not mean by that—because it seems to me that your statement is rather too broad—that in this country, since the war and before, there have been discovered in large numbers spies, or a number of German spies, men who had been serving under von Bernstorff when he was here and under von Papen and Capt. Boy-Ed and other representatives of Germany, and using German money, who have blown up factories and bridges and tried to dislocate and disturb our industrial system; and since the war German spies, some of whom were American citizens of German blood, have been operating in the country, and therefore have brought down upon them the criticism of really patriotic Americans, German-Americans as well as those born in this country, and that that has led to the denunciation of that class of people, and that class only?

Mr. VON BOSSE. It may be; yes.

Senator KING. Speaking for myself, I have not heard any aspersing of the Germans. I have heard the statement that there were some German spies in this country, and I have had letters from members of your organization to the effect that your organization—I am speaking of the National German-American Alliance——

Mr. VON BOSSE. Yes.

Senator KING (continuing). Was not in sympathy with our country in the prosecution of this war; but I never have heard any general criticism of Germans any more than I have of the Scotch or of the Irish. Is not your statement too broad to say that the German people are aspersed in this country, because we are mixed up with

the Germans? Most of us have German blood in our veins; I am partly German myself.

Mr. VON BOSSE. Yes, sir; I remember you stated that.

Senator KING. You do not mean that, do you?

Mr. VON BOSSE. I come in contact with it every day, Senator. I read it almost every day—I read incidents and hear instances with friends of mine that I come together with, incidents which you can not always remember and cite in detail, but that generally bear out that, in many, many ways. There may be reason for it in what you say, though these spies and plots and so forth, which we detest as much as anyone else.

Senator KING. You know, do you not, that we have been compelled to intern some Germans and men who were citizens, because they were so pro-German?

Mr. VON BOSSE. Yes; I know that.

Senator KING. And, of course, that fact would lead people who were not just fair to criticize probably indiscriminately the entire German people. But do you not find the fact to be that the American people—in other words, all the American people; I mean Americans of German descent—feel that the great mass of the German people are just as loyal as the great mass of the Irish people, but that there are in this country a number of Germans who have failed to be assimilated, failed to understand the ideals of this country, who are more German than they are American?

Mr. VON BOSSE. Certainly.

Senator KING. I come in contact with Germans of that character, and I come in contact with some Irishmen that are no more Americans than those who are fighting us over on the bloody field of France; and they ought to be over there instead of here claiming citizenship in this Republic.

Mr. VON BOSSE. I agree with you.

Senator WOLCOTT. The suspicion that is in spots expressed by some American citizens that there are some disloyal Germans is encouraged somewhat by the words of the German-Americans themselves. Senator King has referred to letters he has received stating that in the opinion of the writers this organization is not for us in this war.

Mr. VON BOSSE. They are wrong.

Senator WOLCOTT. I do not assert it.

Mr. VON BOSSE. Yes.

Senator WOLCOTT. But those letters encourage the idea.

Mr. VON BOSSE. Undoubtedly.

Senator WOLCOTT. I recall that Mr. Henry Weismann, the president of the German-American Alliance in New York, is out in the newspapers denouncing the crowd that he says are after him, to put him out, as he says, in order to punish him for his loyalty to this country.

Mr. VON BOSSE. Well, that is a personal announcement.

Senator WOLCOTT. Yes; but there is the announcement.

Mr. VON BOSSE. Yes. But it is easy enough to use that as a cloak nowadays. What I mean by aspersion is the ostracizing in social circles. I will just give you a few instances that occur to me at the time, perhaps not as general as may be conveyed by my words. For instance, refusal to accept contributions of money on the Red Cross

work on the part of German-Americans, which has been done, and things of that kind.

Senator WOLCOTT. That, of course, is thoroughly indefensible. If a German wants to make a contribution to the Red Cross, it seems to me it is nothing short of asininity to reject it because his name happens to be German.

Mr. VON BOSSE. They have refused to accept it and to allow participation in the work.

Senator KING. Has not the action of men like Capt. Henks—I think that is the name—had something to do with this feeling on the part of some Americans, that all German-Americans are not loyal? Capt. Henks was an officer in the United States Army, sworn to uphold the Constitution of the United States.

Mr. VON BOSSE. Yes; I know his case.

Senator KING. And he was born in this country, but his parents were German. He was raised to the rank of captain. Now, he goes to France and practically refuses to fight, and becomes a traitor to his country—says he will not fight Germans. Take a case of that character.

Senator WOLCOTT. He is more German than he is American.

Senator KING. Yes. A case of that character, of course, perhaps among people who did not think profoundly, would impress them with the fact that Germans would have to be examined a little before being put into positions, because they might refuse to discharge their duty as American citizens if that duty required them to fight the country of their fathers.

Mr. VON BOSSE. Do you want me to answer that question?

Senator KING. If you care to make any answer; yes.

Mr. VON BOSSE. Certainly; I agree with you. But this case of Capt. Henks has been a very recent case, Senator.

Senator KING. Yes.

Mr. VON BOSSE. I refer to the conditions from the start. I agree with you that undoubtedly this feeling has been engendered to a certain extent by the things that you mentioned; but it is my honest opinion that much of it has been promulgated by the press, and it is my honest conviction that the press has had more to do with it than any German spies or plots or anything that has endangered the safety of our country.

Senator KING. Just to illustrate the point that I was trying to get at: I am in receipt of a letter—I will not give the man's name—from a doctor, a German, and he states in substance there ought not to be any German-Americans, that the German-American Alliance has been used for the purpose of maintaining racial solidarity, and that it inculcates a bitter hatred of the Anglo-Saxons and an encouragement of the belief that Teutonism ought to be the prevailing power in the world; and then he refers to some recent activities of the German-American Alliance in one of the States. For instance, they had a program, recently, in March, 1916, in which it was stated:

We have the intention to patronize the German morals, the German genius, the German sciences. Everyone who feels, thinks, and speaks as a German will be a good man.

And in one of their recent publications, a German publication, it is stated:

I despise President Wilson. He is too stupid for a dictator, but it is good that the Germans have good diplomats of the Bismarck school. Wilson's politic is an infamy for the United States. Thousands are killed in the ammunition factories. Responsible for this crime is President Wilson. The Lord will make him responsible and Wilson will be damned by millions of Americans and Germans. After this war the Germans will not advertise more in the dirty, yellow, stinking newspapers of this country.

Then he refers to a certain man and says:

He is the model for all German-Americans. He has discontinued all fire and other insurance company policies that had invested money in English war bonds.

Then here is another from the same paper:

Sir Roger is arrested by treachery of Washington.

Here is another:

One word of Wilson and the existence of millions of Americans and Germans can be destroyed.

Here is another:

Every German will lose his property in Germany if he asks now for the American citizen's paper.

And another:

Everywhere terror for the future. Where are we going?

Now, those are excerpts from German publications, and I could go on at length, for days, here giving excerpts from publications, from German newspapers, denunciatory of the President, of this war, indicating that the Government of this Nation is a tyranny and an autocracy, praising indirectly Germany and denouncing this country indirectly, and denouncing England. Those publications and utterances of like character, of course, from Germans of necessity would create some feeling among loyal Americans and lead some to question the loyalty of those who indulge in those utterances and publications; is not that true?

Mr. VON BOSSE. If what you say is true, that those things are published or were published, certainly they would.

Senator WOLCOTT. You are getting very close to condemning yourself when you make that statement, Mr. von Bosse.

Mr. VON BOSSE. That depends upon what I said.

Senator WOLCOTT. I can read you stuff that you put out——

Senator KING. Read it.

Senator WOLCOTT (continuing). That is rabidly anti-British and goes to the point of a hatred of Great Britain.

Mr. VON BOSSE. Before we were in the war; yes.

Senator WOLCOTT. Yes; before we were in the war, that is full of sarcastic references to the President of the United States, to the manner in which he was conducting our foreign relations, that is highly laudatory of German victories and everything German. I recall one expression of yours where you refer to "the grand old busy Bertha".

Mr. VON BOSSE. That may be; yes, sir; certainly.

Senator WOLCOTT. Yes; you did.

Mr. VON BOSSE. At that time.

Senator WOLCOTT. Those "grand old busy Berthas" that are dropping bombs on cathedrals and destroying people! In other letters you are quite a zealous advocate of peace and peaceful ways; but that is when you are endeavoring to persuade your readers that we ought not to get into the conflict.

Here is a poem that you quoted in one of your letters. It seems to me thoroughly unneutral and to reek with hatred of Great Britain. At the same time you were carrying on the propaganda that American citizens were unneutral in that they would not join with you in applauding Germany.

Now, when you say that such utterances as Senator King has referred to here are calculated to make people think that perhaps the Germans are not quite as loyal to this country as they should be, I say that to an extent—you have not gone quite as far as that, but to an extent—you are condemning yourself.

Mr. VON BOSSE. That may be. I admit that I carried on propaganda, as an amateur. It cost me more than I ever got. I never got a cent for it. You possibly know that from people that I worked for in Wilmington. But my propaganda was always looked upon by me, and I think a large part of our—I will say the more scholarly—propagandists looked upon it as a defensive propaganda and not as offensive propaganda.

Senator WOLCOTT. I should say it was a defensive offensive. That is a military term, I believe. You were defending the German side, and while you were doing that you were also defending by an offensive against the allies. There is not a question about that, is there?

Mr. VON BOSSE. Every defensive must mean an offensive of some kind.

Senator WOLCOTT. Oh, no; not necessarily. I do not recall that you condemned in your output any of the things that most Americans have condemned in the European war—speaking of the time prior to our entry into it.

Mr. VON BOSSEE. I think I stated upon a number of occasions that I did not want anybody to think that I agreed with everything that Germany did. My whole point was, and I was consistent in that throughout, to defend my kin against what I considered, from my point of view, unjust attack; and I tried to keep America out of the war. That was my attitude throughout. I may have been overzealous—we all do that—and I may at times have been, I will say, bombastic and exaggerating in some of my statements, undoubtedly. I did most of my work very hurriedly. Those letters were written in five minutes for the Sunday Star, most of the time. But that was my policy and my attitude from the very beginning.

Senator WOLCOTT. It was thoroughly anti-British, was it not?

Mr. VON BOSSE. I will not deny that.

Senator WOLCOTT. Yes. Well, for instance, on January 30—I do not know whether it was in 1916 or 1915—you wrote a letter which I take to be a very subtle attempt to excite a feeling among the people of Irish blood against the allied cause in the war and in favor of the German cause; and in that letter you referred to some book that had been published——

Mr. VON BOSSE. Probably McGuire's book. He is an ex-mayor of Syracuse.

Senator WOLCOTT. Yes. The book is dedicated to John Mitchell.

Mr. VON BOSSE. That is it.

Senator WOLCOTT. You say, on page 5, as follows:

A beautiful verse on the first page shows what the contents of the book portray.

Then you give the verse, which is as follows:

Then will be born the Millenium of Peace,
And oh! what a garland will bloom in the sun
When the oakleaf of Deutschland, the olive of Greece
And the trefoil of Ireland are blended in one.

You undoubtedly contemplated an alliance between Germany, Greece, and Ireland.

Mr. VON BOSSE. Hardly.

Senator WOLCOTT. You called that a beautiful verse.

Mr. VON BOSSE. Possibly. I was asked to write a review on that book. You know how we review books most of the time.

Senator STERLING. When was that with reference to the Sinn Fein rebellion, before or after?

Senator WOLCOTT. This book was——

Mr. VON BOSSE. That book was written by the ex-mayor of Syracuse, Mr. McGuire, when he returned from abroad.

Senator WOLCOTT. Then you continued using this language:

As one more instance of how the Irish feel, the following poem:

I watch the red flame fiercer grow
The tide of war—its ebb and flow,
And see the nations writhe and strain,
I, who for Freedom long am fain,
The while I pray: "Swift fall the blow
That razes tyrant England low,"—

I suppose that is the Irish anthem.

Mr. VON BOSSE. I do not know what it is.

Senator STERLING. Is this his language?

Mr. VON BOSSE. No; I did not write that. I was mentioning it.

Senator WOLCOTT (continuing reading):

On her whose fetters seared my soul,
Whose rule is cursed from pole to pole,
Whose track across my hist'ry lies
One reeking path of infamies,
Whose brutal hoofs scarce left a trace
Of my past beauty in my face.

Thy stroke be sure, oh, Germany,
This wish I send thee o'er the sea,
From Shannon air to lordly Rhine,
The foe who fronts thee, too is mine;
Could'st be, my hosts with thine would be,
And my revenge—thy victory.

My sons, as thine, are true and brave,
To aid thee in thy task they crave,
To bring the pride of England low,
And vengeance wreak for all my woe,
God grant 'tis thine to overthrow
And crush to earth our common foe.

Now, that is only a sample of your—I will not say neutralized—views prior to our entrance into the war; so that do you not think that it hardly, at least, would come with good grace from you to

complain that there was some unneutral sentiment in this country on the allied side?

Mr. VON BOSSE. Senator, I was one man in Wilmington in almost that whole city. It was all over the country. I was alone there. They could have smothered me if they had wanted to with arguments, letters, and articles. I stood out as one man, with the exception possibly of a very few, and I was honest and sincere in my belief that I was doing the right thing then. It would have been easy for anybody to have taken me up on it, and, as I say, the whole press was against me. You know that yourself.

Senator WOLCOTT. Well, I think, as the old expression is down in the lower part of my State, that "you started it first."

Mr. VON BOSSE. No, sir; I did not start to write until, I believe, in October. I do not think I wrote before.

Senator STERLING. Of what year?

Mr. VON BOSSE. 1914.

Senator KING. Dr. von Bosse, you and the National German-American Alliance justified the betrayal and destruction of Belgium by Germany, did you not?

Mr. VON BOSSE. I can not answer your question as it is put, Senator, whether yes or no.

Senator KING. And you justified, and your organization justified, Germany's violation of her treaty and her treating it as a scrap of paper in entering Belgium?

Mr. VON BOSSE. Senator, we never justified anything of that kind.

Senator WOLCOTT. Why, Mr. von Bosse, you justified the German treatment of Belgium.

Mr. VON BOSSE. We justified it in the current way——

Senator WOLCOTT. I am speaking of you individually.

Mr. VON BOSSE. Yes; I know what you mean. What we believed was that there was not a neutral attitude and that the treaty had by itself been abrogated. I am not speaking as my opinion at the present time, but what we believed at that date.

Senator WOLCOTT. That is, you thought the Belgians got what they were entitled to?

Mr. VON BOSSE. Whatever—I do not know how you want to express it. I do not think so; no.

Senator KING. While Senator Wolcott is looking up something I will ask you another question. Your organization, through the Bulletin, editorially and otherwise, approved of the action of Germany in entering Belgium, did it not?

Mr. VON BOSSE. I do not recollect, Senator.

Senator KING. You and your organization believed that the war, which began in August, 1914, was justifiable upon the part of Germany, did you not?

Mr. VON BOSSE. That the war was justifiable on the part of Germany?

Senator KING. Yes; that Germany was not to blame.

Mr. VON BOSSE. Yes; we believed that.

Senator STERLING. You were a member of the organization at the breaking out of the war in 1914, were you?

Mr. VON BOSSE. A member of the State branch of Delaware.

Senator STERLING. Were you an officer in that branch?

Mr. VON BOSSE. In 1914?

Senator STERLING. Yes.

Mr. VON BOSSE. No, sir; I do not think so.

Senator STERLING. That branch was a member of the national organization, was it not?

Mr. VON BOSSE. Yes, sir.

Senator KING. And you and your organization—when I say your organization I mean the National German-American Alliance——

Mr. VON BOSSE. Yes.

Senator KING (continuing). Justified and supported Germany in all that she did until the breaking out of the war—until the time when our country entered into the war; is not that true?

Mr. VON BOSSE. I could not answer that, Senator. I stated before, to Senator Wolcott, that I publicly wrote, upon a number of occasions, that I did not defend everything that Germany did.

Senator KING. You justified, did you not, and so also did your organization, the action of Germany in delimiting activities upon the sea; that is, in carving out a portion of the sea and forbidding the ships of other nations going within that delimited zone at the risk of being sunk by Germany?

Mr. VON BOSSE. I can not answer for the Alliance on that.

Senator KING. You do not know, then, whether the Alliance favored that or not——

Mr. VON BOSSE. I do not think so.

Senator KING. Justified it?

Mr. VON BOSSE. There has been, so far as I know, no official resolution to that effect.

Senator KING. Did not your paper, the organ of the organization, justify it?

Mr. VON BOSSE. It may have, but I do not know.

Senator KING. Was there any condemnation by any of your organizations, local, State, or national, of Germany's submarine warfare or proclamations under which our vessels, the vessels of this country, would be sunk if they came within the area which was carved out of the ocean by that proclamation of Germany?

Mr. VON BOSSE. I think I can say "no" to the first half of your question, but I could not answer the last half.

Senator KING. You know of no action ever having been taken condemning Germany's course in forbidding the American people using the high seas, do you?

Mr. VON BOSSE. My answer would be misconstrued. I can not answer that.

Senator KING. I am sure that the committee will try to construe it in the spirit in which you desire to give it, Mr. von Bosse.

Mr. VON BOSSE. I know only that all of our branches and every one of us absolutely believed in and upheld the right of American citizens to travel, with this distinction, on American ships: we did not at that time believe in Americans traveling on belligerent vessels.

Senator KING. Did not your organization take the position that Americans ought to keep out of the war zone entirely, on any ship?

Mr. VON BOSSE. I do not know if they did that officially, but I do know that that was our position.

Senator KING. And did not your organization also go further and try to secure an embargo not only as to munitions being shipped

abroad but everything else and an embargo upon travel by Americans to Europe?

Mr. VON BOSSE. I do not think the organization did that as such.

Senator KING. Did not the organization try to secure an embargo upon munitions?

Mr. VON BOSSE. I do not think the organization as such did that.

Senator KING. Did not the president of your organization issue a proclamation or an address recommending that telegrams be sent by the local organizations to the Senators and Congressmen?

Mr. VON BOSSE. He may have done that. That is why I say I do not think so, because so far as I knew at that time the State branches individually were engaged in it, and he may have done that. I do not know.

Senator KING. Was not that really done pursuant to the directions of Dr. Hexamer, president of your organization?

Mr. VON BOSSE. Not in Delaware.

Senator KING. Did he not frequently wire to the local organizations for them to send telegrams to Senators and Congressmen when matters were up for consideration of a political or semipolitical character?

Mr. VON BOSSE. Undoubtedly he did that.

Senator KING. For instance, if the question of immigration was the subject of attention at the hands of your national organization; that is true, is it not?

Mr. VON BOSSE. I suppose so.

Senator KING. As I understood your statement a moment ago, your national organization attempted to secure legislation favorable to the views you have expressed in your address——

Mr. VON BOSSE. On immigration?

Senator KING. In your statement there.

Mr. VON BOSSE. Yes.

Senator STERLING. You got the Official Bulletin, did you not, Mr. von Bosse?

Mr. VON BOSSE. I received it, Senator; but among the many things that I read in the course of the week, I could not exactly state under oath whether or not a certain thing was positively in there.

Senator STERLING. You knew Dr. Hexamer very well before you succeeded him as president of the organization?

Mr. VON BOSSE. Yes; I knew him fairly well.

Senator STERLING. You had correspondence with him from time to time?

Mr. VON BOSSE. Very little.

Senator WOLCOTT. Coming back to the Belgians, of course I realize, Mr. von Bosse, that your individual views can not be ascribed to the corporation.

Mr. VON BOSSE. No; that we are investigating.

Senator WOLCOTT. I see that. However, it seems to me that the views you entertained prior to the time of your being elected president of the national organization have some bearing on the inquiry we are pursuing, because I assume that your views were known to the German-Americans of this country and that they therefore knew——

Mr. VON BOSSE. Not farther than Delaware—oh, or possibly Philadelphia.

Senator WOLCOTT. Possibly so. But at all events, what the president of an organization thinks and has thought before he became president, it seems to me, to a degree is relevant to an inquiry designed to bring out what that organization stands for; and that is why I am going to refer to this matter of Belgium again. You stated on March 8, 1917, shortly before we went into the war, as follows:

As I do not believe that Belgium was neutral (not in the sense of our neutrality) and as the extracts from secret treaties between England, France, and Belgium, found in the Brussels archives, are so much like the discovered Japanese-Mexico plot, I can not excuse Belgium on this score. The Bryce report and others on the so-called German atrocities fail to mention dates, names, and trials. The German reports, however, which are in my possession, give these items of the franc-tireur warfare.

What does that mean?

Mr. VON BOSSE. Franc-tireur?

Senator WOLCOTT. What does it mean?

Mr. VON BOSSE. It means "from behind the bush"; "guerilla," as you call it.

Senator WOLCOTT (continuing reading):

of the franc-tireur warfare of the Belgians, justifying stern measures. A citizen soldiery may fight and expect respect, but there was none such in Belgium.

Now that, to my mind, is clearly a defense of the German outrage perpetrated on that little country.

Mr. VON BOSSE. Not a defense of the outrage.

Senator WOLCOTT. A defense of the outrage of her violation of the neutrality of Belgium by marching across her territory. That is what I mean by "the outrage." I can not regard it in any other light.

Mr. VON BOSSE. Possibly not, but I do.

Senator WOLCOTT. How do you justify it?

Mr. VON BOSSE. I stated in the beginning that I believed she was not neutral. If I had thought that Belgium had been neutral at that time, I possibly should not have said a word about it or condemned it; but that is the way I looked at it at that time, which is absolutely different from the way you look at it.

Senator WOLCOTT. Yes. You based your belief, I suppose, on this wonderful evidence which Dr. Dernberg promised.

Mr. VON BOSSE. I never read it.

Senator WOLCOTT. You referred to the "secret treaties"——

Mr. VON BOSSE. That is a different book.

Senator WOLCOTT. Between France and Belgium; and that is the wonderful evidence——

Mr. VON BOSSE. That is not the book Dr. Dernberg published.

Senator WOLCOTT. I am not referring to the book. I know he flooded the country through the newspaper press.

Mr. VON BOSSE (continuing). I have the official book sent by Germany over here at that time and all the——

Senator WOLCOTT. I know that Dr. Dernberg heralded that he was going to make a wonderful disclosure about how Belgium had violated her neutrality and how it was going to justify Germany's ruthless march across Belgium; and then when this wonderful evidence came out it was a disclosure of these secret treaties between France and England and Belgium, which, when I read it, I

thought formed a puerile argument that would not have done credit to a common, ordinary American schoolboy. Now, you referred here to nothing but these secret treaties.

Senator KING. Do you recall, on that point, that von Bethmann-Hollweg stated solemnly in the Reichstag that Germany had violated the neutrality of Belgium, that she had committed a great and grievous wrong, and would have to make reparation?

Mr. VON BOSSE. Yes; I remember reading that.

Senator WOLCOTT. Yes; but you do not agree with von Bethmann-Hollweg, or you did not at the time you wrote this?

Mr. VON BOSSE. No.

Senator WOLCOTT. You could not excuse Belgium. And then is it not true that subsequently you defended the deportations from Belgium?

Mr. VON BOSSE. No, sir; I do not think so, the way you possibly wish to know. I do not think I defended them.

Senator WOLCOTT. Well, again I might misconstrue your language.

Mr. VON BOSSE. I might stand corrected, but I do not think I did.

Senator WOLCOTT. I think I have a clipping here on that. This is dated February 2, 1917, a letter of yours to the editor of the Delmarvia Sunday Star, in which you said:

Another point of interest is that regarding the deportations of the Belgians. One may decry this procedure as much as one wants to, but at the same time such persons are decrying their own American history. During the Civil War the entire population of three counties of Missouri were deported by government soldiers into other parts of the country because they disobeyed orders and became unruly. If we took part of Mexico we would undoubtedly do as the Germans have done in this respect to guard our men from continued treachery. The Belgians are in a class with the Mexicans?

Mr. VON BOSSE. I stand corrected.

Senator STERLING. You admit now that you did seek to justify Germany in deporting Belgians?

Mr. VON BOSSE. I admit it, according to what has been presented; possibly from a different viewpoint.

Senator WOLCOTT. Then on January 28, 1917, you answered a charge of the deportation of Belgians by adopting a favorite method of argument, which is to defend one thing by pointing out something worse done by somebody else. On that occasion you defended the charge of the deportation of Belgians by saying that Britain is practicing in this country—

Slavery such as was not practiced in the palmiest days of southern slavery (introduced by Britain).

I think, as a matter of fact, it was introduced by the Dutch in America, was it not?

Slavery such as makes one's blood run cold, such as is even less humane than our annual lynching parties and whipping post spectacles; slavery which is degrading and most cruel.

Now, that slavery which is being practiced by Britain in this country to-day, you go on to say, is constituted by the bringing of a boatload of Hindus over here to this country in some manner to work in munition factories. I cite that as showing a further disposition to defend these Belgian outrages.

Mr. VON BOSSE. Have you finished?

Senator KING. Proceed, Dr. von Bosse.

Mr. VON BOSSE (reading):

"We have heard so much of the alleged disloyal remarks of our former president Dr. C. J. Hexamer, that I herewith beg leave to offer an address, which the doctor delivered and in which he beautifully portrayed our views of American and Americanism."

This is an address delivered on Flag Day, June 14, 1916, at the Betsy Ross House in Philadelphia, where the first American Flag was made. Shall I read this or shall I just offer it?

Senator KING. You may do as you like about that.

Mr. VON BOSSE. I will read it. It is as follows:

ADDRESS OF DR. C. J. HEXAMER, PRESIDENT OF THE NATIONAL GERMAN AMERICAN ALLIANCE, AT THE CELEBRATION OF FLAG DAY, JUNE 14, 1916, AT THE BETSY ROSS HOUSE, PHILADELPHIA (WHERE THE FIRST AMERICAN FLAG WAS MADE.)

We Americans have experienced much and some of us have endured much within the last two years and, as experience is the best teacher, we have all learned many important lessons since the outbreak of the terrible war in Europe. More or less, the whole world is afflicted and suffers. Our own beloved country has at times not been spared intense anxiety, and human sympathies have been aroused, pulling at the very heartstrings of many of our citizens. Everyone of the nations in deadly conflict has relatives living among us, and whether they are here in large or small numbers, whether they occupy modest spheres in our national life or whether they hold influential and powerful positions, makes no difference to a true republican, for every true American's creed is that all men are born free and equal. By becoming an American citizen a man becomes our brother and everyone of us should feel that he is the peer of any potentate on earth. To me to be an American citizen, freely exercising the right of free speech and action, gladly shouldering all the responsibilities to make this a greater and a better nation, is the proudest title any man or woman can acquire in all the world. No matter to whom we American citizens are related, or from which nationality our ancestors sprang, we have a perfect right to be proud of the achievements of men of our blood, the part they played in furthering civilization, and what they did in the upbuilding of the American nation. We Americans should respect every other American citizen whatever his racial extraction. Since the founding of our Republic we have lived peaceably side by side, and so we should continue in the future, for this has been the secret of our national strength, we have all contributed to the "melting pot" the best that was in our ancestral races and we should continue to do so. Our Constitution grants us, and our flag stands for, the inalienable right of each American, regardless of racial derivation, creed or color, to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. A stranger now coming to our shores might gain the impression that Old Glory no longer waves over a united American people. A sane statesman, endowed with calm judicial judgment, a few days ago said: "This flag means more than association and reward. It is the symbol of our national unity, our national endeavor, our national aspiration. It tells you of the struggle for independence, of union preserved, of liberty and union one and inseparable, of the sacrifices of brave men and women to whom the ideals and honor of this nation have been dearer than life. It speaks of equal rights; of the inspiration of free institutions exemplified and vindicated; of liberty under law intelligently conceived and impartially administered. There is not a thread in it but scorns self-indulgence, weakness and rapacity. It is eloquent of our common interests—outweighing all divergences of opinion—and of our common destiny."

All Americans proud of Old Glory, and all that for which it stands, today celebrate "Flag Day." Those of us of German birth, or extraction, are happy in the knowledge of loyalty and devotion proved upon hundreds of battlefields and thousands of civic contests by the men of our blood since the birth of our nation to the present day. Our record stands forth proudly and confidently against the attacks of our traducers. We have always, as American citizens proved our good citizenship and we and our ancestors in this country have been an honor to our nation. True Americanism knows no distinction of race or creed and does not take sides with any foreign nation! It demands a true neutrality, solely for the defense of American rights and in the best

interest of the United States against any aggression from whichever side it may come. It follows faithfully and loyally where our flag leads. But those who by one or the other motive are pointing to some of their fellow-citizens, insinuating that because they are of a birth or an extraction other than themselves they are therefore a distinct group, and acclaim them deserters to their country's flag, are committing a crime against the life of our body politic and are shaking the very foundation upon which our Republic rests. The embers of mistrust and hate which they, knowingly or ignorantly, tried to blow into flames shall, however, be extinguished by the good sense of the American people—the plain, the common people to whom Lincoln once appealed, not in vain, to preserve our union. Let us all honestly endeavor to live in peace and harmony, all of us striving with every fiber within us to serve our nation.

One flag, one land, one heart, one hand,
Our Nation evermore!

Senator STERLING. By whom was that?

Mr. VON BOSSE. That was the Flag Day address of Dr. Hexamer at the Betsy Ross House, June 14, 1916.

Here is a quotation from the Official Bulletin of April, 1916, page 13. Do you wish to hear this? These are resolutions adopted by the German-American Alliance of Iowa at its convention held at Davenport, Iowa, March 17 and 18, 1916.

Senator KING. You can read it if you wish, but we will read it if it is put in the record.

Mr. VON BOSSE. I will file it, then, without reading.

Senator KING. It will be a part of your testimony and will receive due consideration.

Mr. VON BOSSE. Very well.

(The matter referred to is as follows:)

STATE CONVENTION OF THE GERMAN-AMERICAN ALLIANCE OF IOWA—THE LOYALTY OF THE GERMAN-AMERICANS.

The German-American Alliance of Iowa at its convention held at Davenport March 17 and 18, 1916, adopted the following resolutions:

Since the creation of this Republic the German resident of this country and he of German descent were ever to be found among the first ready to take up arms when necessary for the welfare, honor, and maintenance of the Union. With joy and enthusiasm he followed such calls, not alone because he knew what he owed to his new fatherland, but also because he loved it. German blood has flowed on all the battle fields in the wars fought for the liberation and maintenance of the Union; it was given willingly and with joy. To this and even more owing to his great works in peace—as in the opening and settlement of the vast prairie lands, and through his influence in commerce and industry, and through his love for music and the arts, as in his achievements in the fields of science, the German-American has earned a right to this country, ought to place him above the calumnies and hatred against everything that is German, so high above the expression, "miserable, illoyal creatures," which the present chief of this country applied to us, that we find it beneath our dignity and self-esteem to meet such insinuations otherwise than with contempt.

The German-American knows what he owes this country. He lives up to the oath of allegiance, although he may be forced by a partial government with bleeding heart to fight for England and against his own old Fatherland, as was recommended at the meeting of the American Rights Committee in Carnegie Hall in New York on March 13; but may the Gods prevent this, for that would be awful. For the United States to enter into the European slaughter were naught else "than a carrying of its kin to market for England." If it really should come to this, a thing so terrible to us, we and all honest, neutral Americans with or without hyphen will know who alone and all alone is the cause of it.

The German-American will be true to his oath of allegiance to the country of his choice, but he will not forget those who brought this misery upon him.

And he will do all in his power to see that the next administration will be American, neither pro-British nor pro-German, but only a truly American administration.

The German-American State Alliance of Iowa therefore resolves and obligates all its members to vote at the next presidential election only for a man who is willing to hold aloof the Stars and Stripes unsoiled and who will stand for true and real Americanism.

A man like President Wilson, who does not know real Americanism or does not want to know it, as otherwise he would not have allowed our arch enemy—the enemy of the entire world—all the transgressions, the destruction of our commerce, the robbery of our mail, and the like, as if the United States were only its vassal state, and who intends to prohibit Germany, which is at war with England, from doing anything, with the clear intent to aid the British haberdashers; or a man like ex-President Roosevelt, who has lost by his reckless actions the appellation "gentleman," which every President ought to be, can not receive the vote of a German-American.

The German-American State Alliance of Iowa therefore furthermore resolves and pledges its members not to vote for any one of those mentioned for the office of President, but to oppose their renomination and reelection with all honest means at its disposal, and to use all its influence that the country may again have at its head a man who will govern this country in the olden-time honest American manner, true to his country and himself, as our forefathers did.

It calls upon all its members to secure new members who will act in the sense of the above resolutions so that when the day comes for fulfilling our pledges a united German-Americanism, which, notwithstanding the hyphen, honors the duties and rights of American citizenship higher than the present President and his pro-British adherents, will be ready to try conclusions at the polls. We will not and can not wait until it is too late for a free Americanism. We have earned the right through our contribution in blood, our peace, and cultural work to the American melting pot, to speak weighty words and we should and will make use of this right. But we will do so more united and with more power than heretofore; then our voice will not be unheard.

(The following, from the Official Bulletin for April, 1916, page 2, was ordered inserted in the record:)

GOV. WHITMAN'S PROTEST.

Gov. Whitman, of New York, has been added to the Americans who are convinced that the baiting of German-Americans prosecuted by certain people with much force is as unjust as it is un-American. In an address held March 12 at the Y. M. C. A. in the Bronx, New York, he said, among other things:

"It is an insult to our forefathers and a blow to our democratic institutions to see a traitor in every foreign-born fellow citizen. It would truly be unnatural if those who emigrated into this country would not have a certain piety for the land of their birth, and it would be cruel and unfair to make a feeling of this kind, so natural, a pretext for malicious attacks upon the Americanism of foreign-born citizens. We need the said the restoration of our proud sense of independence. Dangerous extreme tendencies arise during the hysterical moments, and if they are not stopped they will threaten our national and spiritual integrity."

Mr. VON BOSSE (reading):

"If the charter of this organization is revoked it will work untold havoc among its members. Not that they will revolt or anything of the sort. We know our full duty and appreciate our obligations. But a revocation will of necessity hurt these thousands of members to the quick! To date the charter has absolutely prevented the national organization as such from participating in partisan politics. As such the charter has served as the best curb for individual political coups. Time and again such individuals have deprecated the ties, which bound the body, but the most earnest leaders of the movement, imbued by their mission of educational and patriotic progress alone

have insistingly adhered to the provisions of the charter and always stood as they thought by its requirements."

Senator WOLCOTT. Just a minute; let me ask you this: The possession of this national charter has not, however, been effective in restraining the subordinate organizations—affiliated organizations—from participation in partisan politics?

Mr. VON BOSSE. No; I shall come to that later, Senator. I did point it out under the organization itself, how it was made up, under State branches; but I shall take that up, more thoroughly than I could answer it, undoubtedly, later on.

Senator WOLCOTT. All right.

Senator KING. Do you mean to have this committee understand that Dr. Hexamer as president of the organization has not urged solidarity and race unity politically upon the part of the German-Americans?

Mr. VON BOSSE. Not for partisan politics.

Senator KING. Has he not urged that they unite and organize for political purposes?

Mr. VON BOSSE. I could not answer that; I do not know if he has or not, for political purposes.

Senator KING. Would you not regard his agreement with Mr. Percy Andreae, representing the corporation known as the National Association of Commerce and Labor, by the terms of which your organization was to receive approximately $15,000 a year and your vice president was to be put in charge of a propaganda, activity along political lines?

Mr. VON BOSSE. I spoke with the Doctor on this subject yesterday morning, and his explanation to me is that he absolutely did not want the national body as such to have anything to do with it, that he and Mr. Andreae simply agreed upon a third person, whom you heard in person, and I believe that Mr. Andreae in his testimony brought out the fact that the Doctor for some reason or other did not want the organization to mix up in politics; and when you questioned Mr. Andreae on that subject he answered that he could not say what was in Dr. Hexamer's mind, why he did not want that.

Senator KING. Your interpretation of the testimony is entirely different, Dr. von Bosse, from the interpretation I placed upon the testimony of Mr. Andreae.

Mr. VON BOSSE. Yes.

Senator KING. Mr. Andreae's testimony, as I remember it, was to this effect, namely, that Dr. Hexamer did not care to handle the money or to himself actively engage in this propaganda but designated your first vice president and authorized him to proceed, and Mr. Tjarks, the head of your finance committee, was authorized to receive and make disbursement of the money, and that the organization itself was to be used for this antiprohibition campaign propaganda. Now, Mr. Andreae made that very clear in his answers to questions propounded to him by Senator Wolcott.

Mr. VON BOSSE. I do not want to insinuate in the least that Mr. Andreae did not state what is so. I am simply telling you what the Doctor told me. I do not know anything about the affair excepting what I have heard from him, and his statement was that Mr. Keller's name was mentioned by Mr. Andreae and the Doctor asked if he

thought that Mr. Keller would be a good man for that purpose. Now, all I have is, as I would say of others, hearsay evidence from others.

Senator KING. Do you not recall the admission of your own attorney here—possibly that was made in your absence——

Mr. VON BOSSE. I read all the testimony to date.

Senator KING. In regard to which Senator Wolcott suggested that he get authority from your directors to make of record that admission which he made openly here before the committee? The admission was that the national organization did engage in opposition to the prohibition campaign or propaganda or effort, and that, if that was sufficient cause for revoking the charter of the organization, then the committee might so recommend, or words to that effect.

Mr. VON BOSSE. We do not deny that we fought prohibition, as the attorney said in his testimony, I think, "tooth and toenail", or something to that effect. We do not deny that.

Senator KING. That is, that your organization did do that, just as your attorney admitted?

Mr. VON BOSSE. I do not believe that the organization as such spent one cent for that purpose, Senator, but that it fought it on legitimate grounds of educational politics, if I can call it that.

Senator KING. I understand what you mean. I understand that many people take the view that prohibition, especially national in character, is improper, that is a local matter.

Mr. VON BOSSE. Yes.

Senator KING. And that it is a legitimate thing for organizations to contest any effort to obtain national prohibition. I will say I personally do not believe very much in a constitutional amendment for prohibition: that is, I think that is a matter that the States themselves ought to work out; but I believe in State-wide prohibition.

But the question was whether the organization might be used for that purpose, and I am not questioning your motives or the propriety or impropriety but just trying to ascertain what the attitude of your organization was.

Mr. VON BOSSE. I understand you.

Senator KING. Whether you claimed that it was within the province of your charter to engage in propaganda against prohibition. Your attorney, as I understand him, has made the admission that you so considere dit and that you had opposed, as puritanical, the prohibition movement, nationally and in communities.

Mr. VON BOSSE. We do not deny that, Senator.

Senator KING. You may proceed, sir.

Mr. VON BOSSE (reading):

"How some of the German Americans are thinking on this matter can best be seen in the following statements, one from an antagonistic paper, the other from resolutions of a branch organization."

I shall file these for your consideration.

Senator KING. Very well.

(The matter referred to is here inserted in the record in full, as follows:)

This periodical does not intend to make common cause with the National Alliance, which in the hour of extreme danger has failed to protect against the most infamous assaults the cultural and political interests, the civic and personal honor, of the citizens of German descent, for whose benefit

it was organized. But this is not a question whether the Alliance was equal to its task and achieved its object; in fact, it is not a question in which the National Alliance is concerned at all. The resolution of the Senator is a most offensive assault upon a constitutional right of the German-American citizens, on the right to peacefully assemble, which is guaranteed without restrictions even to negroes and aliens. The denial of this privilege does not only constitute an attack on this civic right, but it involves a degradation of millions of human beings in their natural and civic status, at a time, too, in which America on foreign soil is sacrificing the blood of her sons for the defense of the principle of equal rights of all nations and individuals.

The mere attempt of having such a measure passed is a deadly offense which no German-American with a breath of self-respect in his make-up may submit to without protest. That Senator King should be put in the dock for his provocation of millions of citizens in this time of direst distress, to rise in self-defense to protect by every available means their rights, and to demand satisfaction for this insult.

We repeat: We are not linking our fortunes with that of the National Alliance. But we are bound to state that for the very reasons which, in our mind, make the National Alliance more or less useless, it should not be exposed to the attacks which first the garrulous rough rider and now Senator King has launched against this organization. The German-American Alliance is so innocuous that its executive committee, in order to leave no room for misrepresentation, resolved, in its session held at the end of last November in Chicago, to suspend this year the annual convention of the organization, a precaution which we disapprove of because on account of the misery of the present time an open-faced attitude of the German-Americans would seem to be particularly appropriate. If Mr. King should happen to be better informed than we are and be in possession of some facts to show that the German-American Alliance is guilty of some action or of plans detrimental to our national safety, or in contravention of patriotic duties, then it is the duty of the Senator from Utah to show his hand and to drag the guilty leaders of the German-American Alliance to the bar of justice.

The Senator may rest assured that in such an emergency the National Alliance would, on its own motion, pass a resolution to discontinue its organization, because not even one member would be left in an organization whose leaders were convicted of disloyal acts.

Mr. King has no proofs for such a charge, otherwise he would have started proceedings long ago. He is satisfied to create and to strengthen in the nation, which is already at fever heat, in a most cowardly and contemptible manner the belief that the German-American National Alliance, whose membership roll runs into the hundreds of thousands, is a hotbed of disloyal tendencies. (*Zeitgeist*, Jan. 26, 1918.)

RESOLUTIONS FROM SPOKANE.

At the regular monthly meeting on January 30th, 1918, of the German-American Central Verein of Spokane, a branch of the National Alliance, the following resolution was unanimously adopted:

That we earnestly protest against the passage of the bill to rescind the charter of the National German-American Alliance of the United States of America a bill introduced the 18th day of January in the United States Senate by Senator King of Utah; and give these our reasons therefor:—

1. That no responsible person has up to this time ever made an accusation or brought any charge, that the Alliance has in any way violated any of the provisions of its charter, or that its activities are harmful to the public welfare.

2. That if any suspicion exists of any evil activities of the Alliance, we insist that specific charges or accusations shall be filed either with the Department of Justice or with Congress, and we earnestly invite and will insist on a most thorough and critical investigation.

3. That the Alliance membership consists chiefly of citizens of the United States, many of whose ancestors have sacrificed their lives in the establishment of our Republic, many have proved their fealty in the war for the preservation of the Republic, many have emigrated from Germany as youths one or two generations back and have loyally contributed to the splendid moral, material and intellectual growth of their adopted country and taught their children and grandchildren their duties towards it, as is proven by the large number of them, or their descendants, now in obedience to the call of the government in the rank and file of our army and navy.

4. We have heretofore lived in the greatest amity and concord with our fellow citizens regardless of their place of birth, on the basis of equality; there are few of our families who have not by intermarriage a strain of the blood of the various nationalities of Europe now at war; we have not been considered; have never considered ourselves and do not now consider ourselves subjects of charity or benevolence, given shelter and sustenance without price or reward, but would not consider ourselves fit to be called American citizens if we were not convinced that our hosts have received full value from us for their hospitality.

5. That the rescission of our charter could not by any stretch of sophistry be called a war measure, because the Alliance has among other of its purposes the fostering of teaching the German language, so that the proposed action of Congress could only be construed as intended to discourage the teaching of that language, in which many thousands of our boys now on the way to or in the trenches in France heard their first lullabies from the lips of their mothers, a very fatal attempt of given greater zest to their patriotic ardor, especially when their duty, unfortunately, requires them to engage in combat with those of their blood and who speak the same language.

6. Since our country has engaged in this war and for several years before, we have in the face of unjust and unreasoning provocation on the part of those, either devoid of conscience or reasoning power, or blinded by racial or other prejudices, or selfish interests, borne humiliations and calumnies hurled at us either directly or by sinister insinuations to a degree nearly of abjectness, deferring our justification to a time of calmness, and because convinced that these loud mouthed villifiers did not represent the calm judgment of our people, but the proposed Act would dignify their malicious slanders and brand us and our children with the official stamp of inferiority, which, while not indelible, would for generations to come prevent that co-operation between all people, without which it can never attain that greatness which we desire for it and to which it is destined.

7. Some of our detractors have tried to mix their bitter attacks on us with candied words and honeyed phrases, ad nauseam, but no fine spun words will blind us to the sad fact, if this bill is passed, that we are in this country of our birth or of our adoption in the future to be treated as citizens of an inferior or second class.

No Republic can endure which permits a classification of citizenship.

We are the peers of any and all of our fellow citizens and we demand recognition as such, we demand NOTHING MORE AND WILL BE SATISFIED WITH NOTHING LESS.

The meeting further resolved, that a copy of this resolution be mailed to each member of the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States from the State of Washington.

ADOLPH MUNTER, *President.*
W. L. NIEHORSTER, *Secretary.*

Mr. VON BOSSE (reading):

"Besides this, the general feeling among German-Americans is partially reflected in the following editorials, one from the New York Staats Zeitung and one from Issues and Events, and the accompanying telegrams."

I will also file these.

Senator KING. The committee will be glad to receive them.

(The matter referred to is as follows:)

LETTERS AND TELEGRAMS.

AKRON, OHIO, *February 28, 1918.*

Rev. GEORGE S. VON BOSSE,
President National German-American Alliance,
Philadelphia, Pa.

DEAR SIR: It gives me pleasure to advise you that the City Branch of Akron, Ohio, resolved in its last meeting, upon motion of Delegate Robert L. Soergel, to stand faithfully and honestly as ever by the side of the National Alliance in its hour of trial.

Submitting this for your information, I remain,

Very respectfully,

ALBERT LANG, *Secretary.*

JUNCTION CITY, KANS., *February 26, 1918.*

ADOLPH TIMM,
419 Walnut Street, Philadelphia, Pa.:

Impossible to be in Washington Saturday, being on duty, as you know, with the Army. You may allude to it if called before the committee. Hope you are able to clear up our right to charter.

F. H. DAMMASCH.

SAN FRANCISCO, CAL., *February 27, 1918.*

JOHN TJARKS,
Hotel Raleigh, Baltimore:

Impossible for me to come. Please remind Senate of our convention held and reception received by highest officials in Washington, 1911.

JOHN HERMANN.

SEATTLE, WASH., *February 27, 1918.*

ADOLPH TIMM,
Secretary, Philadelphia:

Regret unable to attend. Urgent Government contracts require my attention. Am hopeful that Senate committee will dispose of the issue with fairness. In the name of our State organization I pledge unequivocal loyalty, and would not countenance any act or word not strictly in accord with our sacred duties of citizenship. Many of us have sons at the front. I have given two to serve their country.

FRED KLINGER, *State President.*

GREAT BEND, KANS., *February 27, 1918.*

ADOLPH TIMM,
Philadelphia:

Message received. Can not undertake the trip on account of my health, otherwise I would be with you. Wishing you success before the Senate Judiciary Committee.

FRED ZUTAVERN, *President.*

CINCINNATI, OHIO, *February 27, 1918.*

MR. ADOLPH TIMM,
419 Walnut Street, Philadelphia, Pa.

MY DEAR MR. TIMM: Received telegram and letter and am still intending to come to Washington, but whether it is possible for me to leave depends upon a number of matters before me.

If I can get away, I will meet you at the Hotel Raleigh on Friday evening. I long to appear before the committee so as to give those men a chance to ask any and all questions of me concerning the work and the position of the national as well as the State organizations.

I do not know the man Ohlinger, nor do I know anything about his actions. It nevertheless appears to me that he must have a personal reason to appear before the committee and slander our organization. His venom seems to be principally directed against Dr. Hexamer, and if I were to appear before the committee I would call the attention of the committee to the fact that some of his statements are not true, at least I can say they are not true, because requests, as he stated, were never made upon me by the national organization, and if Dr. Hexamer should have made some errors, he is not now our president and the organization could not be called to account for any action of its former president.

I would like to give said committee my reasons why I am loyal and even patriotic, and that I have stated those reasons to our members from the platform, in their meeting halls, and in the newspapers, and I vouch for every one of them, because I know they are as loyal as I have been myself.

My reasons are these: We came to this country on our own volition; we were not called by America, but when we landed on its shores, while we were not received with open arms, nothing was put in our way to get a foothold

here and to make a living, and some of us reached a higher station in life than probably would have been possible for them in the old country. In due time we were admitted to citizenship and with this favor, we were not only made participants to the benefits of said citizenship, we also assumed the burdens and must do so if there are any connected with it. Some of us entered into marriage and have families, and, like in my own case, the wife, children, and grandchildren were all born in my adopted country. Now, as I said, in my own case, all the members of my family, of which there are eight, call this country their fatherland, while I am the only one in the family who calls Germany his fatherland. What right have I, as one in the family, to put my fatherland above the fatherland of the other eight members in my family? I have a duty to perform towards those members in my family and have no right to be the cause that in later years somebody may point his finger at my children or grandchildren and say to them, "Your father or grandfather was a traitor to his adopted country."

Whenever I have brought this home to the men in our organization in speaking to them during the last few years, I saw their faces light up; I saw how happy they felt to have something tangible, and if there was really one among a thousand who felt differently, to whom they could explain in the above mentioned way that it is their duty as a citizen as well as the moral duty to be faithful to this country.

I vouch for all our men to be absolutely loyal and patriotic, and I dare say that the man who says anything contrary to this, as far as the State organization of Ohio is concerned, tells a bare-faced lie, and there is no doubt in my mind that the same can be said of everything that is said to the detriment of the national organization.

Yours truly,

J. SCHWAAB.

[New Yorker Staats-Zeitung, Feb. 26, 1918.]

AT IT AGAIN.

The charges made against the German-American Alliance by Gustavus Ohlinger are obviously the vaporings of an irresponsible person, seeking to secure a certain amount of personal publicity by methods which have recently come into vogue with certain classes in this country. They appear to be inspired less by any animosity to the Alliance as such than by a hatred of Americans of German extraction generally. The support which they have received from Maurice Leon speaks ill for their disinterestedness.

Whatever the German-American Alliance attempted or accomplished in this country, up to the time the United States entered the war, was only what any other group of American citizens were entitled to attempt to accomplish. Since the United States entered the war, it has conducted itself with apparently impeccable propriety.

The purpose of the German-American Alliance is educational and cultural. It was organized not to obstruct the assimilation as Americans of immigrants from Germany but to make that assimilation more perfect by encouraging them to bring to it the best that is in German civilization. This purpose is quite as legitimate as that of the Alliance Française, which seeks to maintain alive among Americans of French extraction the best traditions of France, or that of the Pilgrim Society, which aims at serving Anglo-Americans in the same way. To destroy the charter of the German-American Alliance without at the same time suppressing its sister societies would be an act so utterly unfair and so un-American as to defeat of the object of the Ohlinger propaganda, which its author claims to be the emphasizing of the absolute necessity for "united nationalism in this country". Such "united nationalism" can be secured and maintained unimpaired best by all Americans recognizing in all other Americans sentiments of loyalty quite as deep and quite as sincere as those entertained by themselves.

A former President of the Alliance was not the only American to receive a decoration from the German Emperor before the war. Some very distinguished Americans have also received orders from France, and others have been honored by Great Britain. It is rather puerile, therefore, to find in the Alliance the "core of the Kultur cyst in the American body politic", simply because an Iron Cross was once discovered in the possession of one of its officers.

The investigation that is being carried out by the Senate Judiciary Committe, which was organized following the introduction of a bill by Senator King of Utah providing for the repeal of the law under which the Alliance was chartered, will in all probability result in a complete vindication of its officers and its actions.

The Reverend S. G. von Bosse, President of the Alliance, who was interviewed on Sunday just as he was leaving for his church, which had been presented with a service flag by the Girl Scouts, said: "Our defence will be made with all sincerity and as much dignity as is possible, under the circumstances, when we feel that millions of true and faithful citizens have been wantonly insulted. Our papers and books are open for inspection to-day, as they have ever been, to persons in responsible position. All that we have done is on record, and will be our vindication when the time comes."

When that vindication is of record it will only remain to inscribe on the rôle of German-American baiters a few more names who sought publicity and found ignomy, and to regret that their disloyal and disintegrating machinations could make so much ado over nothing.

BERNARD H. RIDDER.

[Issues and Events, Mar. 9, 1918.]

GERMAN AMERICAN ALLIANCE ON TRIAL.

Ere this appears in print the officers of the German American Alliance will probably have been heard by the special Senate committee in rebuttal of the testimony offered by Gustavus Ohlinger and Henry G. Campbell, associate editor of the Milwaukee Journal.

This testimony is peculiarly lacking in the quality of eligible evidence, and consists principally of opinions of the witnesses themselves and the corroborative opinions of absent witnesses. Ohlinger, for instance, quoted one William Le Quex, a writer of sensational novels, to prove that Dr. Hexamer is "the Kaiser's deputy," or viceroy, in the United States. This evidence is supplied by a "secret speech" of the Kaiser quoted by Le Quex.

Now Le Quex's place in literature is about the same as that of the esteemed Nick Carter on this side of the Atlantic, and we should hesitate seriously bfore condemning an American citizen on such evidence. The Senate should by all means summon Le Quex to prove that he was quoting from an authentic secret speech of the Kaiser.

We have just witnessed the spectacle of the dethronement of Mr. John Revelstoke Rathom from his exalted pedestal of a dispenser of sensational news regarding German plotters, and the ill fate that betided this long popular writer of war fiction may shake the throne also of his fellow countryman, Le Quex. Candidly, we would not accept the evidence of either without strong corroboration.

Ohlinger conducts himself like a man with a secret grievance. His booklet, "Their True Faith and Allegiance," devoted to a bitter attack on the German element in the United States, and entirely ignoring the cultural and constructive influence of this element on American life, is the outpouring of a revengeful rather than a philosophic spirit. If efforts to have the German language taught in the public schools, or to amalgamate what is best in another people with what is best in us, implies a sinister activity, Ohlinger is justified in exposing it as dangerous propaganda, whether inspired by the great staff of the German army against the peace and dignity of the United States, is immaterial.

Likewise he is justified in viewing with alarm the book receipts of the Alliance, which he says amount to $35,000, of which somewhere between $25,000 and $30,000 was derived from "secret sources." He testifies that the Alliance has a membership of 3,000,000. This would represent a per capita sum of a little over one cent per member—surely a dangerous amount of money to have available for the spread of German propaganda, and a menace to the perpetuity of our institutions. If only $5,000 of this was paid in by the 3,000,000 members, the financial strength back of the propagandist spirit of the Alliance stands revealed in all its abhorrent nakedness. Imagine what dire things may be accomplished in a nation-wide campaign with $35,000! Mitchel's friends spent nearly $2,000,000 in the recent mayoralty campaign to make New York City safe for the Democrats, and the incident is almost forgotten already.

Another startling bit of evidence is supplied by Mr. Campbell, who points out the secret danger to the United States lurking in the exchange professorship between American and German universities. That this arrangement was brought about by a personal understanding between Mr. Roosevelt and the Kaiser can only be explained on the theory that the Kaiser imposed upon the intelligence and trusting nature of the Colonel for the express purpose of forcing German kultur upon us in the complete innocence of our too credulous souls. That it was intended to make for mutual educational advantages, closer ties and a better understanding generally of the two peoples apparently is not worthy of consideration.

Mr. Campbell concluded his testimony with a statement of his conviction that the Alliance represents to-day our greatest internal danger, although he admitted that the Alliance was taking no part in the campaign for a successor to the late Senator Husting in Wisconsin, that it has assumed a passive attitude since our entrance into the war, and took no steps whatever to condemn the Americanism of Senator Husting. It did oppose our entering the war, he declared, and in groups it affiliated politically with parties which he called pro-German.

The testimony taken at the hearing, so far, impresses us as smacking suspiciously of the old spirit of Know-nothingism. Of course, we have not, at this writing, heard what the officials of the Alliance will testify to. Doubtless the three energetic Senators who are conducting it will go deeply into the subject and reveal the truth as to the dire things hinted at.

We hold no brief for the German-American Alliance. So far as we know, it has been interested more in defeating prohibition than in Germanizing the United States. But we may be mistaken. It may be a secret society for the promulgation of Kaiserism in the United States. Having no connection with it, directly or indirectly, we are ignorant of all save its avowed and published professions.

We are not persuaded, however, that it can be condemned for seeking to promote the teaching of the German language or for having supported the arrangement for the exchange of professors between German and American institutions of learning, or for keeping alive German social traditions and customs, since these have been commended on all hands, notably by ex-President Taft, by Roosevelt and others equally distinguished.

If the doing of these things was not illegal before the war, it cannot, retroactively, be considered illegal now because we are at war with the German Government. The private opinions and "secret' text of putative speeches, of Ohlingers, Campbells, Le Quexs, and Nick Carters, that no one knows anything about, do not constitute legal evidence on which to put the brand of treason on an organization of 3,000,000 Americans.

Nothing but evidence that the Alliance was secretly working to upset American institutions can militate against it. The fact that Dr. Hexamer received the Order of the Red Eagle, fourth class, from the Kaiser is no more treasonable than that Prof. Charles W. Eliot and Prof. Nicholas Murray Butler received it at his hands, or that James W. Gerard accepted knighthood at the hands of the King of England.

Senator WOLCOTT. Who is the editor of "Issues and Events"?

Mr. VON BOSSE. I think Mr. Frank, or Franklin. Schrader, if I am not mistaken.

Senator WOLCOTT. Is that a German-American publication?

Mr. VON BOSSE. No, sir; it was founded, I believe, by a man named Dorl, if I am not mistaken.

Senator WOLCOTT. The name of the editor is German-American, is it not?

Mr. VON BOSSE. I do not know Mr. Schrader.

Senator WOLCOTT. That is a German name?

Mr. VON BOSSE. It would be according to the spelling; the German spelling would be Schroeder.

Senator KING. Who is the editor of the New York Staats Zeitung?

Mr. VON BOSSE. Bernard Ridder, and Ridder's company, I believe.

I will also submit, to be put in the record, a file of proceedings from the Congressional Record. I had them ready to offer.

Senator KING. Very well.

Mr. VON BOSSE (reading):

"When this war comes to an end, as it finally must, the tasks of putting the world on a friendly footing will be as great as the tasks of warfare are at present. It is my honest opinion, that this Alliance, if trusted by the Government, supervised by it and used by it will form an invaluable medium for bringing about a better understanding with our present enemies. That we are hated abroad as *Americans* is evident and our best defense. But that we, who are of the same lineage will nevertheless be in the best position on account of our organization to serve as a meeting point, is but logical.

"We have made no attempt to fight this bill other than on legitimate grounds, trusting in the effectiveness of our reasoning and the importance of our mission as well as the time-tried fairness of our fellow Americans of other extractions. Millions are to-day eagerly watching the outcome of these discussions, just as they did, when the charter was granted. What was true at that time, when the following proceedings were recorded is equally true of us to-day."

(The matter referred to is here inserted in the record in full, as follows:)

[Congressional Record, Fifty-ninth Congress, second session, Washington, Wednesday, Dec. 5, 1906.]

The Committee on the Judiciary, having under consideration the bill (H. R. 11273) to incorporate the National German-American Alliance, respectfully report:

The purposes of this society are stated to be—

"That this corporation, composed of the individuals aforesaid and their associates, under the name and style aforesaid, is formed for the purposes as follows: The conservation of the principle of representative government and the protection and maintenance of all civil and political rights; the protection of German immigrants against imposition and deception and to assist in their naturalization; the study of American institutions and the publication of American history; the cultivation of the German language, literature, and drama, and the perpetuation of the memory and the deeds of those early German pioneers whose influence has been of incalculable benefit to the intellectual and economic development of this country, and whose loyalty in times of stress and strife is a matter of history."

The charter further provides—

"That said corporation shall not engage in any business for gain, the purposes of said corporation being educational and patriotic.

"That Congress may at any time amend, alter, or repeal this act."

Further information as to the purposes and scope of the society is found in the following letters:

PHILADELPHIA, PA., *March 16, 1906.*

DEAR SIR: In reply to your favor of the 14th instant I beg leave to state that the reports at our third national convention, held October 6, 1905, showed a membership of one and one-half millions. The total number of our organizations, which is constantly increasing, is 6,000, in 33 States.

We have State branches in the following 12 States: Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Ohio, California, Indiana, Minnesota, Maryland, Massachusetts, New York, Missouri, Idaho, and in the District of Columbia.

State branches are being organized in the following States: Alabama, Arkansas, Colorado, Connecticut, Delaware, Georgia, Illinois, Iowa, Kansas, Louisiana, Michigan, Montana, Nebraska, Oregon, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Vermont, Washington, and Wisconsin.

Very respectfully, yours,

ADOLPH TIMM, *Secretary.*

Hon. H. W. PALMER,
Chairman Subcommittee of the Committee on the Judiciary,
House of Representatives.

DEAR SIR: Complying with your request and by order of our president, Dr. C. J. Hexamer, I beg to submit to you the aims of the National German-American Alliance:

It is a purely patriotic organization.

Party politics and religion are strictly excluded.

It opposes the immigration of unhealthy persons, convicted criminals, and anarchists.

It calls on all Germans to become citizens of the United States.

Its branches maintain German-English night schools for the teaching of the English language, the Constitution, and American history, and aim to make patriotic citizens of German immigrants.

It recommends the founding of educational societies and the holding of courses of lectures on art and science.

It advocates the study of American institutions and the publication of American history, and for that purpose is instrumental in publishing the German-American Annals by one of its branches, the German-American Historical Society.

It commemorates the memory of great Americans, and at its third annual convention in Indianapolis resolved to celebrate the two hundredth anniversary of the birth of Benjamin Franklin, which celebration was observed by all its branches.

Being a national organization in the true sese of the word, with branches in every State, it prays to be incorporated by Congress.

A set of the German-American Annals is being sent to you.

Respectfully submitted.

ADOLPH TIMM, *Secretary.*

Hon. HENRY W. PALMER,
Chairman Subcommittee of the Committee on the Judiciary,
House of Representatives.

The fact, therefore, appears that the society is national in character, commendable in purpose, salutary in its operations, and in harmony with the Constitution of the United States.

Its membership already numbers 1,500,000 citizens, located in 33 States, with State branches in 12 States and prospective branches in 20 more.

The Judiciary Committee is of the opinion that the charter sought should be granted, with the following amendment: Insert after the word "corporate," at the end of line 14, the words "of the District of Columbia."

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Speaker, I wish to add my indorsement to the measure now under consideration. It does not differ, so far as the incorporation feature is concerned, from bills of like nature that have passed prior Congresses, such as one providing for the incorporation of the American Educational Association. I do not think we should hesitate to incorporate this National German-American Alliance, which is extending its good influences throughout the country. Within the past few months a branch has been formed in the State which I have the honor in part to represent, comprising in its membership some of its foremost citizens, though, it is true, of German lineage. Nevertheless they are citizens who have the institutions of this country closely at heart.

As is well known, there is a trend toward a closer union among nations. It is not necessary for me to call attention to the movement which has the approval of the President and the approval of the German Emperor in the exchange of professors, so that ideas, the ideals, and the institutions of the respective countries could be brought closer home to the students attending the universities of each.

At the present time in honor of the memory of a great German-American, one of the most illustrious who ever came to our shores—Hon. Carl Schurz—the German-Americans of my State have undertaken the formation of an organization whereby they are going to create a chair at the State university for instruction in the institutions of Germany, and in doing so they do nothing detrimental to American institutions. No one will question the worthiness of the plan proposed by the Wisconsin Schurz Memorial Association, and its appropriateness to commemorate the work and worth of this foremost statesman and citizen.

* * * * * * *

Mr. STAFFORD. From my knowledge of the men who are back of the organization, the leaders of it, and those men identified with the organization in Wisconsin, there can be no question whatever but that it is organized for patriotic purposes and for the uplift of American citizenship.

No more praiseworthy purpose for the former aliens to follow who have espoused the nationality of this country could be undertaken than to perform the work as outlined by this German-American Alliance. To enlist support to German immigrants, who have recently come to our shores; to advance by meetings and addresses the principles of representative government, which are as dear to the naturalized citizen as to the native born; to instill a reverence for American institutions and the study of American history; to continue the cultivation of their native tongue and the spirit of its literature; to keep alive by speech and deed the memory of the pioneers from Germany to this free land of ours, are objects that naturalized citizens from any country might well emulate.

Because American citizens of German nativity or lineage wish to perpetuate the memory of its institutions and to cultivate a love for its language and its literature does not make them antagonistic in their duty toward their adopted or native country. We have much to learn from Germany, and Germany can profit also by a study of our institutions and methods.

If there were anything in the history of the German people who have come to our shores to indicate disloyalty to their adopted country, there might be a question raised as to the expediency and value of this organization.

Those who know the German race best have no alarm at extending the influence of that people and its language and its institutions. In those localities where they give distinction and tone to American citizenship the German-Americans have woven their loyalty to every right principle of American government into the fabric of the State.

Only good can come from this organization and its extension, and I hope there will be no question as to the worthiness of this movement and of the desirability of having it incorporated under authority of the National Government. [Applause.]

Mr. VON BOSSE (reading):

"Now it behooves me to give some answer to the charges made against our organization by Mr. Gustavus Ohlinger, who in my opinion has failed to submit evidence of any kind against the Alliance itself and thus by his utterances has deeply hurt and humiliated thousands of the best, most law-abiding and patriotic citizens of our country. The boldness of the man's arguments as I have read them is surpassed only by their absurdity when one remembers, how his alleged proofs were torn from their connections of time, place and occasion. The press dispatches made public Mr. Ohlinger's charges under such captions as: 'Slavish Minions of Kaiser in United States Under Fire,' etc. The very beginning of Mr. Ohlinger's charge is directed to a contrast of the Alliance and the Pan German League abroad, whose aim is 'to keep the German population of foreign countries in a solid bloc and to be able in that way to use the solid bloc politically in favor of Germany.'

"This statement is untrue in every particular and the insinuation here expressed and later on throughout the hearing often repeated, that the Alliance is working for or could be used in the interest of Germany against America is false and there is not a line, not forcibly torn from its context to be found in the proceedings of the body or the words of its officers that can be so construed. In fact, much that appears serious in itself as brought out in the testimony of this witness has no foundation when a true interpretation of words and circumstances is given. This I will show as we go along."

I now proceed to the charges [reading]:

"*Charge No. 1.*—'Its activities have been for the consolidation of all of those of German descent into one economic, political and social bloc.' Mr. Ohlinger has not made clear what he means by the words 'economic,' 'political,' 'social,' and 'bloc.' The latter

means 'mass' or 'unit,' which expressions sound less dangerous than 'bloc.' Economic presumably means 'relating to the science of economics' or 'to the means of living well and wisely.' If so we plead guilty. Political means 'pertaining to public policy; concerned in the administration of government; belonging to the enactment and administration of the laws, or to the science of government.' If so we once more plead guilty. Social means 'relating to persons living in society, or to the public as an aggregate body, or as disposed to hold friendly intercourse with others.' Again we plead guilty, if this be the correct definition. The words 'economic,' 'political' and 'social' have apparently been taken from the prize contest of Mrs. Conrad Seipp, first prize in which was won by a nonmember of the Alliance, Professor Albert Faust, of Cornell University. Governors, Mayors, Senators and other men of the highest standing, including even presidents, have been at the public functions of the Alliance. They surely would not have lent the dignity of their presence, if they had been furthering traitorous designs. I have too great a respect for their understanding to assume for a moment, that they could be duped into lending countenance to anything, which might be considered un-American. The report on the proceedings of the last convention, that at San Francisco, states the following, relative to the position of the Alliance. photographs attesting the great success of this convention."

These photographs I will leave with the clerk to the committee. [Continuing reading:]

The next biennial national convention will be held at Milwaukee in August, 1917. Among the resolutions adopted at the last convention was one to celebrate October 18 as American Day, in commemoration of Cornwallis's surrender. Through this victory the independence of the United States of America from the English yoke became assured. The part Gen. von Steuben and Gen. Muehlenberg had in the capitulation of Yorktown is well known American history. The delegates unanimously resented the endeavors of certain Anglo-maniacs to slander by cowardly attacks the loyalty and patriotism of German-Americans. The Alliance went on record that it will strive with all the power at its command to serve their beloved country in every way possible, as Americans of German birth and extraction have always done, according to the dictates of their conscience, as free men, the proud citizens of a free Nation. They point to "The History of the German Element in the United States" as the best certificate of good American citizenship. Among the many reports of progress of general interest are the recommendations of the committee on historical research, on schools, and on the study of modern languages. The question of revised impartial American textbooks on history in the public schools was referred to a special committee.

Resolutions in conformity to the work of the Alliance, such as the elevation of the drama and theaters, conservation of natural resources, forestry, charity work, immigration, physical culture, etc., were adopted. A special committee which has been at work for some years recommended the establishing of a permanent national tariff commission on a broad nonpolitical basis, and this report was adopted. The standing committee on immigration will continue its work to improve the immigration laws, to distribute immigrants for agricultural purposes, to create a credit banking system in the several States, and to assist farmers and immigrants who wish to acquire farm lands. A committee will help the fugitives of war coming from Canada, etc. In its report the executive committee pointed out that the Government of the United States should do everything in its power to prevent as much as possible emigration from this country to Europe by planning in time an improvement of existing conditions. Communications were received from a number of other large allied organizations, such as the German Evangelical Synod of North America, all announcing their assistance and their approval of the work of the Alliance.

Senator KING. I suppose it will be impossible to put in the record all of that report and you would not care to have it all in the record.

Mr. VON BOSSE. I have just put in this part of it which I have presented here. This part I wish to read:

The celebration of German day was doubtless the most striking and impressive demonstration that ever took place at any convention in the United States, both in regard to its enormous attendance, almost 100,000 persons, as well as in the earnest patriotic character of the meeting. It strikingly embodied the love and reverence of Americans of German birth or extraction to this country, and showed how sincere is their faith in our ideals of liberty and humanity.

"*Charge No. 2.*—'It has aroused racial antagonism and has caused opposition to processes of assimilation.'"

I would like to add that my congregation in the last five years has turned from possibly one-third English into two-thirds English, and we have that experience all over the country.

Senator WOLCOTT. Do you speak to them in English or in German?

Mr. VON BOSSE. In German in the morning and in English in the evening. [Reading:]

"I emphatically deny this charge. It was not to arouse racial antagonism, but to ward it off, that the Alliance took up the cudgels in defense of those, who had come here to make a new home. The German-Americans have never spoken disparagingly of their fellow citizens from other nations, though they have criticized some of their traits as a matter of comparison. If there has been any closer unity between societies, etc., it has been a legitimate unity among American citizens for the sake of greater strength. Our congregations and societies, which are rapidly turning English, give the best proof of the prevalent assimilation. The purposes of the Alliance, set forth in repeated declarations, and described as aiding in the making for 'a better American citizenship' naturally presuppose assimilation, for how else can there be an infusion of those elements, which the Alliance desired.

"In connection with this the witness Ohlinger made it appear as if the resentment of the German-Americans against the English language press was uncalled for. After all it depends upon whose ox is being gored. When the German language press defended Germany and put forth the German side of the war it became the object of suspicion and every attempt was made to injure it both by withdrawal of advertising patronage and the therat of suppression.

"Without opening the question, which it seems that Congress had not the time or courage to take up i. e., whether or not a goodly portion of English language press was owned or controlled by Northcliffe and actively engaged in pro-British propaganda even to the extent of pushing us into the war, we might cite in evidence from an editorial in the New Republic of May 1st, 1915, p. 312, that the feeling of the German-Americans was not altogether baseless:—

Dr. Dernberg's attack on the fairness of the American press is not without reason. There has been a mass of ignorant denunciation of Germany which will cost us dearly in the assessment of good will. German sympathizers have good cause for complaint when they compare the credulity given to London and Petrograd dispatches with the lack of display accorded to German rumors. Our press on the whole has unquestionably been partisan, not in its editorial columns, where partisanship is justifiable, but in its presentation of news. Its sympathies have dulled its critical estimate of reports from the allies. Many

Englishmen have remarked to us that some of our leading papers are more royalist than the King, more pro-ally than the best thought of England and France. The passionate taking of sides——

Senator WOLCOTT. Is this your language?

Mr. VON BOSSE. No, sir; this is from the New Republic, an editorial.

Senator KING. Was Mr. Frankfurter the editor then?

Mr. VON BOSSE. I do not know, Senator; I do not know who is or was the editor.

Senator KING. You do not know who wrote that?

Mr. VON BOSSE. The date is May 1, 1915.

Senator KING. Proceed.

Mr. VON BOSSE (continuing reading):

The passionate taking of sides, against which the President issued his warning, has seriously misled the press of the allies, and caused newspaper readers in those countries to expect special help from the United States. It is difficult for them to understand the American insistence on neutral rights when our press comment reproduced in their own journals sounds as if we were ready to take up arms. We have raised false hopes and have paid the penalty that comes from disappointment. We have outraged German feeling and not gained the adherence of the allies. We have made more difficult every action taken by our Government, for it has had to overcome the prejudice of the Germans and the falsely-inflated hopes of the allies. It is the penalty of spiritual isolation. It is the price we pay for having no world citizenship of our own. Out of imitation and subserviency no respect is born. Our neutrality would have been a haven of civilized hope if Europe could have looked to us not for partisan support, but for some leadership in the creation of a better international system. For that leadership isolated America was unready.

Senator WOLCOTT. Touching on that unneutrality of the American press, against which you declaim so frequently in your communications to the press, I was particularly struck by a little something in Mr. Ohlinger's testimony to the effect that Dr. Hexamer evolved the idea, which was published in the Bulletin—I would not be positive about the date, but it was August 6 or 7, or somewhere thereabouts, 1914—that the German-Americans had better organize their press propaganda so as to effset the unneutrality of this pro-British press.

Mr. VON BOSSE. It was August 3, I think, in the record, so far as I know.

Senator WOLCOTT. August 3; yes. Now, the question arose in my mind, who was offending with respect to trying to color the press in its attitude or in its illusive accounts of the European war?

Mr. VON BOSSE. I do not know when this article was written by Mr. Hexamer, but I myself do not believe it was ever written on August 3; that it was like many publications that appear later and are given an earlier date for some purpose.

Senator WOLCOTT. The evidence shows that the date given to it here was the date given by the Official Bulletin.

Mr. VON BOSSE. I understand it was. I was surprised when I saw it, because I did not receive a letter of that kind until much later, and, as I stated before, I did not write until I felt that, from my viewpoint, I could not stand it any longer.

Senator KING. Is it not a fact that the German press of the United States, and it aggregated between 700 and 800 newspapers, did it not, in August, 1914?

Mr. VON BOSSE. I think something like that.

Senator KING. About 734 newspapers?

Mr. VON BOSSE. Yes.

Senator KING (continuing). Was exceedingly hostile to the allies and denounced everything that they did and applauded everything which Germany did, even to the ravishing of Belgium?

Mr. VON BOSSE. I have no doubt that that was done in the beginning, even——

Senator KING. And is it not a fact that the German press has continued that attitude even up to the present, and that the German press in the United States now is pro-German largely or in part pro-German?

Mr. VON BOSSE. Your first half of the question I would answer in saying that it was goaded on. I want to add in connection with that first half that the German papers in this country could not very well take up for Germany right from the start. We had no news from over there until possibly three weeks after things had gone on. The fall of Liege was known only three weeks after it occurred.

Senator KING. Did we not know the day that the German troops crossed the boundary of Belgium and the first attack that they made upon Liege?

Mr. VON BOSSE. Yes; but if my recollection serves me the German papers took this whole matter as a surprise and quietly printed the news without much comment until later on.

Senator KING. And then they justified, did they not, Germany's entrance into the war?

Mr. VON BOSSE. Yes.

Senator KING (continuing). And all that she did, and were, as I expressed it a moment ago, pro-German and pro-American?

Mr. VON BOSSE. They were pro-German and pro-Austrian at that time; but you ask in the second part——

Senator KING. Yes.

Mr. VON BOSSE. Whether it is not true that they are pro-German to-day.

Senator KING. Is it not a fact that the mass of the newspapers published in the German language in the country to-day are still deficient in loyal support to the administration in the prosecution of the war?

Mr. VON BOSSE. No, sir; I do not think so. Well, I will say this: I look over possibly most of the leading German papers in America, but I read the leading ones thoroughly, the New York Staats-Zeitung, the Westliche Post, of St. Louis, and the Illinois Staats-Zeitung, from Chicago, and they are all as outspoken in their loyalty as any of the English papers.

Senator KING. Is not this the situation—I am speaking now of the German press of this country—is it not true that they say, "We are in this war, which we regret, but as long as we are in it we must do our part"; but they devote a great deal of space to insinuations against England and against France and against our allies and question their motives and try to sow seeds of dissatisfaction in the hearts of their readers against our embarkation in the war, against our aims, and against our forming any sort of cooperative union with our allies?

Mr. VON BOSSE. No, sir. My reason for that is this: I have heard enough Germans, whom I have told to keep quiet, say that they do not want to read any more German newspapers in this country, and so

forth, because they are absolutely opposed to what they have in their hearts, perhaps. Now, those are not American citizens I am talking about; they are Germans that I know about that have kept quiet otherwise, so far as I know, because they would have been apprehendd if they had continued.

Senator KING. I am not clear that I understand you. Some of these Germans, then, were so devoted to Germanism that they would have been apprehended, you say, if they had expressed their true sentiments?

Mr. VON BOSSE. No, no; if they had continued to talk that way, publicly or otherwise, they would naturally have been apprehended, and that is why I assume that they have been quiet and kept quiet since that time.

Senator WOLCOTT. If I understand your point, it is this: To show that the German press is not saying these undesirable things you cite this piece of evidence?

Mr. VON BOSSE. I cite that as evidence.

Senator WOLCOTT. That German citizens, not naturalized Americans——

Mr. VON BOSSE. Yes.

Senator WOLCOTT. But members of the Alliance?

Mr. VON BOSSE. Yes.

Senator WOLCOTT. Have declined further to read the German press because it is not sufficiently pro-German for them?

Mr. VON BOSSE. Yes; that is correct. I wish to offer that as evidence of the loyalty of the German press.

Senator WOLCOTT. Is it not a fact that many of the German papers have recently been suppressed because of their disloyal utterances?

Mr. VON BOSSE. I have read of a few—two or three. I have also read statements where it was said—pointed out—I can not just recall the name of the man that said it, in the American News Magazine, "I think that the German press of the United States in general has been more loyal and has caused less trouble than a number of magazines and papers written in the English language." I am sorry that I do not at present know who said that.

Senator KING. Was not the Tageblatt of Philadelphia suspended because of disloyal utterances?

Mr. VON BOSSE. No, sir; the Tageblatt appears every day.

Senator KING. Its editors were indicted or prosecuted, were they not?

Mr. VON BOSSE. The editors are, I think, out on bail, if I am not mistaken.

Senator KING. And the trial is to occur or started in to-day or is to start this week?

Mr. VON BOSSE. Is that so?

Senator KING. Is not that true?

Mr. VON BOSSE. I never showed much interest or took much interest in their trial.

Senator KING. Did you know that the Bulletin attempted to raise a fund for the defense of the editors of that newspaper and that Mr. Timm, the secretary of your organization, was very active in trying to secure funds to defend those men charged with disloyalty?

Mr. VON BOSSE. Yes.

Senator KING. And you took some active part in that, did you not?

Mr. VON BOSSE. No, sir.

Senator KING. Did you not take any part in it?

Mr. VON BOSSE. No, sir.

Senator KING. As president of the National German-American Alliance did you oppose it?

Mr. VON BOSSE. Did I oppose what; the raising of money?

Senator KING. The effort upon the part of the National German-American Alliance to procure funds to defend these men?

Mr. VON BOSSE. The moneys were raised before I was president, Senator. That was before my time. I do not know if any money has been raised since. I do not think so.

Senator KING. You were elected in November?

Mr. VON BOSSE. November 29.

Senator KING. In 1917?

Mr. VON BOSSE. Yes.

Senator KING. When was the Tageblatt raided by the officers?

Mr. VON BOSSE. May I ask the secretary?

Senator KING. Yes.

Mr. VON BOSSE. I am not acquainted with that matter.

Mr. TIMM. That was about August or September of last year.

Mr. VON BOSSE. I could not even say whether the national body appealed for funds. If I am not mistaken it was the Pennsylvania branch—or even the Philadelphia city branch—that took the matter up. The national body, I know, never passed a resolution to that effect, because we had no convention.

Senator KING. Did you know that Dr. Hexamer in one of his addresses stated in substance that the German newspapers of the United States were organs of the National German-American Alliance? That is not exactly the language.

Mr. VON BOSSE. The Bulletin said something to the effect that the Alliance looks upon every German newspaper in the United States as its field, I think, or something to that effect. If the Bulletin is here I can show it to you.

Senator KING. Does it not call them the "organs" of the Alliance?

(The Official Bulletin for November, 1917, was here handed to Mr. von Bosse.)

Mr. VON BOSSE (translating). "The German-American Alliance sees in the entire German-Alliance press its organ and asks for it the most general distribution."

Senator KING. As late as May, 1917, in the 9th volume, No. 5, you have this statement, have you not?

The National German-American Alliance regards the entire German-American press as its organ and requests it to give the largest possible circulation to its communications.

Mr. VON BOSSE. That means simply this, Senator, that the Alliance did not have any special papers that were printing things and that it did not look upon its Bulletin as a paper that would reach all German-Americans. It was in the nature of a request or permission that they could use everything they found in the Mitteilungen without fear of a copyright or anything of the kind.

Senator KING. As late as September of last year, in No. 9, was there not published on the first page these words?

The National German-American Alliance regards the entire German-American press as its organ and requests it to give its communications the largest possible circulation.

Mr. VON BOSSE. Yes; that is on every number.

Senator KING. By the way, that was the paper that contained the poem to which you referred, the number for November?

Mr. VON BOSSE. I was surprised to see it. I think that will be explained later on.

Senator KING. Pardon me; go ahead.

Mr. VON BOSSE (reading):

"*Charge No. 3.*—That since the beginning of the world war it has apparently, automatically and without consideration of the causes of that war or the issues, violently became a partisan of the German cause, I mean the cause of Imperial Germany. If the call of the blood alone had not caused the German Americans to respond in instantaneous sympathy to the danger of the German people the violent attacks of the pro-British press of our land was sufficient to indignantly arouse them. To scatter propaganda the Alliance would need money. This it has not had in sufficient sums. It has often been forced to shame on account of the lack of funds for its most necessary administrative activities, stopping the publication of its bulletin for a time and discharging secretaries. The claim that the Alliance received monies from abroad is absolutely untrue.

"The Order of the Fourth Class for Dr. Hexamer was awarded without his previous knowledge for his interest in the Philadelphia German theater. It is an order of little merit. Had the Doctor done so much for Germany or had he been discussed in a speech, such as is reported now, it does seem to me, that he would have received a higher decoration. As far as I know other men, among them Ex-president Eliot, of Harvard, were awarded much higher honors, with order of the Crown (Kronenorden)."

Senator STERLING. What is the foundation for your statement there, Dr. von Bosse, as to the reason for Dr. Hexamer's receipt of this decoration?

Mr. VON BOSSE. My reason for that is Dr. Hexamer's own testimony, the testimony of gentlemen who, I believe, carried on the correspondence at that time for the German consul.

Senator STERLING. Where is Dr. Hexamer's testimony to be found?

Mr. VON BOSSE. How he received it or what?

Senator STERLING. No. You say that he received it for a certain reason and in proof of that you cite Dr. Hexamer's own testimony. Where is that testimony of Dr. Hexamer?

Mr. VON BOSSE. That testimony was given to me and is known all over Philadelphia, among Germans.

Senator WOLCOTT. It was in the Bulletin?

Mr. VON BOSSE. Yes.

Senator STERLING. Oh, yes.

Mr. VON BOSSE. I have further proof. If you ask for written proof, possibly it is in the Bulletin somewhere.

Senator KING. The confusion is over your use of the word "testimony", which is generally used in connection with a rtial.

Mr. VON BOSSE. Oh, yes. I am not an attorney. That testimony I will give as coming from Dr. Hexamer directly; that is what he

told me; and I have it from the man who sent the correspondence through from the consulate.

Senator WOLCOTT. You say under the third charge that it is that the Germans have been partisan.

Mr. VON BOSSE. Yes. I said:

That since the beginning of the world war it has apparently, automatically and without consideration of the causes of that war or the issues, violently become a partisan of the German cause, I mean the cause of Imperial Germany.

Senator WOLCOTT. I will not pursue it. It is the same subject I had up a while ago. It was about your own partisanship.

Mr. VON BOSSE. I was not in the Alliance at that time. [Reading:]

"*Charge No. 4.*—'It has consistently during the last three years, and until the entry of the United States upon the war, opposed the policies of this government as laid down by the responsible executives of our Nation.'

"I here confess my inability to answer categorically for the Alliance. To do so requires a knowledge of the policies of this Government as laid down by the responsible executives of our nation. I do not possess this knowledge nor does the witness cite any specific instances to help me in refuting the charge so generally made. He is honest enough at least to admit, that this vague opposition was only 'until the entry of the United States into the war'. We are willing to admit that the Alliance and its members did all within their power, consistent with law and justice to sustain and preserve peace between their new homeland and the old fatherland."

Senator WOLCOTT. You do not mean that statement you just made back there; I am sure you do not mean that. Your language was:

He is honest enough at least to admit, that this vague opposition was only "until the entry of the United States into the war".

You do not mean it that way, I take it?

Mr. VON BOSSE. That is what I said.

Senator WOLCOTT. That makes it look like he was charging that the opposition started upon our entry into the war?

Mr. VON BOSSE. Pardon me.

Senator WOLCOTT. What he said, I think, was that the opposition continued only until our entry into the war. I think that is what he said.

Mr. VON BOSSE. Yes; I will make it read "that this vague opposition continued only until the entry of the United States into the war".

Senator WOLCOTT. Yes.

Senator KING. What is the following sentence?

Mr. VON BOSSE (reading):

We are willing to admit that the Alliance and its members did all within their power, consistent with law and justice to sustain and prserve peace between their new homeland and the old fatherland.

Senator KING. By that you mean that the Alliance directed the sending of numerous telegrams when questions were involved which you thought might eventuate in war?

Mr. VON BOSSE. Not that. What I mean is that in statements in the press and in letters, petitions to the Senators and Congressmen who represented us in the various States, we tried to keep up peace,

especially at the end before the diplomatic relations were broken off.

Senator KING. Well, you conceive that the organization did all that it could to prevent the export of munitions?

Mr. VON BOSSE. No, sir; the organization as such, so far as I can recollect, had little to do with it; my point being that more toward the end—the embargo proposition was up in the early part of the war; and then what I mean is that more toward the time that we drew into the war——

Senator KING. When you say that the organization did all that it could in accordance with law and justice to prevent our country from getting into the war, what do you mean?

Mr. VON BOSSE. I mean the right of petition.

Senator KING. What did they actively do?

Mr. VON BOSSE. The right of petition. We petitioned our Congressmen and petitioned the President. That is about the substance of it.

Senator KING. What did you do with respect to the arming of neutral ships?

Mr. VON BOSSE. I do not know whether the Alliance as such, through its president, Dr. Hexamer, took any stand on that.

Senator KING. Do you not recollect that the Senators and the Congressmen were flooded with telegrams from representatives of your Alliance in regard to that matter?

Mr. VON BOSSE. I do not recall. It may have been done. I did not do it, I know. We did not do it in our State.

Senator STERLING. Did you not regard that as the exercise of the right of petition, the writing of letters and sending of telegrams to Congressmen?

Mr. VON BOSSE. You ask if we did not regard it as our right?

Senator STERLING. Yes; did you not regard it as the exercise of the right of petition and therefore send telegrams and letters?

Mr. VON BOSSE. We always did look upon sending letters and telegrams as an exercise of the right of petition; yes.

Senator STERLING. Yes.

Senator WOLCOTT. You say that you admit that the German-American Alliance did all that it could, within the law, to keep us at peace with Germany?

Mr. VON BOSSE. Yes.

Senator STERLING. Not "within the law", but according to law and justice?

Mr. VON BOSSE. "Consistent with law and justice". That means within the law, does it not?

Senator WOLCOTT. Yes.

I do not want you to understand that I am calling attention to this piece of testimony with any malicious purpose, but I do want to get your opinion about it. Mr. Ohlinger testified that in 1915—

Prof. Kuehnemann, who traveled in this country as the agent of the German government spreading the propaganda for Germany, was a speaker who was used by the National German-American Alliance on a great many occasions.

Is that true?

Mr. VON BOSSE. Kuehnemann is not what he is described there as being. Kuehnemann was a speaker employed by the East Prussian Relief Fund in this country to gather funds for the restoration

of East Prussia. He spoke before German-American Alliance branches for funds.

Senator WOLCOTT. He is a German citizen, is he not?

Mr. VON BOSSE. I presume he is. He was an exchange professor in this country, and I think he returned to Germany.

Senator WOLCOTT. Mr. Ohlinger proceeds to say this further as to Prof. Kuehnemann:

His message to the Germans was substantially that the German-Americans of the United States could wish their fatherland no greater benefit than by so controlling the policies of this country as to keep this country away from England.

And Mr. Ohlinger cited the words of this professor in a speech he delivered in Milwaukee on the same occasion when Dr. Hexamer made his celebrated speech.

Mr. VON BOSSE. I have it in true translation, the whole thing.

Senator WOLCOTT. And on that occasion this Prof. Kuehnemann used this language:

The Germans in America can show their fatherland no greater evidence of faithfulness than to work to the end that America remain independent of England. The German should work to the end of preserving America.

Now, I will ask you a categorical question, so that you may have the opportunity to put your reply in the record here. Was this constant policy of the German-American Alliance to keep us out of the war a policy adopted for the purpose of furthering the interests of the fatherland in the sense that this Prof. Kuehnemann was preaching to the various German-American alliances?

Mr. VON BOSSE. No, sir; it was simply the call of the blood, and what we considered the attacks upon us, in the belief that Germany was waging a defensive war. What Kuehnemann said never bothered us, I will say, and what any of the German propagandist speakers in this country said; and we drove several of them out of our midst, but it did not make any difference to us because we had our own views.

Senator WOLCOTT. Of course, if what Prof. Kuehnemann said was right, that the best service which the German-Americans could render in this country would be to keep us out of this entanglement, could have happened, it would have been a mere coincidence that the German-American Alliance did pursue that policy which he said was of the greatest benefit to the fatherland?

Mr. VON BOSSE. Undoubtedly they benefited by it, undoubtedly, and we would have gone ahead in our course if——

Senator WOLCOTT. And your view is that it was in the interests of America?

Mr. VON BOSSE. Absolutely; that is my unequivocal statement. We would have done it if there had been a thousand Kuehnemanns here, or none, or one.

Senator STERLING. You spoke about Dr. Kuehnemann being a representative here in the interest of the restoration of East Prussia.

Mr. VON BOSSE. Yes.

Senator STERLING. Just what do you mean by that?

Mr. VON BOSSE. He collected money in the United States. He was one of several speakers that wished to collect money to aid in restoring the devastated parts where the Russians had been. And I think

the system was to collect $1,200 for each house, and those houses were to receive a plate with the name of the donors. And the streets were to be named with American names. I would not doubt that there is a Washington Street there and a Wilmington Street and names of that kind, according to the gifts that were given.

Senator STERLING. That is your own notion about it. You do not know anything about it?

Mr. VON BOSSE. No. I was engaged in the work myself, Senator.

Senator STERLING. Were you engaged in the work of naming these streets?

Mr. VON BOSSE. No.

Senator STERLING. Do you know, as a matter of fact, that any of them were so named?

Mr. VON BOSSE. Yes. Judge Nippert, a judge in Cincinnati, was over there on a tour of inspection, and if I am not mistaken he was either received by President Wilson or made a report to President Wilson of what he saw; and he gave us a report that the work was in progress in East Prussia, in our meetings.

Senator STERLING. Well, that does not answer my question. I will ask the stenographer to read my question.

The stenographer read the pending question as follows:

Senator STERLING. Do you know, as a matter of fact, that any of them were so named?

Mr. VON BOSSE. I was not there to see it: no. I read articles on it, where different names were mentioned, different places.

Senator STERLING. That is all I want to ask now.

Mr. VON BOSSE (continuing reading):

"Had they done less they would have been a disgrace to both. In doing so however they were always mindful of the admonition contained in Washington's Farewell Address:

Again the insidious wiles of foreign influence (I conjure you to believe me, fellow citizens) the jealousy of a free people ought to be constantly awake; since history and experience prove that foreign influence is one of the most baneful foes of republican Government. But the jealousy, to be useful, must be impartial; else it becomes the instrument of the very influence to be avoided, instead of a defense against it. Excessive partiality for one foreign nation, and excessive dislike for another, cause those whom they actuate to see danger only on one side, and serve to veil, and even second, the arts of influence on the other. Real patriots, who may resist the intrigues of the favorite, are liable to become suspected and odious; while its tools and dupes usurp the applause and confidence of the people, to surrender their interests.

The great rule of conduct for us, in regard to foreign nations, is, in extending our commercial relations to have with them as little political connexion as possible."

"It took a Bismarck to unite Germany. Where is that Bismarck in this country, when the proverb is as old as the Germans themselves: 'Where there are two Germans there are three opinions.' The accompanying warning may show you in what manner we opposed the 'policy' of the Government."

This was a warning sent out by Dr. Hexamer on politics:

According to Section 83 of the Criminal Code of the United States it is a punishable transgression for any incorporated body to participate in practical politics. This Section of the Criminal Code follows literally:

"SEC. 83. It shall be unlawful for any national bank, or any corporation organized by authority of any law of Congress, to make a money contribution in connection with any election to any political office. It shall also be unlawful

for any corporation whatever to make a money contribution in connection with any election at which Presidential and Vice-Presidential electors or a Representative in Congress is to be voted for, or any election by any State legislature of a United States Senator. Every corporation which shall make any contribution in violation of the foregoing provisions shall be fined not more than five thousand dollars; and every officer or director of any corporation who shall consent to any contribution by the corporation in violation of the foregoing provisions shall be fined not more than one thousand dollars, or imprisoned not more than one year, or both."

Further it is a punishable transgression according to section 37 of the Criminal Code to joint with anyone to break such law of the United States or to practice deceit regarding it. The paragraph is as follows:

"SEC. 37. If two or more persons conspire either to commit any offense against the United States, or to defraud the United States in any manner or for any purpose, and one or more of such parties do any act to effect the object of the conspiracy, each of the parties to such conspiracy shall be fined not more than ten thousand dollars, or imprisoned not more than two years, or both."

Any organization, branch or society of the National German American Alliance, which is not incorporated by itself and therefore does not possess responsibility for itself can do as they choose as long as they do so in their own name and do not misuse the incorporated title National German American Alliance for that purpose. The National German American Alliance has no jurisdiction over its branches for these have complete autonomy. Should an officer bring the Alliance into participation as officer then very embarrassing consequences may arise therefrom for the Alliance and its officers.

Senator STERLING. When was that put out by Dr. Hexamer?

Mr. VON BOSSE. Mr. Timm, do you remember the date?

Mr. TIMM. That was issued in 1916.

Senator WOLCOTT. That is the section that has to do with the contributing of money?

Mr. VON BOSSE. For practical politics.

Senator WOLCOTT. Dr. Hexamer sent that notice out, did he?

Mr. VON BOSSE. Yes, sir.

Senator WOLCOTT. Do you have a notion that Dr. Hexamer's knowledge of the section of the Criminal Code suggested to him the advisability of not having the German-American Alliance handle those Andreae funds?

Mr. VON BOSSE. I do not know what was in Dr. Hexamer's mind when he sent that out.

I submit an article from the Bulletin of April, 1916, page 1, entitled "Unfounded Attacks on the National Alliance." This is an answer to the New York World of March 7, 1916, the date of the vote on the McLemore resolution.

(The article referred to is here printed in the record in full, as follows:)

UNFOUNDED ATTACKS ON THE NATIONAL ALLIANCE.

The accusation made by the New York World of March 7, 1916, the day of the vote in the House of Representatives on the McLemore resolution, that the National Alliance maintains a lobby in Washington for the purpose of forcing the passage of resolutions of warning and embargo measures which had been submitted to Congress is not compatible with the facts. It is correct in so far as it states that the National Alliance is in favor of the measures. But it is wrong in charging that the Alliance carries on an agitation against President Wilson.

The article in the World states that the Alliance was planning to control the Republican national conventions for the purpose of having pro-German candidates for the Presidency nominated. This statement is in a class with the political nursery tales which are circulated by the pro-British press. The leaders of the Alliance too plainly realize how little influence the German-Americans

exercise to attempt such a quixotic political enterprise; but they are for the nomination of a neutral-minded and pro-American candidate for President and are against a pro-British candidate.

The World seeks to create the impression that the warning resolutions were introduced at the behest of the National Alliance. The resolutions were introduced by Senator Gore in the Senate and Representative McLemore in the House, neither of whom can be classed as hyphenated Americans, nor were the resolutions introduced in the best interest of Germany, but for the sake of the United States, which ought not to be brought to the danger of a war by the frivolity of some foolhardy persons.

It can not be surprising that the National German-American Alliance should be for preservation of peace. The Alliance has made it an object, since its organization in October, 1901, "to further and maintain good relations between Germany and the United States", besides its other endeavors of a purely cultural character.

The Alliance is an organization of American citizens of German extraction, and has at every opportunity emphasized "America first" as its motto.

Dr. Hexamer, the president of the National Alliance, whose name was prominently mentioned in the so-called disclosures of the World, was overrun by newspaper reporters and correspondents. These men demanded information if the assertions of the World were correct or not.

He declared that he, as president of the National Alliance, was supporting the resolution of warning in which Americans were cautioned not to use the ships of belligerent powers, and also indorsed the inhibition against the subscription to the foreign war loans by the Federal reserve banks and the embargo on the export of munitions. He denied most emphatically that the Alliance maintains a lobby in Washington and declared that he, neither directly nor indirectly, had any relations with Marsalis, who, according to the World, made an attempt to influence Congress in the name of the Alliance. At the same time he took opportunity to deny the fable of the intention of the Alliance to have pro-German candidates for President nominated by the Republican National Convention. He expressed regret at the publication of letters of Mr. A. G. Koelble, president of the United German Societies of New York, as tending to influence the sentiment in Congress against the resolution of warning.

The question how the World got possession of the letters found a somewhat sensational solution in the declaration of Mr. Koelble that they were obtained by burglary. There is no doubt that they were intended to be used as political material to incite feeling against the German-Americans and to impugn their loyalty.

The notice from Washington that an investigation of the charges of the World, so far as the same relate to the National Alliance, should be made caused a pitying smile of ridicule in the circles near to the executive committee. One of the gentlemen declared that such an investigation would be hailed with delight, because it would give opportunity clearly and directly to prove the National Alliance as a patriotic and American association, whose objects and purposes are in harmony with the best American ideals.

Later on the leader of the majority in the House, Representative Kitchin, denied having been influenced by anyone regarding his position and his support of a warning to Americans against the use of ships of the belligerent powers. He said he never had a secret conversation with anyone regarding the pending measures. He said he had always been of the opinion that Americans should not unnecessarily jeopardize the interests of the United States.

Congressional circles standing in opposition to the agitation of the pro-British press are convinced that the publication of the letters found in the possession of Mr. Alphonse G. Koelble, president of the United German Societies of New York, was intended for political purposes only. It would be folly to make much ado about it. The resolution of warning and the embargo resolution were supported by unhyphenated Americans as well as German-Americans. The entire clamor was as meaningless as the charge made some time ago in a surreptitious fashion against German-Americans that they were traitors to the United States.

Officials in the Department of the Attorney General of the United States have declared they saw no reason for action against the National Alliance, even if it had supported a lobby, as long as it had not attempted to make propaganda for its aims by offering bribes. An accusation of that kind had not been made, and there were no causes to support such an accusation.

The great sensation of the New York World, which attempted to make it appear that the resolution of warning was the work of a German lobby and dictated to the German-American National Alliance by Germany, was forgotten a week later. Congress had taken notice of it, but had not bothered about it further. The agitation of the German-Americans in favor of the resolution was justified and in every respect within the bounds of their rights as citizens of the United States. Even Members of Congress, who have no love for the German-American element and who make no effort to hide their love for the allies, declared they were not pleased with the action of the World. The National Alliance and other German organizations may still continue their agitation in favor of measures with which they are in sympathy. They have a right to do so, and no one can prevent them.

Mr. VON BOSSE (reading):

"*Charge No. 5.*—'It has furthered the aims of organizations which have since been absolutely convicted of disloyalty.' This charge is not only false, but malicious. There have been no Tories among us. In reply to such charges against one of our members, I ask leave in this connection to present the gentleman's letter, also in defense of the others, who share his views."

Senator WOLCOTT. Dr. von Bosse, what was the organization that held a meeting in Wilmington, Del., in the winter, I think, of 1914, at which Mr. Jeremiah O'Leary was a speaker?

Mr. VON BOSSE. I saw you there.

Senator WOLCOTT. Yes; I was there, and I left.

Mr. VON BOSSE. I saw you.

Senator WOLCOTT. Yes; Mr. O'Leary got rather too strong for me, and I left.

Mr. VON BOSSE. You were there.

Senator WOLCOTT. Yes; I was. You offered a prayer there, did you not?

Mr. VON BOSSE. No, sir.

Senator WOLCOTT. Did you not speak?

Mr. VON BOSSE. I spoke possibly three minutes, at the closing. I did not have a chance to speak.

Senator WOLCOTT. What was that organization?

Mr. VON BOSSE. That was the American Neutrality League.

Senator WOLCOTT. Did the German-American Alliance of Wilmington have any connection with that meeting?

Mr. VON BOSSE. No, sir; that was purely a corporation of its own, by itself.

Senator WOLCOTT. It did not express any phase of German-American activities at all?

Mr. VON BOSSE. No, sir. Its chief object, I suppose, was to maintain what we considered neutrality, with an embargo on arms and munitions.

Senator STERLING. Was it a local league, confined to Wilmington?

Mr. VON BOSSE. No, sir; that was a national organization, as I understand; but we were absolutely independent, for ourselves. We had no connection with anyone outside.

Senator KING. It acted, did it not, in connection with your German-American Alliance?

Mr. VON BOSSE. No, sir; it was a distinct organization, at least in our town.

Senator WOLCOTT. In advertising that meeting was not an appeal directed particularly to the German-American Alliance and to the Irish-American organizations?

Mr. VON BOSSE. Well, all the organizations were represented in the so-called United Societies of Delaware and in the Irish League, or whatever they call themselves. All these organizations were invited, as was the general public.

Senator KING. Is it not a fact that your national leaders—I mean the leaders of your national organization—as well as the leaders of your State and local organizations, took a very conspicuous part in promoting this Neutrality League; and did they not constitute the major portion of the membership of that Neutrality League?

Mr. VON BOSSE. I do not think so, Senator. But, according to what I know of the Neutrality League, it was promulgated by people with non-German names to a large extent. I did not attend any of their meetings, anywhere; but I do know that Dr. Hexamer said "Hands of"; he himself would not have the Alliance brought into connection with it.

Senator KING. Pardon me right there. Was there not some instruction given by some of your leaders that in effectuating its object, that is establishing this Neutrality League, those who were engaged in the work should as much as possible secure persons of non-German names, so as to hide the real personnel of those engaged in the work?

Mr. VON BOSSE. I read something to that effect, somewhere, that they should avoid using Germans on these committees.

Senator KING. I regret very much that the engagements of the members of the committee are such that we can not resume this hearing until to-morrow afternoon at 2 o'clock. We are compelled to be in the Committee on the Judiciary to-morrow morning, and in having these hearings we are neglecting other engagements. Would it be convenient for you to continue to-morrow, Dr. von Bosse?

Mr. VON BOSSE. I have services to-morrow, Lenten services, and I have made no provision for my absence.

Senator KING. Then we will hear Mr. Timm to-morrow afternoon, and we will hear you Thursday afternoon at 2 o'clock.

(After further informal discussion the subcommittee adjourned until to-morrow, Wednesday, March 20, 1918, at 2 o'clock p. m.)

NATIONAL GERMAN-AMERICAN ALLIANCE.

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 20, 1918.

UNITED STATES SENATE,
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY,
Washington, D. C.

The subcommittee met at 2.20 o'clock p. m. in the room of the Committee on the Judiciary in the Capitol.

Present: Senators King (chairman), Wolcott, and Sterling.

Senator KING. Mr. Timm, you will please be sworn.

(The witness was duly sworn by Senator King.)

TESTIMONY OF MR. ADOLPH TIMM, SECRETARY OF THE NATIONAL GERMAN-AMERICAN ALLIANCE.

Senator KING. Mr. Timm, you requested to be heard in this hearing in connection with the president, Mr. von Bosse.

Mr. TIMM. Yes, sir.

Senator KING. You may state to the committee whatever you desire to state relative to the matter under investigation.

Mr. TIMM (reading from a prepared statement):

"Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, as one of the charter members and as secretary since the founding of the National German American Alliance, the writer can state that the Alliance at no time had any connection whatsoever with the German government, nor did it receive any funds from German sources. It has always considered itself a patriotic American association and drawn the line so closely as to refuse admittance to membership to German Canadian societies on the ground that it had no right to admit foreigners in its ranks. The Alliance has always lived up to its charter and by-laws.

"The fact that former president Dr. C. J. Hexamer was decorated by a foreign monarch does not concern the Alliance. A large majority of the membership did not approve of the decorating. An article in the Official Bulletin, written by the secretary, explained to the German Foreign Office that Americans of German birth or extraction do not wish to be decorated.

"The Alliance is opposed to prohibition and has exercised its right to petition Congress, but it never was in politics. It can be proven that the national officers censured two State branches in 1906 which were about to enter party politics. A warning was issued by former president Dr. Hexamer in recent years. The National Alliance had nothing to do with the Chicago Conference Committee in 1916.

"In 1915 the Alliance had a naturalization booklet copyrighted and urged its branches to establish night schools for citizenship. This booklet has since aided thousands to become American citizens. Hundreds of letters from all parts of the country are proof that the good work of the Alliance is known and appreciated.

"It is not true that the Official Bulletin of the Alliance ever advocated the publication 'Fatherland.'

"When war was declared the Alliance issued a call to its members to do their duty as American citizens, and to non-citizens to obey the law and to discard the pictures of the rulers and generals and the flags of the central powers. It has since urged the purchase of Liberty Bonds and War Savings Stamps and has aided the authorities in registering the alien enemies.

"In many places the branches of the Alliance have done effective work in promoting governmental measures. For instance, returns from 50 societies in Pittsburg show that 1,394 members purchased Liberty Bonds, amounting to $217,250, the German Beneficial Union for $10,000 and $1,000 worth of War Savings Stamps.

"The Alliance is now preparing a statistical compilation of Americans of German birth or extraction, serving in the U. S. Army or Navy during the present war. Incoming returns show that from 142 young men of the Philadelphia Turngemeinde, two-thirds volunteered. In returns from congregations the percentage of those who volunteered is larger yet.

"Gustavus Ohlinger, of Toledo, O., is wrong when he charges the Pennsylvania Branch of the National German American Alliance has been active in Pennsylvania in attempts to dominate the Legislature. He is wrong when he states that John B. Mayer was chairman of the Legislative Committee at the time of the campaign against the club-licensing bill, because Arno P. Mowitz was chairman. He is wrong again when he says that Dr. Hexamer was engaged in the campaign. He is altogether wrong in making this campaign a matter of the Alliance, because it was a campaign in which all bona fide chartered clubs of Pennsylvania were interested. We only did our part.

"The German American end of the campaign started at a joint meeting of the Philadelphia Branch with the United Singers and representatives of other clubs not being affiliated with the Alliance, held on Wednesday, January 23, 1913. Julius Spiess was chairman and F. W. Haussmann secretary. Contributions to the campaign fund were made by clubs and individual members. The United Singers of Philadelphia contributed $250, the Pennsylvania Branch of the Alliance called for an assessment of 10 cents per member, raising nearly $4,000. The brewers and liquor dealers were in favor of the bill, also Governor John K. Tener.

"The protection of the lawful rights of clubs, the conservation and maintenance of all civil and political rights of American citizens were the main reasons for the founding of the Pennsylvania Branch in 1899. The Legislative Committee always urged the clubs to obey the laws governing them. Local Option and prohibition were opposed because their proponents were united with the club licensing people. This explains the alleged political activity of the Pennsylvania Branch, which was instrumental in 1901 in passing a bill in the Legislature making physical culture compulsory in the public schools of the cities of the first and second class. It advocates the preservation of the forests, the pensioning of teachers and other good measures. For years it conducted night schools for citizenship."

Mr. Chairman, Mr. Sutro referred to the naturalization work of the Alliance, and he filed a copy of the Pennsylvania booklet. I beg permission to file some copies that we printed for the New York State Branch and for the State Branch of Nebraska and other States.

Senator KING. Were they all in the same terms?

Mr. TIMM. In the same terms; yes, sir.

Senator KING. I suppose the printing of one in the record will be all that you ask for, but let the record show that similar booklets, as you call them, were prepared for such other States as you indicate.

Mr. TIMM. Yes, sir. I will file a copy that is printed in English which we printed for the State Branch of Texas. We also printed for California and for Louisiana and for Ohio. I have them all here, and I will file the copy for Texas.

(The booklet referred to is here printed in the record in full as follows:)

[National German American Alliance. Incorporated by Act of Congress. State Branch of Texas.]

HOW TO BECOME A CITIZEN—QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS FOR NATURALIZATION CANDIDATES.

[Compiled by John B. Mayer, chairman of the legislative committee of the German American Alliance of Pennsylvania.]

THE "FIRST PAPER."

The "first paper" may be obtained by anyone on his arrival in the United States, provided he is at least 18 years old.

To get the first paper the applicant has to appear in person at the county courthouse of the city or county where he lives (or to the United States court, if such is there) and the clerk who is delegated to this work will issue the said first paper.

The fee for the first paper is $1. A "first paper" obtained before the 27th of September, 1906, is always valid; a first paper taken out after this date is good only for seven years.

Anyone who has had the first paper for two years and has lived in the United States for five years can make application for the "second paper." He must, however, be at least 21 years old.

THE "SECOND PAPER."

Anyone who has been a resident of the United States for five years, who is at least 21 years old, and who has taken out a first paper two years before can make application for the "second paper" at an above-mentioned court.

He must bring with him (1) his "first paper," which he must leave with the clerk; (2) two vouchers (witnesses) who can state under oath that the applicant has been a resident of the United States for five years, and that he is of good moral character.

The two vouchers must be citizens of the United States.

After 90 days the applicant receives notice to appear in court, where he will be asked the questions below.

The two vouchers must appear with him in court.

The fee for the "second paper" is $4.

DON'T GET NERVOUS!

One of the main recommendations I make to the applicants is that they "keep cool" when they are before the judge. There is no reason whatever that they should get excited and nervous.

I have seen candidates for the citizen's paper, of whom I knew that they perfectly well could give proper answers to all questions put to them, but who were so excited and nervous that they were utterly unable to give an intelligent answer. Therefore "keep cool."

All judges demand that the applicant has read the Constitution of the United States.

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.

The following questions and answers cover pretty well everything what is asked in the naturalization court. These questions and answers are as follows:

1. Q. What is the highest law in the United States?—A. The Constitution.
2. Q. Have you read the Constitution?—A. Yes.
3. Q. What form of a government have we here?—A. A republic.
4. Q. What is a republic?—A. A republic is the form of government where the administration is lodged in officers elected by and representing the people (a government for and by the people).
5. Q. In how many departments is the government divided?—A. In three departments.
6. Q. What are they?—A. The legislative, executive, and judicial departments.
7. Q. What is the business of these three departments?—A. The legislative department makes the laws, the executive department executes the laws, the judicial department enforces the laws.
8. Q. What is the legislative department also called?—A. Congress.
9. Q. How many bodies (or Houses) of Congress are there?—A. Two; the Senate and the House of Representatives.
10. Q. How are the Senators elected?—A. By the people.
11. Q. How many Senators has each State?—A. Two.
12. Q. For how long is a Senator elected?—A. For six years.
13. Q. How are the Representatives elected?—A. By the people.
14. Q. For how long?—A. For two years.
15. Q. How many Representatives has each State?—A. According to the population.
16. Q. Where does Congress meet?—A. At Washington, D. C.
17. Q. Who constitutes the executive department?—A. The President, Vice President, and the Cabinet.
18. Q. How old must the President be?—A. At least 35 years.
19. Q. Where must he be born?—A. In the United States.
20. Q. Who elects the President?—A. The people, through the electors of each State.
21. Q. For how long?—A. For four years.
22. Q. What does the President do?—A. He signs the bills which Congress passes, is Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy, appoints ambassadors to the different nations, etc.
23. Q. What becomes of a bill after the President signs it?—A. It becomes a law.
24. Q. Must the President sign every bill which is sent to him by Congress?—A. No; he can veto and return it to Congress.
25. Q. What can Congress do with it?—A. Congress can pass it over his veto by a two-thirds vote.
26. Q. What becomes of a bill which the President neither signs nor vetoes?—A. It becomes a law in 10 days (by default).
27. Q. Who is elected with the President?—A. The Vice President.
28. Q. For how long?—A. For four years.
29. Q. What does he do?—A. He presides at the Senate.
30. Q. Who constitutes the judicial department?—A. The Supreme Court and inferior courts of the United States.
31. Q. Are the judges of the Supreme Court elected or appointed?—A. They are appointed.
32. Q. By whom?—A. The President.
33. Q. For how long?—A. For lifetime.
34. Q. Can the Constitution of the United States be amended?—A. Yes.
35. Q. How is this done?—A. The amendment must be first passed by a two-thirds vote in Congress; it is then submitted to the legislatures of the different States; if three-fourths of them ratify it, it becomes a part of the Constitution.
36. Q. Who has the power to declare war?—A. The Congress.
37. Q. Who makes the laws for the State of Pennsylvania?—A. The (State) legislature, which consists of a State senate and house of representatives.
38. Q. Who is at the head of the State government?—A. The governor.

39. Q. How are the judges of the State supreme court elected?—A. By the people, for 21 years.
40. Q. Where does the Pennsylvania State Legislature meet?—A. At Harrisburg.
41. Q. Are you to become a citizen of Pennsylvania or the United States?—A. A citizen of the United States.
42. Q. When was the Declaration of Independence proclaimed?—A. On the 4th of July, 1776.
43. Q. Where?—A. In Philadelphia at the Independence Hall.

Mr. TIMM (continuing reading): "In 1916 there was an Americanization Congress held in Philadelphia, and Mr. John B. Mayer, the President of the Pennsylvania State Branch, and myself, we attended and I submitted a report of the naturalization work in Pennsylvania.

"We also submitted copies of bills pending in Congress relating to the changing of the naturalization laws, making it easier for noncitizens to get their papers, and we expected and asked this Congress to pass resolutions to this effect. They took my report and the bills that were submitted, the bills pending in Congress, to the Committee on Resolutions. Speeches were made at this Americanization Congress—very fine speeches—but not a word was said about practical naturalization work; and then the Committee on Resolutions submitted its report and not one line was mentioned of our work."

Senator STERLING. Where do you say this Americanization Congress was held?

Mr. TIMM. I think it was in 1916.

Senator STERLING. It was held where?

Mr. TIMM. In Philadelphia. We asked for our report and for the copies of the bills that we submitted, and we left the place with the impression that they did not want us, that they did not want our cooperation. [Reading:]

"In addition, I beg to say that the charge that we never advocated American institutions is wrong, because in our classes for citizenship we always impressed it on those that attended, that this form of government is the only right form of government, and that they should acquire the knowledge of the language of the country. We worked together with the committee of the Board of Education of Philadelphia, that is with the Committee on Night Schools—Mr. Mayer and I; we held lectures in the night schools; reports were read to the Board of Education and we were asked to repeat these reports.

"The Chairman of the Committee on Night Schools of the Board of Education of the city of Philadelphia, sent out a notice directing the principals of the night schools to urge the pupils in the night schools to attend our schools for citizenship, and we, in turn, urged those that had not been attending the night schools to go there and learn the English language. Now, gentlemen, could we do more than advocate American institutions and advocate the learning of the English language? And I doubt it not that in other States it has been done on the same lines."

This is all that I have here. I will be willing to answer any questions.

Senator KING. You have made, then, such statement as you desire to submit to the committee, Mr. Timm?

Mr. TIMM. Yes.

Senator KING. How long have you been a member of the German-American Alliance?

Mr. TIMM. I am one of the founders, Senator. I am one of the founders of the Pennsylvania branch, which was founded in 1899.

Senator KING. And you have been an officer of it for how long?

Mr. TIMM. Since the founding.

Senator KING. Have you been the secretary since its organization?

Mr. TIMM. Yes, sir.

Senator KING. When did your organization first publish an organ?

Mr. TIMM. I think in 1904 or 1905.

Senator KING. What was the name of that organ?

Mr. TIMM. That was the Mitteilungen.

Senator KING. Did you not publish what in English is called the German-American Annals?

Mr. TIMM. That is a different publication, Senator. That was published by Prof. Learned.

Senator KING. Was not that the organ of the organization for some time?

Mr. TIMM. No, sir.

Senator KING. Did it publish the proceedings of and any addresses or propaganda that emanated from your organization, especially from the president?

Mr. TIMM. We had the reports of the conventions printed at the same place where the Annals were printed, and I think Prof. Learned asked for permission to use the matter of the report of the proceedings of our conventions in the Annals. That is the way they got in there.

Senator KING. Did your organization name any paper as its organ?

Mr. TIMM. No, sir.

Senator KING. Did you regard the Bulletin as its organ?

Mr. TIMM. Yes, sir.

Senator KING. That was authorized, was it?

Mr. TIMM. Yes, sir.

Senator KING. As the organ?

Mr. TIMM. Yes, sir.

Senator KING. And when was that first printed?

Mr. TIMM. I could not say the exact year; it may be 1903 or it may be 1904, Senator.

Senator KING. And who selected the editor?

Mr. TIMM. Why, I think Dr. Hexamer appointed me as editor at the time.

Senator KING. You were editor for a time, were you?

Mr. TIMM. Yes, sir.

Senator KING. For how long did you act as editor?

Mr. TIMM. I was editor until the time of the St. Louis convention. That was in 1913.

Senator KING. My attention is called to the German-American Annals, which have been published, as I understand, for a number of years, and on the title page of the volume I have here it states as follows:

German-American Annals—Continuation of the Quarterly Americana Germanica—A bimonthly devoted to the comparative study of the historical, liter-

ary, linguistic, educational, and commercial relations of Germany and America—Organ of the German-American Historical Society——

Mr. TIMM. Yes——

Senator KING (continuing):

The National German-American Alliance.

Mr. TIMM. That was never authorized to my knowledge, Senator.

Senator KING. Published at Philadelphia?

Mr. TIMM. Yes.

Senator KING. The editor is Marion Dexter Learned, University of Pennsylvania?

Mr. TIMM. Yes, sir.

Senator KING. And Julius Goebel as one of the contributing editors?

Mr. TIMM. Yes, sir.

Senator KING. Did you know that it was represented by the publication just referred to that it was the organ of your organization?

Mr. TIMM. I did not know that; not that I know of, Senator.

Senator STERLING. Did you get the publication yourself—these Annals?

Mr. TIMM. I always confined myself to the work of the secretary, Senator, and I always considered the Annals and the Americana-Germanica publications for academic people and I never——

Senator STERLING. You got them, did you not?

Mr. TIMM. At the office, but not personally.

Senator STERLING. At what office do you mean?

Mr. TIMM. At the office of the Alliance.

Senator STERLING. You saw them as they came to the office from time to time?

Mr. TIMM. Yes.

Senator STERLING. Did you not see that they purported to be published as the organ of the National German-American Alliance?

Mr. TIMM. I can not remember that, Senator.

Senator STERLING. One would think that, a publication coming to your office, as this did, purporting to be the organ of your organization, you would have noted it.

Mr. TIMM. Oh, yes.

Senator STERLING. But it somehow escaped you?

Mr. TIMM. Yes, sir.

Senator KING. You are the present secretary, Mr. Timm?

Mr. TIMM. Yes, sir.

Senator KING. When did Dr. Hexamer cease to be president of the organization?

Mr. TIMM. In October of last year.

Senator KING. And when was his successor selected?

Mr. TIMM. In November, last year.

Senator KING. By whom?

Mr. TIMM. By the executive committee of the Alliance at Chicago.

Senator KING. They were acquainted with Dr. von Bosse, of course?

Mr. TIMM. Yes.

Senator KING. You knew him, did you?

Mr. TIMM. Yes.

Senator KING. Has your organization taken any part in political activities in States or in the Nation?

Mr. TIMM. Not that I know of.

Senator KING. Has your president advocated unity of the Germans; that is to say, advocated that the Germans be united as a political force?

Mr. TIMM. He may have done that.

Senator KING. Has that not been repeatedly in substance declared in your publication, of which you were the editor?

Mr. TIMM. In the speeches of Dr. Hexamer which the Bulletin published.

Senator KING. Who determined the editorial policy of the paper?

Mr. TIMM. Mostly the editor.

Senator KING. Did the paper express, through the editorial columns and through the utterances of the president, the purposes of the organization?

Mr. TIMM. Only when the editorials and the utterances of the president stayed within the official limits.

Senator KING. You would consider, then, that this paper, in publishing the proceedings of State conventions or addresses of the president—the account of their conventions and the editorials of those in charge of the paper—reflected pretty well the purposes of the organization?

Mr. TIMM. I would exclude the editorials and the speeches of Dr. Hexamer and only include the reports of the convention.

Senator KING. I understood you to say that the editorials reflected the policy of the organization or the purposes of the organization.

Mr. TIMM. Well, no; I do not think so.

Senator KING. Was there ever any condemnation by the organization of any of the utterances of President Hexamer as president or any of the editorials found in its organ?

Mr. TIMM. The rank and file was not satisfied with the Official Bulletin during the time that Mr. Heinrici was the editor, and even the Bulletin was called an advertising sheet for Dr. Hexamer.

Senator KING. Was there any disapproval by the organization of the editorial utterances or the utterances of Dr. Hexamer published in the Bulletin?

Mr. TIMM. Not officially.

Senator KING. Did any of the executive officers meet together and disapprove or condemn any of the utterances found in the official organ?

Mr. TIMM. They did not.

Senator KING. You knew, did you not, that the Bulletin contained many editorials and statements made by Dr. Hexamer and by State alliances, in the form of resolutions and declarations, the spirit and substance of which were expressed in words something like those to which I will now call your attention, and which are found on page 7 of the Bulletin for February, 1917? [Reading:]

Also in the field of political activity we must learn to obtain for ourselves elbow room. To the courageous and to the confident the world belongs, not to the doubtful and to the modest. The American is in many respects like a spoiled and mistrained child. If one does not accede to his wants he makes a big mouth and becomes unpleasant. But if you approach him with calm assurance which the conviction of the righteousness of your cause gives you

then he becomes gradually tractable and reasonable, and allows you to talk to him.

I call your attention particularly to the words:

Also in the field of political activity we must learn to obtain for ourselves elbow room.

This article was published under the heading, "The bulwark of Germanism." Did you know of articles of that character being published in the Bulletin?

Mr. TIMM. Well, I never approved of these expressions, Senator.

Senator KING. Did you know that this was an address to the Germans, to constitute themselves a bulwark for Deutschland, and also contained these words: "Only in vigorous unity does the welfare of American Germanism rest. Every division of our powers is a betrayal of the cause of German kultur"?

Mr. TIMM. I have warned Dr. Hexamer repeatedly to leave the word "kultur" out of his speeches and articles altogether, because a large percentage of the Americans of German birth and extraction did not approve of it; but I must say that Dr. Hexamer never heeded my advice.

Senator KING. You knew, then, of course, of those publications?

Mr. TIMM. Yes.

Senator KING. Which, in effect, urged the German people to maintain their racial distinctions and not to become assimilated with and absorbed into the population of our country?

Mr. TIMM. I always believed that the separation was really the fault of the Americans also, because they compelled the Germans who wanted to live according to their own customs to a kind of separation which is very wrongly called to be antagonistic to Americanism.

Senator KING. Mr. Timm, I do not quite agree with you, if I understand you, that there has been any very pronounced separation between the Germans and Americans; that is to say, I think that the Germans are intermarrying with the Americans and that the process of absorption and assimilation is going on. But the point I was getting at is this, and this was the question I propounded: Did you know that your organ and your president and State alliances were constantly urging that the Germans in this Nation should maintain their racial distinctions and peculiarities and should band themselves together as a bloc for political and for other purposes?

Mr. TIMM. Yes; I knew that. I always thought that the Alliance could not be held responsible for utterances of Dr. Hexamer.

Senator KING. Was it not a policy of your paper, of your organ, to urge vigorous unity of the Germans for the purpose of maintaining Germanism?

Mr. TIMM. I do not think so.

Senator KING. Was there any condemnation of this address that I have just read which was published in the organ under the date just mentioned? In it was urged that—

Only in vigorous unity does the welfare of American Germanism rest. Every division of our powers is a betrayal of the cause of German kultur.

Also the following words:

For the first time the gigantic strides which the National German-American Alliance has made in the few years of its existence and the fact that it has

united with itself no fewer than 2,000,000 votes have given to Germanism in actuality a political significance, in spite of the fact that the Alliance as such has no politics.

You knew of those publications, did you not?

Mr. TIMM. Yes; but the Alliance never took any official recognition of these utterances of Dr. Hexamer.

Senator KING. Was not that published as an address by him to German-Americans?

Mr. TIMM. As his personal views, as I understood it.

Senator WOLCOTT. Do I understand you to say that the German-American Alliance did not indulge in political activities?

Mr. TIMM. Yes, sir.

Senator WOLCOTT. It did not?

Mr. TIMM. It did not; no, sir.

Senator WOLCOTT. In the sixth volume of the Official Bulletin, No. 12, page 16, there is this item of news:

A brilliant victory is won by the National German-American Alliance of Pennsylvania. The secretary of the National Alliance, Mr. A. Timm——

That is yourself, is it not?

Mr. TIMM. Yes.

Senator WOLCOTT (continuing reading):

was the German campaign manager. The liberal element has won a brilliant victory under the leadership of the legislative committee of the German-American Central Alliance of Pennsylvania.

Now, just a moment. I find this further piece of news in the Official Bulletin of the organization; just what date I can not tell you. It may have been in the same issue. It may not have been. My reference does not give the issue. The item is as follows:

The Alliance's secretary, Adolph Timm, acted as campaign manager. * * * Two hundred and seven representatives were up for election to the State legislature. Only 39 who had received the indorsement of the legislative committee failed of election. It is extremely gratifying that the arch mucker, Samuel B. Scott, the author of the club licensing bill, was defeated. * * * In connection with the victory Mr. John B. Mayer, in his capacity as chairman of the legislative committee, sent the following communication to German-American voters through the German press:

"To the German-American voters: The result of yesterday's election shows in Philadelphia a decisive victory for the candidates of the legislative committee of the National German-American Alliance."

Mr. Timm, what have you to say with respect to these items in the Official Bulletin in connection with your statement that the Alliance did not engage in politics?

Mr. TIMM. That is just the matter I referred to in my statement. That was in 1913, when all the bona fide clubs of Pennsylvania fought the Scott bill, and we were only a part. I was made campaign manager of the German clubs, and I took part; I represented the German clubs in the campaign. That was a State matter of Pennsylvania; and we succeeded in defeating the bill.

Senator STERLING. The German clubs went to make up the State Alliance, did they not?

Mr. TIMM. Yes, sir.

Senator STERLING. Yes.

Mr. TIMM. Not all of them, Senator. All the clubs combined, even those that are not affiliated with the German-American Alliance.

Senator STERLING. Yes; but the German-American Alliance of the State is made up of the various German clubs.

Mr. TIMM. Not all of them.

Senator STERLING. It may not include all of the clubs, but it is made up of German clubs?

Mr. TIMM. Oh, yes, Senator.

Senator WOLCOTT. Of course, your activity upon the occasion referred to by these new items in the Bulletin was not directed entirely against some legislative bill, but it seems to have been directed against candidates on tickets.

Mr. TIMM. Well, we opposed candidates who we knew would vote for the Scott bill; that is true.

Senator WOLCOTT. Then the net result of it is this, is it not, that you have engaged—the Alliance has engaged—to some extent in political activities?

Mr. TIMM. We protected the cause of our clubs in which millions were invested. That was stated at the hearing which we had in Harrisburg.

Senator WOLCOTT. You did it by political activity; is not that true?

Mr. TIMM. In a sense; yes.

Senator WOLCOTT. That activity was by the German-American Alliance of Pennsylvania?

Mr. TIMM. All the clubs of Pennsylvania, the Elks and——

Senator WOLCOTT. It is in evidence also, I think—in fact, I am sure it is in evidence—that in Pittsburgh the German-American Alliance—last year, I think it was—indorsed a whole city ticket and threw its influence behind the election of that ticket. Is not that true?

Mr. TIMM. The State branch of Pennsylvania and the National Alliance had nothing to do with that, Senator. That was local.

Senator WOLCOTT. The question is if they did not do that?

Mr. TIMM. Oh, yes; yes.

Senator WOLCOTT. I do not recollect whether the action of the local branches in Pittsburgh in that political activity was reported in the Official Bulletin, the organ of the national organization, or not. But it is manifest, it is clear, that the other activity to which I referred a moment ago, when the German-American Alliance boasted that only 39 candidates for the legislature who had been indorsed by the German-American Alliance were defeated, appeared in the national organ, the Official Bulletin, and to that extent, therefore, it might very properly be said that the National Alliance, the national organization, approved of the activity of the State branch. What have you to say to that suggestion or thought of mine?

Mr. TIMM. Senator, we could not boast of having elected all but 39 of candidates, because we did not do it. We did not do it alone. We only did our part of it.

Senator WOLCOTT. I do not know whether you had a right to boast of it or not, but it does seem to me that at least there is the expression of extreme satisfaction that only 39 had been beaten.

Mr. TIMM. Oh, that may be; yes.

Senator WOLCOTT. Where did the idea of the publication of this Official Bulletin originate?

Mr. TIMM. We first started to send out, I think, four pages. We had to have some publication to make official matters known to the Alliance, and as the Alliance grew larger, of course, the Bulletin grew larger. It was a matter of necessity.

Senator WOLCOTT. You say "we" first put out about four pages. Whom do you mean by "we"?

Mr. TIMM. The National Alliance.

Senator WOLCOTT. Did the National Alliance officially institute or establish this Bulletin?

Mr. TIMM. Oh, yes. That was never a private publication.

Senator WOLCOTT. It was not a publication that just some individual members got up as a private enterprise?

Mr. TIMM. Oh, no, sir.

Senator WOLCOTT. It was something selected as the organ through which the national association might express itself?

Mr. TIMM. Yes, sir.

Senator WOLCOTT. To the members clear on down in the affiliated bodies, was it?

Mr. TIMM. Yes, sir.

Senator STERLING. You spoke a while ago, Mr. Timm, about the rank and file of the organization not being satisfied with the management of a certain editor.

Mr. TIMM. That is so.

Senator STERLING. I did not get the name of that editor.

Mr. TIMM. Mr. Max Heinrici.

Senator STERLING. When was he editor of the paper?

Mr. TIMM. He was editor from 1913 up to May, 1916, when we had to stop the publication of the Bulletin for want of funds.

Senator STERLING. And then when you resumed the publication there was another editor?

Mr. TIMM. Mr. Keller; yes, sir.

Senator STERLING. Mr. Keller?

Mr. TIMM. Mr. Joseph Keller.

Senator STERLING. The man who has testified here?

Mr. TIMM. Yes, sir.

Senator STERLING. Who was the editor of the publication prior to Mr. Heinrici?

Mr. TIMM. Myself, Senator.

Senator STERLING. Yourself?

Mr. TIMM. Yes, sir.

Senator STERLING. You were the editor from the beginning of it, were you?

Mr. TIMM. Yes.

Senator STERLING. On up until Mr. Heinrici took possession in 1913?

Mr. TIMM. Yes.

Senator STERLING. And he published it from 1913 until 1916?

Mr. TIMM. Yes.

Senator STERLING. When the publication was suspended?

Mr. TIMM. Yes, sir.

Senator STERLING. And then on resuming publication who do you say became editor?

Mr. TIMM. Mr. Joseph Keller.

Senator STERLING. Oh, yes; Mr. Joseph Keller. You said that you were willing to accept the paper and its contents as declaratory of the policy of the organization, except the editorials and the speeches and writings of Dr. Hexamer?

Mr. TIMM. Yes, sir.

Senator STERLING. Mr. Timm, do you not judge of the policy of any newspaper publication by the editorials?

Mr. TIMM. Well, usually; yes.

Senator STERLING. Yes; ordinarily you judge of the policy of the paper by the editorials, do you not?

Mr. TIMM. Yes, sir.

Senator STERLING. And the editorials are supposed to be always, are they not, declaratory or indicative of the policy of the paper, political and otherwise?

Mr. TIMM. Yes; mostly.

Senator STERLING. Why should there be any distinction between the Official Bulletin of your organization and any other publication which has an editor, in that respect?

Mr. TIMM. I always looked upon the editor as an adviser for the Alliance.

Senator STERLING. You looked to him to write the editorials which would be helpful to the Alliance and helpful to the membership of the Alliance, did you not?

Mr. TIMM. Yes.

Senator STERLING. Yes.

Mr. TIMM. Yes, sir; but very unfortunately, this editor knew very little of the practical work of the Alliance, and I think many utterances or many things, many sentences, slipped from his pen which may have been kept out if he had known the practical work of the Alliance.

Senator STERLING. Did you ever do anything toward securing the removal of the objectionable editor?

Mr. TIMM. I had no occasion to do so.

Senator STERLING. You had no occasion? But you let him write these editorials, which you think did not reflect the true policy of the organization, without interruption?

Mr. TIMM. Yes, sir.

Senator STERLING. And you knew at the time that it would go out to the world, did you not, just as other newspapers do, with the editorials supposedly reflecting the policy of the paper?

Mr. TIMM. I could not help that, Senator.

Senator STERLING. No; you could not help that?

Mr. TIMM. No, sir.

Senator STERLING. What do you mean when you say you could not help it?

Mr. TIMM. Well, I had my opinion on it and many others, but nothing was done.

Senator STERLING. Did you take any particular steps toward doing anything?

Mr. TIMM. No, sir.

Senator STERLING. No. Did you think you were in the full performance of your obligation and duty, now, as a member of that organization, if you saw these objectionable things appearing from

the pen of the editor and were not doing something to bring official action to bear upon it?

Mr. TIMM. Senator, I did considerable field work; I was out of town very often, and sometimes I did not read the Bulletin for months.

Senator WOLCOTT. Who selected the editor?

Mr. TIMM. He was appointed by Dr. Hexamer.

Senator STERLING. And Dr. Hexamer was the president?

Mr. TIMM. Yes, sir.

Senator WOLCOTT. Did the National Alliance authorize Dr. Hexamer to select the editor?

Mr. TIMM. It did not.

Senator WOLCOTT. He just went ahead and did it?

Mr. TIMM. Yes.

Senator KING. Mr. Timm, you put forth that little leaflet, did you not [handing paper to the witness]?

Mr. TIMM. I did; yes.

Senator KING. Signing that as secretary?

Mr. TIMM. Yes.

Senator KING. As secretary of the National German-American Alliance?

Mr. TIMM. Well, I think in this there was an error. That was as State secretary. That was a Pennsylvania matter.

Senator KING. You are secretary of the State Alliance of Pennsylvania?

Mr. TIMM. Yes.

Senator KING. You put it out as secretary of that organization?

Mr. TIMM. Yes.

Senator KING. Just read it into the record, please. It is in German, is it not?

Mr. TIMM. Yes.

Senator KING. Translate it.

Mr. TIMM (translating):

Very important. The city and county presidents of the Alliance of Pennsylvania are directed, and also private persons urged, to telegraph to Senator Boies Penrose to oppose the nomination of Roosevelt.

Senator KING. Senator Penrose's address is given there?

Mr. TIMM. Yes; his name is there, "Hon. Boies Penrose," and it is addressed to him, "Hon. Boies Penrose, Congress Hotel, Chicago, Ill."

Following are a few forms for dispatches. The rest is in English. These forms are in English:

We urge you to oppose Roosevelt's nomination.
No votes for Roosevelt in our county.
Anybody but Roosevelt.
Roosevelt can not be elected in our county.

Then it says, in German:

The telegrams must be at Chicago on June 6. By direction of the president. J. B. Mayer. Respectfully, Adolph Timm, secretary.

That was the statement, Senator.

Senator KING. Mr. Mayer was president of your State organization?

Mr. TIMM. Yes.

Senator KING. It was he who was instrumental in effecting the organization of the National German-American Alliance?

Mr. TIMM. Oh, no; Mr. Mayer has only been connected with the Alliance for a few years.

Senator KING. Was he not at one time president of your State organization, prior to the organization of the National German-American Alliance?

Mr. TIMM. No; Dr. Hexamer was the State president and the local president, and Mr. Mayer succeeded him, I think, two years ago.

Senator KING. Then, as I understand you, your State organization entered into politics?

Mr. TIMM. Well, partly; yes.

Senator KING. And used your influence to defeat the nomination of Mr. Roosevelt at the Republican convention in Chicago in 1916?

Mr. TIMM. Yes.

Senator KING. The various county organizations and city organizations were urged to interest themselves actively?

Mr. TIMM. Oh, yes.

Senator KING. And to send telegrams to Senator Penrose stating that there were no votes for Roosevelt in that county or in that precinct?

Mr. TIMM. Yes, sir.

Senator KING. Other State alliances did the same thing, to your knowledge, did they not?

Mr. TIMM. I believe they did.

Senator KING. Their actions in those matters were reported to your Bulletin and published in it?

Mr. TIMM. There was not a line published of the proceedings of the Chicago conference, of anything that was done in the line of the Chicago conference, in the Bulletin.

Senator KING. You misunderstand me.

Mr. TIMM. Oh, pardon me.

Senator KING. The action of the various State alliances in opposing Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Wilson for the Presidency was reported in the Bulletin, was it not?

Mr. TIMM. It was not.

Senator KING. Did not a number of the State organizations take affirmative action against Mr. Roosevelt and against Mr. Wilson?

Mr. TIMM. There may be some mentioning in the reports of the proceedings of the Alliance and the other columns purposely to keep all these things out, because Mr. Keller was opposed to the Chicago conference.

Senator KING. Well, you knew that the State alliances in various States did take action?

Mr. TIMM. I believe some of them did; yes.

Senator KING. And entered into politics for that purpose?

Mr. TIMM. I think some of them did; yes.

Senator KING. The State alliances have frequently engaged in political activities within States, and within counties and cities, have they not?

Mr. TIMM. I believe some of them did.

Senator KING. And particularly on educational matters and on the matter of liquor?

Mr. TIMM. On prohibition; yes.

Senator KING. Prohibition?

Mr. TIMM. Yes.

Senator KING. And State alliances have frequently urged that the Germans should work together and that there should be unity of the Germans for Germanism in the United States?

Mr. TIMM. Well, no; no. That was never connected with the so-called political activities.

Senator KING. Did you regard it as political activity for your State organizations to oppose Mr. Roosevelt's nomination?

Mr. TIMM. That was more a part of the practical work of the organization. The other part, the speeches of Dr. Hexamer, are more—Dr. Hexamer is an idealist, and that is a different line altogether.

Senator KING. What I asked you was whether or not you regarded it as political activity for the State organizations to get out and oppose the nomination of Roosevelt.

Mr. TIMM. Oh, yes; they were opposed to Roosevelt. There is no question about it.

Senator KING. That is political activity, is it not?

Mr. TIMM. In a sense; yes.

Senator KING. And was it political activity to oppose the nomination and election of Mr. Wilson?

Mr. TIMM. We did not oppose the reelection or the nomination of Mr. Wilson.

Senator WOLCOTT. Whom do you mean by "we"?

Mr. TIMM. The Alliance. Neither the Alliance nor the Chicago conference.

Senator WOLCOTT. A lot of State alliances and organizations, however, did.

Mr. TIMM. Not that I know of. There may be some that did; but I believe that has not got anything to do with the national body.

Senator KING. Did not your organ publish a statement to the effect that neither Roosevelt nor Wilson should be elected?

Mr. TIMM. I do not think so.

Senator KING. Did not your organ publish a statement something like this, that the watchword, or the password, be "Neither Wilson nor Roosevelt"?

Mr. TIMM. I do not think so.

Senator STERLING. While Senator King is looking that up, Mr. Timm, I will ask you this: Your national organization knew of the political activities of these various State alliances, did it not?

Mr. TIMM. I presume so.

Senator STERLING. Yes. You, as one of the officers of the national organization, knew of some of them, did you not?

Mr. TIMM. Oh, yes.

Senator STERLING. And particularly in Pennsylvania?

Mr. TIMM. Yes.

Senator STERLING. You knew of the political activities?

Mr. TIMM. Yes, sir.

Senator STERLING. The National Alliance did nothing to prevent those political activities upon the part of the State alliances, did it?

Mr. TIMM. Well, we all took part in these things as citizens.

Senator STERLING. The question is, Did your National Alliance do anything to prevent the political activities in various States on the part of the State alliances?

Mr. TIMM. Dr. Hexamer issued a warning in 1916.

Senator STERLING. The question is, Did your national organization do anything to prevent the political activities of your various State alliances? That is the question.

Mr. TIMM. I did not quite understand the question, Senator.

Senator STERLING. Did the national organization do anything——

Mr. TIMM. Oh; do anything?

Senator STERLING. Yes; to prevent the political activities of the State alliances?

Mr. TIMM. Only the warning of Dr. Hexamer.

Senator STERLING. Only what?

Mr. TIMM. Only the warning of Dr. Hexamer that was referred to yesterday by Rev. von Bosse.

Senator STERLING. He did not warn against the political activities of the State Alliance of Pennsylvania, did he?

Mr. TIMM. He mentioned—he warned for the activity as a body.

Senator STERLING. As a what?

Mr. TIMM. As a body—as an alliance—not to spend any money and not to violate the antitrust law.

Senator STERLING. When did he do that?

Mr. TIMM. I think in 1916.

Senator STERLING. Oh, yes; that related to the spending of money?

Mr. TIMM. Yes.

Senator STERLING. And to prevent a charge against the Alliance of having violated section 83, was it not?

Mr. TIMM. Yes.

Senator STERLING. But beyond that nothing was advised or nothing done as against the political activities of any of the State alliances?

Mr. TIMM. Not that I know of.

Senator KING. You were present at the Chicago convention, were you not?

Mr. TIMM. Yes.

Senator KING. To which you refer?

Mr. TIMM. Yes.

Senator STERLING. The Rev. Mr. von Bosse was there?

Mr. TIMM. He was there; yes, sir.

Senator KING. You adopted there a sort of a slogan of two lines—

Our glorious Union forever;
Wilson or Roosevelt, never!

did you not?

Mr. TIMM. Is that in the proceedings?

Senator KING. Yes. The proceedings were published, were they not?

Mr. TIMM. I never saw a copy of them.

Senator KING. They were published by Dr. Michael Singer in the Yearbook of the German-American Alliance for the year 1918?

Mr. TIMM. I never saw that.

Senator KING. You know that there is such a book as that?

Mr. TIMM. Yes.

Senator KING. By Dr. Michael Singer?

Mr. TIMM. Yes.

Senator KING. And which is supported by the German-American Alliance?

Mr. TIMM. I think it is a private publication.

Senator KING. Just look at that and see if you do not see it there [handing book to the witness]?

Mr. TIMM (after examination of book). It seems to me that this is an expression of the writer here.

Senator KING. That says it is a report of your proceedings, does it not?

Mr. TIMM. Yes, sir; but he only says that speakers were opposed to Wilson, Roosevelt, and Root—speakers in the meeting.

Senator KING. Did your convention adopt resolutions there?

Mr. TIMM. Not that I know of.

Senator KING. What did you meet there for?

Mr. TIMM. Only to oppose Roosevelt and Root.

Senator KING. You met for that purpose?

Mr. TIMM. Yes.

Senator KING. As members of the German-American Alliance?

Mr. TIMM. Well, no. From all over the country there were men there, and mostly not affiliated with the Alliance. This was not an Alliance matter.

Senator KING. Who called the meeting?

Mr. TIMM. The State Branch of Pennsylvania.

Senator KING. Did not Mr. Leo Stern, the president of the State Branch of Wisconsin, take a prominent part in calling that convention?

Mr. TIMM. He was not there. He was opposed to it.

Senator KING. Was he not known as the author of "the Wisconsin idea"?

Mr. TIMM. I heard something about the Wisconsin idea, but I——

Senator KING. Of an organization of the Germans of the United States so as to prevent the nomination of Mr. Roosevelt?

Mr. TIMM. I heard something about the Wisconsin idea, but, to tell the truth, I never knew what that was; but Mr. Stern was not at Chicago.

Senator KING. You were secretary of this meeting in Chicago—this convention?

Mr. TIMM. Against my protest they elected me as one of the secretaries, and I declared that I was not there as the secretary of the National Alliance, but just as a private citizen.

Senator KING. Yes; all right. But, at any rate, you were there as secretary?

Mr. TIMM. Yes; merely as corresponding and financial secretary.

Senator KING. In that convention resolutions were adopted?

Mr. TIMM. There were some resolutions adopted; yes, sir.

Senator KING. The convention was called by men who were conspicuous in the National German-American Alliance?

Mr. TIMM. Not all of them.

Senator KING. Well, some of them?

Mr. TIMM. Some of them; yes, sir.

Senator KING. For the purpose of launching a political movement or to prevent the nomination of Mr. Roosevelt?

Mr. TIMM. Yes.

Senator KING. You adopted resolutions there against Roosevelt and against Mr. Root?

Mr. TIMM. Yes; and a committee was appointed to see Mr. Hilles; and we did see Mr. Hilles.

Senator KING. And you were instructed to influence, as far as you could, the State alliances of the various States so that delegates would be sent to the Republican national convention who would be hostile to Mr. Roosevelt?

Mr. TIMM. No; I do not think so at that time. Not that I know of.

Senator KING. What did you resolve there in that meeting to do?

Mr. TIMM. They appointed a committee to see Mr. Hilles and to tell Mr. Hilles that the Republican party could not expect any votes for Mr. Roosevelt nor for Mr. Root.

Senator KING. Nor for Mr. Root?

Mr. TIMM. Yes.

Senator KING. From whom?

Mr. TIMM. From the German-Americans.

Senator KING. And did the committee go?

Mr. TIMM. Yes.

Senator KING. And they saw him?

Mr. TIMM. Yes.

Senator KING. Were you one of the committee?

Mr. TIMM. Yes.

Senator KING. You notified Mr. Hilles?

Mr. TIMM. Yes.

Senator KING. As chairman of the Republican National Committee?

Mr. TIMM. Yes.

Senator KING. That the German-Americans would not vote for Roosevelt or Root?

Mr. TIMM. Yes.

Senator KING. Was any action taken respecting Mr. Wilson?

Mr. TIMM. No, sir; not that I know of.

Senator KING. The Pennsylvania society took affirmative action in favor of Mr. Hughes, did it not?

Mr. TIMM. Not that I know. We fought Mr. Roosevelt in the primaries.

Senator KING. Did you not affirmatively declare in favor of Mr. Hughes as an alliance?

Mr. TIMM. I do not think so.

Senator KING. You heard Mr. Humes's testimony, did you not?

Mr. TIMM. I did not; no, sir; I was not here.

Senator KING. Did you know that in Allegheny County the county organization affirmatively declared for Mr. Hughes?

Mr. TIMM. They may have indorsed Mr. Hughes, but the State Alliance did not indorse Mr. Hughes—not to my knowledge.

Senator KING. What I was going to ask was, Did not the State Alliance direct the various local organizations to declare in favor of Mr. Hughes and against Mr. Wilson?

Mr. TIMM. Not that I know of; not that I remember.

Senator KING. Did your State organization meet—I mean your executive committee—and consider the political situation that year?

Mr. TIMM. We just met; that was our last meeting, when we resolved to call the Chicago conference.

Senator KING. Yes; but your State organization met—I mean, the executive members?

Mr. TIMM. Yes; the executive committee.

Senator KING. For the purpose of considering political matters?

Mr. TIMM. Yes; to oppose Roosevelt and Root.

Senator KING. I see; and then you resolved that your State organization would participate in the Chicago convention?

Mr. TIMM. Yes; we issued a call for it.

Senator KING. You issued a call for the Chicago convention?

Mr. TIMM. Yes, sir.

Senator KING. How many State alliances were represented at that convention?

Mr. TIMM. I think about 20.

Senator KING. Do you know whether the State alliances took similar action to the Alliance of Pennsylvania?

Mr. TIMM. Well, no; not that I know of.

Senator KING. How did the representatives from the various State alliances happen to be there?

Mr. TIMM. On the call of the State Branch of Pennsylvania, on the invitation.

Senator KING. The call from the Pennsylvania Alliance was transmitted to the various State alliances?

Mr. TIMM. Yes, sir.

Senator KING. And in response to the action of the Pennsylvania State Alliance the other alliances sent their delegates to this convention which was held in Chicago?

Mr. TIMM. Yes.

Senator KING. Who presided over the convention?

Mr. TIMM. Mr. J. B. Mayer.

Senator KING. He was the president of the Pennsylvania State Alliance?

Mr. TIMM. And he was the chairman; yes, sir.

Senator KING. Do you remember the Illinois convention of the Alliance?

Mr. TIMM. Do you mean the last convention?

Senator KING. No; in 1916.

Mr. TIMM. I was not present at the time.

Senator KING. Well, do you remember the proceedings being published in the Bulletin of April, 1916, page 18?

Mr. TIMM. I do not remember that; no.

Senator KING. Were you the editor then?

Mr. TIMM. No, sir.

Senator KING. It appears in the Bulletin of the number and on the page just mentioned that there was a meeting in Chicago of the special executive committee of the National Alliance—of the State alliance—at which action was taken against Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Wilson, and a report was made and published in the Bulletin. The Bulletin contains this language:

> The committee occupied itself with political questions, and sent out the password, "Everybody against Roosevelt and Wilson."

Then, there is this further statement found in the Bulletin on the same page:

There was a thorough discussion of the political situation, and the following resolution was adopted unanimously: That the executive committee of the State Alliance of Illinois send this password to all branch alliances: "Everybody against Roosevelt and Wilson."

Then, there is the following resolution which also was adopted:

That the local organizations and societies are ordered to take all necessary measures in their particular localities to accomplish this result; that all societies shall be notified by the executive committee as quickly as possible of this task; and that copies of the resolution adopted by the Chicago City Alliance and by the executive committee of the National Alliance as well as by the Illinois Alliance are to be endorsed and referred to all local societies.

That was published in your official organ, and it states there that this was adopted by the executive committee of the National Alliance.

Mr. TIMM. Of the National Alliance?

Senator KING. Yes.

Mr. TIMM. No, sir; that was never adopted.

Senator KING. Was it brought to your attention?

Mr. TIMM. No, sir; it was not.

Senator KING. Were you a member of the executive committee?

Mr. TIMM. Yes.

Senator KING. Did you know that that was published?

Mr. TIMM. Oh, yes.

Senator KING. And you knew that, pursuant to this action and this publication, various State alliances and local alliances did meet and carry on active work against Mr. Roosevelt's nomination?

Mr. TIMM. That may have been done.

Senator KING. That was done, was it not?

Mr. TIMM. I do not know.

Senator KING. Was it done in your State?

Mr. TIMM. It was not.

Senator KING. Did you do anything other than to send out this pamphlet, this little tract to which I called your attention a while ago, sent out by you as secretary?

Mr. TIMM. I think that was all, after the Chicago conference.

Senator KING. After the Chicago conference met and resolutions were adopted, did you see that they were transmitted to the local organizations?

Mr. TIMM. Yes; forwarded them the report.

Senator KING. Then, you did do more?

Mr. TIMM. Oh, yes; in that way but not as a State alliance. As a State alliance we did not do anything further in the line of the Chicago conference.

Senator KING. That is, as a State alliance you called the convention?

Mr. TIMM. Yes.

Senator KING. And had these resolutions adopted?

Mr. TIMM. No, sir.

Senator KING. And then you saw that those resolutions were conveyed to the various local alliances?

Mr. TIMM. Not as a State alliance; no.

Senator KING. Well——

Mr. TIMM. No; we did not do the same work as was done in Illinois—not in Pennsylvania.

Senator KING. How was it transmitted to the various local organizations in the State?

Mr. TIMM. Not at all.

Senator KING. You told me, as I understood you, a moment ago that you sent to the various local alliances those resolutions adopted in Chicago?

Mr. TIMM. No; the officers of the conference did. They mailed the resolutions to the different alliances.

Senator KING. As secretary did you see that the proceedings were published in the Bulletin?

Mr. TIMM. Oh, they were not published in the Bulletin.

Senator KING. I am just reading from the Bulletin now.

Mr. TIMM. Oh, the proceedings of the Chicago conference?

Senator KING. Yes.

Mr. TIMM. They were not published in the Bulletin; not to my knowledge.

Senator KING. I have just been reading from page 18 of the Official Bulletin of April, 1916.

Mr. TIMM. That is the State alliance of Illinois, as I understand it.

Senator KING. Yes; I think perhaps you are right there. Well, was there no publication in the Bulletin of the proceedings of the Chicago convention?

Mr. TIMM. No; because Mr. Keller was against it.

Senator KING. Against publishing them in the Bulletin?

Mr. TIMM. Yes, sir; he did not attend; neither did Mr. Stern.

Senator KING. I see.

Senator STERLING. Let me ask you this question: Was he against the convention or was he against the publication of the proceedings of the convention in the Bulletin?

Mr. TIMM. Both.

Senator STERLING. You know that he was opposed to the convention?

Mr. TIMM. Yes.

Senator STERLING. And do you infer from that that he was opposed to publishing the proceedings?

Mr. TIMM. We agreed to keep the thing out of the Bulletin because it was political. Of course we could not keep the report of the State Alliance of Illinois out.

Senator WOLCOTT. Out of what; out of the Bulletin?

Mr. TIMM. Out of the Bulletin.

Senator WOLCOTT. Why could you not?

Mr. TIMM. Because it was done as an alliance.

Senator WOLCOTT. Well, of course, the man who published the Bulletin could put anything in or keep anything out that he wanted to. He did not have to put it in just because the State alliance adopted it. Was it a rule of the organization that the Bulletin had to publish everything that was done by the State alliances?

Mr. TIMM. The Chicago people most emphatically requested the publication.

Senator KING. What activity has the Alliance taken in school matters in your State?

Mr. TIMM. We were instrumental in 1901 to have a bill passed for physical culture in the cities of the first and second class; but otherwise we did not have any activity in the State of Pennsylvania.

Senator KING. Have you taken any activity in trying to secure the teaching of the German language in the lower grades?

Mr. TIMM. We have not.

Senator KING. You knew that that had been done in some States?

Mr. TIMM. In some States it was done; yes.

Senator KING. Your Alliance has always taken an active part in questions affecting prohibition?

Mr. TIMM. Oh, yes.

Senator KING. In Pennsylvania and in all the States?

Mr. TIMM. Yes.

Senator KING. And the national leaders have taken part in that?

Mr. TIMM. Oh, yes.

Senator KING. And the Bulletin has taken part in it?

Mr. TIMM. Yes.

Senator KING. And has opposed any legislation of a restrictive character?

Mr. TIMM. Yes.

Senator KING. And urged opposition to it?

Mr. TIMM. Yes.

Senator KING. And your national leaders have taken steps to have telegrams and memorials and resolutions sent to Congress?

Mr. TIMM. Yes.

Senator KING. To Senators and Congressmen, whenever the question of prohibition or restriction of the liquor traffic was under consideration in either branch of Congress?

Mr. TIMM. Yes, sir.

Senator KING. Your National Alliance has also taken part, has it not, in the sending of telegrams to Senators and Congressmen urging an embargo upon the export of munitions?

Mr. TIMM. It did not.

Senator KING. Did your Chicago convention take that up?

Mr. TIMM. No, sir.

Senator KING. Did you not pass resolutions in regard to embargo of munitions in your Chicago convention?

Mr. TIMM. Not that I remember.

Senator KING. You had some declaration about neutrality?

Mr. TIMM. I think so; yes.

Senator KING. What, if anything, did your State organizations do about the McLemore resolution?

Mr. TIMM. As organizations, I think, nothing was done. I think that was all done by Dr. Hexamer.

Senator KING. Did your organization, or the leaders of your organization, give instructions as to the transmission of telegrams to Senators and Congressmen in regard to the McLemore resolution or the passage of any act preventing the export of munitions?

Mr. TIMM. That was all done by Dr. Hexamer.

Senator KING. And published in the Bulletin?

Mr. TIMM. Yes.

Senator KING. And he sent out, as president of the National German-American Alliance, an address to the various State and local alliances in respect to those matters?

Mr. TIMM. I presume he did.

Senator KING. You know he did, do you not?

Mr. TIMM. Oh, yes; I do.

Senator KING. And pursuant to Dr. Hexamer's activity in that matter the State and local alliances passed resolutions and transmitted them and sent telegrams to Senators and Congressmen urging them to vote against the export of munitions?

Mr. TIMM. I believe they did.

Senator KING. And other matters in which Germany was involved?

Mr. TIMM. Yes.

Senator KING. Do you know that in some of the States questionnaires were sent out asking their attitude upon the question of kultur and the teaching of German in the schools?

Mr. TIMM. I think they did that in Nebraska.

Senator KING. And did they not do that in Ohio?

Mr. TIMM. They may have done it.

Senator KING. In volume 7, No. 9, page 4, of your Official Bulletin these words are found:

> The National Alliance leads the battle against Anglo-Saxonism, against the fanatical slaves of political and personal liberty.

What do you understand your organization meant by that?

Mr. TIMM. Well, was not that an expression of Dr. Hexamer personally?

Senator KING. I can not read German, so I do not know.

You were the editor at that time, were you not, of the Bulletin?

Mr. TIMM. When was that?

Senator KING. It was in volume 7, No. 9.

Mr. TIMM. No. 9? I do not think so.

Senator KING. Volume 7.

Mr. TIMM. No. We are publishing the tenth volume now. I was not editor then. I was editor up to 1913, up to the sixth volume.

Senator KING. Would you care to answer that question, then, What was meant by that statement?

Mr. TIMM. I do not believe that the statement was ever made officially in any resolution by the Alliance.

Senator KING. This was an editorial in September, 1915.

Mr. TIMM. That was the personal view of the editor, for which the Alliance can not be held responsible.

Senator KING. What was the "Pro Bono Publico" publication?

Mr. TIMM. That is the motto, "For the public good."

Senator KING. Yes; I know. That is a pamphlet published by the German-American Alliance, is it not?

Mr. TIMM. No; that is just the motto that Dr. Hexamer put at the top of the letterhead when we started.

Senator KING. No; but have you not published a pamphlet called "Pro Bono Publico"?

Mr. TIMM. I think we did; yes.

Senator KING. And it states, "Pro Bono Publico. National German-American Alliance. Incorporated by act of Congress"; and it was a pamphlet published by the Alliance in large editions for the purposes of propaganda. Are you not familiar with that pamphlet?

Mr. TIMM. I can not remember it any more, Senator.

Senator KING.

Mr. TIMM. In 1915? That may have been published by some committee.

Senator KING. You had a publicity or propaganda committee, did you not?

Mr. TIMM. Yes; Mr. Keller was the chairman.

Senator KING. Appointed by your organization?

Mr. TIMM. Yes; by Dr. Hexamer.

Senator KING. Appointed by your convention, was it not?

Mr. TIMM. Well, no; Dr. Hexamer appoints the committees.

Senator STERLING. He is authorized by some rule to appoint the committees?

Mr. TIMM. Yes.

Senator STERLING. Or by some by-law, is he not?

Mr. TIMM. Yes.

Senator KING. And they are submitted to the organization when they have their annual conventions?

Mr. TIMM. Yes.

Senator KING. You meet annually, do you not?

Mr. TIMM. No; biennially.

Senator KING. Is the word "Americanism," or any sentence indicating devotion to American ideals, to be found in any of the Bulletins while you were editor or at any other time?

Mr. TIMM. Oh, I think so.

Senator KING. I wish you would examine them and find out.

Mr. TIMM. But I believe that word was not used as much at that time as it is used now.

Senator KING. What is "The Chronological History of the German-American Alliance in the United States"?

Mr. TIMM. That was compiled by our clerk.

Senator KING. Mr. Godsho?

Mr. TIMM. Mr. Godsho: yes, sir.

Senator KING. A secretary of the National German-American Alliance?

Mr. TIMM. No; he was my assistant; he was our clerk.

Senator KING. He advertised himself in the book as secretary, did he not?

Mr. TIMM. He styled himself as assistant secretary and as office manager and private secretary of Dr. Hexamer.

Senator KING. That was published by authority of the organization?

Mr. TIMM. Oh, yes; of Dr. Hexamer. That was published—compiled—by Mr. Godsho and Dr. Hexamer.

Senator KING. Was it submitted to the organization?

Mr. TIMM. Not that I know of.

Senator KING. Was it put out with the approval of the organization—of the executive committee of your organization?

Mr. TIMM. I do not think it was ever submitted and authorized.

Senator KING. Was it a correct chronological history of the organization?

Mr. TIMM. Oh, I think it is; yes.

Senator KING. It states:

The National German-American Alliance aims to awaken and strengthen the sense of unity among the German people in America, to check nativistic encroachments.

Did you not intend by those words to convey the idea that the purpose of the organization was to preserve solidarity among the Germans of the United States?

Mr. TIMM. No, sir.

Senator KING. What did you mean by the words "the sense of unity" and by the words "to check nativistic encroachments"?

Mr. TIMM. Well, to unite against the encroachments of the know-nothings.

Senator STERLING. Of what?

Mr. TIMM. Of the know-nothings.

Senator KING. Was it the aim of the organization to unite the German people?

Mr. TIMM. Of course, it is natural that an organization is anxious to get as many members as possible and as many branches as possible.

Senator KING. Would you care to make any further explanation of those words that I have just mentioned than you have submitted to the committee?

Mr. TIMM. I do not think so.

Senator KING. All right, sir.

Do you recall what action your organization took with respect to the Young amendment to the constitution in New York?

Mr. TIMM. I do not.

Senator KING. Or what action was taken with respect to a linguistic requirement or test for voting—as an organization; I do not mean as individuals?

Mr. TIMM. I do not remember, Senator.

Senator KING. This same chronological history to which I have just referred contains these words:

> The Alliance * * * sees in the centralization of the inhabitants of German origin the shortest road to and the surest guaranty for the attainment of the aims set forth in this constitution.

Do you care to make any explanation of what you mean by that and what you regard to be the purposes of the organization?

Mr. TIMM. Well, the unity—to ask Americans of German extraction to unite is to have different views expressed; for instance, of the Lutherans, who as an organization are not affiliated with the Alliance; of the Catholics, who as an organization are not affiliated with the Alliance; of the labor and trade organizations, which as such are not affiliated with the Alliance—to get an expression of all the different parts of Americans of German extraction. I think that is the real purpose of calling for unity.

Senator KING. Do you care to make any explanation of these words, found in this same chronological history:

> Furthermore, the National German-American Alliance aims to bring about this unity of feeling among the population of German origin in America, and if it only approximates its aim, the centralization of the German-American element, it will, nevertheless, have accomplished as great a work as was performed in 1871 by Bismarck.

Let me ask this: Does not that clearly indicate a purpose to maintain the Germans in this country in a solid mass?

Mr. TIMM. No, Senator; I think——

Senator KING. To maintain their racial characteristics?

Mr. TIMM. No, sir.

Senator KING. And to maintain a sort of separatist movement?

Mr. TIMM. No, sir; I think your suspicion is not well founded. This unity was aimed at, rather, to get together, to compile historical data. We were asked by historians for data, and we could not furnish them because we did not have them.

Senator STERLING. Would not the language used there thoroughly imply just what Senator King has asked?

Mr. TIMM. Oh, it could be misunderstood that way.

Senator STERLING. Well, is not that the fair interpretation of that language, namely, the centralization and unity of the German-speaking people in this country?

Mr. TIMM. The terms are rather too academic and therefore easily to be misunderstood.

Senator KING. Do you care to make any explanation of this language found in the same book:

The National German-American Alliance has succeeded in consolidating the German element in the United States. * * * For years, quietly but steadfastly, German-American ideals have thus been brought to the foreground by the unification of the German-American efforts in American public life, and in securing a proper regard for German-Americans throughout the United States.

What did you mean by the expression, "consolidating the German element in the United States", and by the language, "quietly but steadfastly" acquiring and maintaining "German-American ideals" and bringing them into "the foreground"?

Mr. TIMM. We always had a committee in view in which the different organizations would be represented. We knew that we could not unite the Lutherans and the Catholics and the labor people all in one organization.

Senator KING. In the pamphlet "Pro Bono Publico," which was put out by your organization, was it not——

Mr. TIMM. I think a committee published a pamphlet under that title.

Senator KING (continuing). This appears:

Every attempt to diminish the feeling of unity among those of German origin, or to diminish the respect due them, has never been so vigorously fought as within the last two years.

Do not those words indicate a purpose upon the part of your organization to keep the Germans together?

Mr. TIMM. I do not think so, Senator.

Senator KING. What I am going to read now is a speech of Dr. Hexamer contained in this pamphlet "Pro Bono Publico."

Mr. TIMM. Yes.

Senator KING. I read as follows:

We have just begun our unification and consolidation for the campaign * * * to induce all that can and should to receive and to maintain the German language in their speech and in their reading.

What do you understand he means there by "unification and consolidation"?

Mr. TIMM. Well, I never cared much for the academic expressions of Dr. Hexamer, because I am a plain, common-sense man, and therefore I could not express myself on that.

Senator KING. I find this also in the same publication:

We hope to introduce the teaching of German in all elementary schools. The more the teaching in German increases, the greater will be the number of boys and girls who will be brought to us and who will receive the keys to the treasure-house of our kultur.

What do you understand your organ meant by that?

Mr. TIMM. I never took stock in the word "kultur," because I believe, if Americans of German birth and extraction are good mechanics or good farmers and their wives and daughters good cooks, why, that should not be labeled "German kultur," because I believe a good thing will work itself into a nation by its own merits. That is what I always thought.

Senator KING. Did you understand that your organization has encouraged the belief that the German civilization or the German educational system and the German kultur are superior to ours?

Mr. TIMM. Well, I came over here when I was 20, and I do not know much any more of Germany; but I believe they think that the school system is superior.

Senator KING. To ours?

Mr. TIMM. Yes.

Senator KING. I find very often in your publications, Mr. Timm, the words "German kultur," "Germanism," "Deutschtum," "spirit of Deutschtum," and "Deutschland über alles." What do you understand your State alliances and the National Alliance and Germans have meant in using those expressions?

Mr. TIMM. I never believed in that "Deutschland über alles"; and I think when they sang it—they do not sing it now any more—they did not mean any harm, Senator.

Senator KING. In the same number of your organ I find this:

As German-Americans, we are people who can look back upon a glorious past and who can look forward confidently to a no less glorious future; as Americans, on the other hand, we are nothing but an unknown quantity in a great racial scramble of this land. Let us, therefore, with united strength and with all means that are at hand, battle for the preservation of our racial individuality and its cultural achievements.

Have not your papers, your organs, your officers, your State alliances, constantly reiterated that statement, in those words or in words containing substantially the same idea?

Mr. TIMM. Not to my knowledge. I heard Dr. Hexamer often say, and I must give him credit for that—while he said they should not throw off the German language and all that is good and noble in the German character, like an old glove, they should also acquire all that is good in the American character. He often said that.

Senator KING. You remember that address of his published in the Bulletin, in which he used the expression to which you have just referred, that they must not throw off the German kultur as an old glove?

Mr. TIMM. Yes.

Senator KING. And that was sent out, or published, rather, in your Bulletin, as an address, and sent out to the people?

Mr. TIMM. I suppose so.

Senator KING. In that same address he used these words:

We have before us a bitter struggle, and we can wage it successfully only if we are united—a united race of brothers.

Do you not understand from those words that he intended to convey the idea that the Germans in this country must be united as a race?

Mr. TIMM. Oh, I do not think so.

Senator KING. You are aware, are you not, of the efforts which have been made in Germany for a number of years, with the approval of the Emperor—and that approval taking the form of constant appropriations, amounting some years to more than a million marks—for the purpose of indoctrinating into people of German descent in other countries what is called "German kultur," and trying to prevent their assimilation by the countries into which they went and maintain them as Germans, although they owed allegiance to some other land?

Mr. TIMM. Well, we were never approached in that direction.

Senator KING. You are acquainted with the pan-Germanic movement, are you not?

Mr. TIMM. Yes; we always kept away from it, because we are opposed to it.

Senator STERLING. May I ask a question there?

Senator KING. Yes.

Senator STERLING. Did not the words quoted by Senator King as declarations of Dr. Hexamer convey that very idea of pan-Germanism, or the unity of the German people wherever they are?

Mr. TIMM. So far as I know, Dr. Hexamer is opposed to pan-Germanism, and I do not think he refers in his speeches to pan-Germanism.

Senator KING. What do you think he meant when he said in the same address:

> Whoever casts aside his Germanism from him like an old glove, is not worthy to be spit upon. Such a rascal is a deserter, but I would prefer to use in place of this French expression a good German word which the great Blücher used, "such a rascal is a contemptible hound." We have long suffered the preachment that "you Germans must allow yourselves to be assimilated, you must merge in the American people;" but no one will ever find us prepared to descend to an inferior culture.

Do you not think that that conveyed the idea that Dr. Hexamer believed that the German people, wherever they were, must maintain their German views, their German characteristics, the German language, and the German kultur, and they must not be assimilated?

Mr. TIMM. Oh, I do not think so.

Senator KING. When he says, "We have long suffered the preachment that 'you Germans must allow yourselves to be assimilated, you must merge in the American people,'" and then he follows it by these words, "but no one will ever find us prepared to descend to an inferior culture", what do you think he meant by that?

Mr. TIMM. Well, that is hard to say. I think that judgment could hardly be given on a couple of sentences but on the whole article; and, of course, as I said, I was opposed to those speeches of Dr. Hexamer, and all these speeches I can not approve.

Senator KING. What do you think he meant by this:

> Let every one be strong who stands forth for German kultur. Be strong, and German. Remember, you German pioneers, that we are giving to this people the best the earth affords, the benefits of Germanic kultur.

Was not that approved by your organization?

Mr. TIMM. I do not think so.

Senator KING. That speech was made, was it not, in Milwaukee at a large assembly there of about 10,000 people, and then it was published in your organ and transmitted to the various organizations?

Mr. TIMM. I spoke to the Doctor about this Milwaukee address, and he said that the Milwaukee Journal had a reporter there and he took up his address and had it published.

Senator KING. Well, I am reading from your Bulletin.

Mr. TIMM. I think Mr. Heinrici was editor at the time, and he published it in the Bulletin; but that does not show that the Alliance approved it.

Senator STERLING. The Alliance never did approve any such thing, did it?

Mr. TIMM. No, sir; it had no occasion.

Senator STERLING. It went into the Official Bulletin of the Alliance?

Mr. TIMM. Yes.

Senator STERLING. Presumably, then, it reflected the sentiments of the Alliance?

Mr. TIMM. Oh, I do not think so. I know it did not reflect mine, and I know many others.

Senator KING. Mr. Timm, in your paper, as I said a moment ago, in your publications, you frequently use the words "German kultur," "Deutschtum," and "Germanism." What do you mean by those expressions?

Mr. TIMM. Senator, I never cared for the word "kultur," and I was opposed to it, and I was opposed that we in any way have a propaganda on German kultur.

Senator STERLING. Senator King asked you what is meant by the words. What does the expression cover?

Mr. TIMM. It may mean the German virtues. And I proposed to the Doctor to leave the word "kultur" out and recommended the "German virtues," because I knew that a large percentage of the Americans of German birth are opposed to the word "kultur." For instance, the Catholics are.

Senator KING. Whether they are opposed to the word "kultur" or the meaning given to it by the Germans——

Mr. TIMM. Well, "kultur"—that would need a careful definition. For me it means the virtues and the character.

Senator KING. What do you think it meant as used by the German Emperor the other day, when after he had extorted a peace from Lenine and Trotzky, who betrayed the Russian people, he sent a telegram to Count von Hertling, as follows:

> The German sword, wielded by great army leaders, has brought peace with Russia. With deep gratitude to God, Who has been with us, I am filled with proud joy at the deeds of my army and the tenacious perseverance of my people. It is of especial satisfaction to me that German blood and German kultur have been saved. Accept my warmest thanks for your faithful and strong cooperation in the great work.

Do you not think that by the words "German kultur" as used by the Emperor he meant the ideals, the teachings, the military spirit, the autocratic form of government, the absolutism, and the gross materialism of modern Germany?

Mr. TIMM. I never took any stock in the expressions of the German Emperor because I am opposed to all emperors and all kings.

Senator STERLING. Do you not think he used the word "kultur" with the meaning suggested by Senator King?

Mr. TIMM. Probably he did.

Senator KING. Do you know whether there are certain persons in Germany, and some in this country, who have been attempting to Germanize the Germans?

Mr. TIMM. Oh, yes.

Senator KING. Wherever they go?

Mr. TIMM. Yes; yes.

Senator KING. Do you know whether any of the Germans in this country observed the law known as the Delbrück law and registered with the German consul?

Mr. TIMM. No; I do not know.

Senator KING. You are familiar with the Delbrück law, are you?

Mr. TIMM. Really, I am not, Senator.

Senator KING. You have heard of it?

Mr. TIMM. I have not even heard of it. It is new to me.

Senator KING. Probably not by the name, but the operation. Do you know of a law which was passed in Germany a few years ago, under the terms of which those of German nativity who went to other lands and took out their naturalization papers in those lands could, by observing certain forms, maintain their citizenship in Germany?

Mr. TIMM. That is the first that I hear of it.

Senator KING. And maintain their dual allegiance?

Mr. TIMM. That is news to me.

Senator KING (continuing). In form, at least?

Mr. TIMM. No; I never heard of it.

Senator KING. But you are familiar with efforts which have been put forth in various countries in which Germans are found to maintain the racial characteristics of the people and keep them in separation, so as to prevent assimilation, in order that they might keep the German kultur?

Mr. TIMM. Yes.

Senator KING. And promote the spread of Germanism?

Mr. TIMM. Oh, yes. There are some groups in this country of the Alldeutscher Verband, or the Pan-Germanic League.

Senator KING. Does the Alldeutsche Blätter have much circulation in this country?

Mr. TIMM. No.

Senator KING. That is the organ of the Pan-Germanic League?

Mr. TIMM. A little sheet.

Senator KING. Do you know anything about the German-American Teachers' Alliance in this country?

Mr. TIMM. Oh, yes.

Senator KING. Has not your Alliance encouraged the formation of that kind of an organization?

Mr. TIMM. Well, I think those are personal efforts of Dr. Hexamer.

Senator KING. There has been an effort, has there not, to organize a German teachers' alliance and to keep those teachers in constant association with German thought and German teachings, with a view to having transplanted here the teachings, doctrines, ideals, views, policies, of Germany?

Mr. TIMM. Well, no, Senator. I think that was only done to keep the teachers together in the society, to discuss the methods of teaching German in the schools, in private schools or public schools, and ascertain in which grades it should be started.

Senator KING. Do you not know that your organization has encouraged the teachers to join that association and that excursions of American teachers have been had from time to time to Berlin?

Mr. TIMM. I never had anything to do with that line of work.

Senator KING. You know of it as a part of your organizations or coming within the work of your organizations, national or local?

Mr. TIMM. We were on friendly terms with the teachers' organizations; we always were.

Senator KING. You know of the National German-American Teachers' Association?

Mr. TIMM. Yes.

Senator KING. And you remember that convention in Berlin in 1912?

Mr. TIMM. No: I do not.

Senator KING. Do you know that there has been circulated in this country a great deal of literature by those favoring German kultur and the general scheme of the Pan-Germanic League, containing statements of this character:

The chief means of attaining this goal (the spiritual unity of Germans everywhere in the world) is the propagation among Germans of national modes of thoughts, national points of view and knowledge. In order to accomplish this the Germans in foreign countries should organize in national societies.

Mr. TIMM. If I ever got hold of literature like that it went into the wastebasket.

Senator KING. That has been disseminated here, has it not—literature of that character?

Mr. TIMM. Oh, yes.

Senator KING. And do you not know that in that literature this statement occurs, and many others of a similar character:

Besides the many turnvereins, singing societies, rifle clubs, and school societies, the German-American Teachers' Alliance also assists in spreading Germanism.

Mr. TIMM. I do not remember ever having read that particular——

Senator KING. Do you know that the German newspapers have published that boastingly?

Mr. TIMM. No, Senator. They never publish any of the Pan-Germanic literature. Some papers have a corner for the Sprachverein.

Senator KING. You are acquainted with the Deutsche-Erde, a publication?

Mr. TIMM. I have heard of it; I never saw it.

Senator KING. If you will look in that on page 81, 1902–3, you will find those words that I have just read.

Mr. TIMM. I do not care to read these things, Senator.

Senator KING. Yes. And in that same work you will find this:

The first duty of a German in a foreign land, which is that he shall use the German language and live the German manner. Let no German believe that he is not skillful or learned or strong enough to labor as a missionary of Germanism and the task of creating a great German world nationality. This obligation rests on every German.

Then there are words of much stronger import.

Have you been associated in any way in a propaganda of that character?

Mr. TIMM. No, sir; no, sir, never; and neither the Alliance.

Senator WOLCOTT. You are opposed to that sort of thing, are you?

Mr. TIMM. I am, sir; most emphatically.

Senator KING. The German papers, a part of them, published statements of this kind, which, I understand, have been circulated in this country:

German sentiments and interest in our brothers in Germany are kept alive and fostered first of all by the German-American newspapers. The German-American societies and the churches and church schools in which German is taught or used work to the same end; and we may rejoice to know that the Catholic as well as the Evangelical clergy are engaged on noble emulation to preserve the German language and German sentiments in the hearts of their congregations.

The German-Americans are not lost to Germany as long as it continues on its present path of progress. Experience shows that the all-German spirit in the United States grows with the achievements of the German nation.

Mr. TIMM. That sounds rather fantastic.

Senator KING. You know, do you not, that claims have been made, and are made, that the Germans of this country are more German than they are in Germany; that the German newspapers lend themselves to the national aspirations of Germany rather than to the aspirations of this Republic?

Mr. TIMM. If those claims have been made, they are wrongly made.

Senator STERLING. I understand you are reading, Mr. Chairman, from the publication called "Pro Bono Publico"?

Senator KING. No; that was from the Alldeutsche Blätter.

Senator WOLCOTT. A newspaper?

Senator KING. A newspaper.

From the same newspaper, under date of January 16, 1898, page 16, under the title "Germanism in North America," this statement occurs:

We now receive information more frequently than in the past which shows that the Germans in the United States think more of their nationality and wish to cling to it more firmly than was formerly the case. We rejoice over every sign of this kind which reaches us. * * * The papers which appear in the German language could exercise greater influence in bringing about a much-desired improvement in this situation. And therefore we rejoice in double measure every time we meet a German-American newspaper which plants in the hearts of its fellow countrymen fidelity to Germany.

Mr. TIMM. I believe the German-American newspapers would not subscribe to that.

Senator KING. Is it not a fact that the great majority, the overwhelming number, of the German newspapers supported Germany in the sinking of the *Lusitania*, in the rape of Belgium, in the destruction and bombardment of seats of learning, churches, hospitals, in deportations of French, of Belgians, of Poles, and of Serbians, in the dropping of bombs upon defenseless and unprotected towns and cities, and also in Germany's course in promulgating an order by which the seas were forbidden to our vessels as well as to vessels of all other neutral nations?

Mr. TIMM. If this has ever been done it has been done wrongly; but I think there is some grave misunderstanding by picking some sentences out of an article without quoting the whole article.

Senator KING. I want to call your attention to another publication of Germany, just to show the view which it entertains of your organization, to see whether you subscribe to that, and whether

or not there is anything in your organization and in its conduct that warrants this view. I read as follows:

The National Alliance—

Speaking of the one in this country—

in view of conditions in America, has slowly and circumspectly, yet never forgetful of its purpose, educated the millions of North American Germans to the consciousness that complete devotion to their adopted land can be combined with pride in their old home and its civilization, and that the preservation of this German kultur and the cultivation of the German language in America will enrich American life.

Then it goes on:

The possession of them—

That is, of German kultur and the German language—

alone is sufficient to prevent the process of Americanization.

You know that such publications as that are being made in Germany respecting your Alliance and its work in this country?

Mr. TIMM. We declined the cooperation or partnership of any foreign publication.

Senator KING. You spoke about the German newspapers. Are you acquainted with the Chicago Abendpost?

Mr. TIMM. Yes; I read it.

Senator KING. In that paper this language is found:

For many years back the German-Americans have been flattering themselves with the hope that the founding of the National German-American Alliance might become a point of departure for a healthy political activity. That was at least one reason for founding the National Alliance for a great number of Germans who took a greater interest than usual in the public affairs of the country. It is better to say right out, "Yes; we favor a policy which will be advantageous to Germany."

Mr. TIMM. Well, whoever wrote that is very much mistaken.

Senator KING. That is a German newspaper, is it not, published in Chicago?

Mr. TIMM. And I believe that the editor and publisher, Mr. Paul F. Müller, does not approve of that. I know him very well.

Senator KING. He states there that one of the objects of founding the German-American Alliance was for "a healthy political activity". He says, "That was at least one reason for founding the National Alliance for a great number of Germans who took a greater interest than usual in the public affairs of the country." Now, you say that that was or was not one of the objects of the founding of the organization?

Mr. TIMM. It was not.

Senator KING. You will find that quoted in a book called "Woodrow Wilson and the World's Peace," by George D. Herron, and he quotes that article on pages 55 and 56.

Are you acquainted with the St. Paul Volkszeitung?

Mr. TIMM. No, sir; I never saw the paper.

Senator KING. That is a German newspaper, is it not?

Mr. TIMM. Yes; it is.

Senator KING. Do you remember having heard that it published an article stating that President Wilson's foreign policy had resulted in uniting all German-Americans at last and in uniting them against his administration?

Mr. TIMM. I think that the editor got into trouble about that in the paper.

Senator KING. Are you acquainted with the Deutscher Correspondent, published in Baltimore?

Mr. TIMM. In Baltimore; yes, sir.

Senator KING. That is a German newspaper?

Mr. TIMM. Yes.

Senator KING. Did not that paper state that in opposing President Wilson Germans were preventing the Anglicizing of the American people?

Mr. TIMM. I have not read that.

Senator KING. Are you acquainted with the Milwaukee Germania Herold?

Mr. TIMM. Yes.

Senator KING. Did not that paper urge that Lutherans and Catholics and "all citizens in whose veins German blood flowed" should unite in opposition to Wilson and in favor of Hughes?

Mr. TIMM. Probably it did.

Senator STERLING. You take several of these newspapers yourself?

Mr. TIMM. Yes; at the office we get them.

Senator KING. Did not your Bulletin and the leaders of your organization say that Wilson did not know German kultur?

Mr. TIMM. Oh, I do not think so.

Senator KING. That he ought to be opposed as an Anglomaniac and because he had no knowledge of German kultur?

Mr. TIMM. Not that I know of; I did not hear anything about it.

Senator WOLCOTT. Did you ever know that the present president of the organization, at one time at least, was of the opinion that the administration here at Washington had become steeped in what I might call Anglicism?

Mr. TIMM. That may have been his personal opinion. I do not know.

Senator WOLCOTT. Yes; it was his personal opinion, very strongly expressed, perhaps not in those words but essentially so.

Senator KING. Are you acquainted with the Germania Herold?

Mr. TIMM. Yes.

Senator KING. That is a German newspaper?

Mr. TIMM. Yes; a German newspaper.

Senator KING. Did not that state that the German-Americans were displeased with Wilson and, as evidence of it, that not a German paper of America, even of his own party, supported him?

Mr. TIMM. I did not read it. Of course, we can not read all the papers that we get.

Senator STERLING. You were interested in what these various papers were saying, were you not?

Mr. TIMM. Well, we are mostly interested in what—we are watching these papers for the reports of the proceedings of our branches in various cities and States; that is the main purpose that we get these papers for.

Senator WOLCOTT. Let me see if I understand your position, Mr. Timm. Expressing it as briefly and as concisely as I can, it is this, is it not: You admit that things have been published in the German press and have been put out in various forms, in pamphlets and books, advocating the setting up in this country of a Pan-Germanism and a devotion to German ideals, as contradistinguished from Ameri-

can ideals; but the German-American Alliance, you claim, has not favored that sort of thing, but wherever it has occurred it is solely on the responsibility of the individuals, with whom you personally disagree?

Mr. TIMM. Yes, sir.

Senator WOLCOTT. Does that express your position?

Mr. TIMM. Well, as to the first question I do not think that the American press printed in the German language ever attempted to aid a movement of the Pan-Germanists, and if this was done otherwise, of course the Alliance always kept away from it.

Senator KING. Had not the German newspapers, many of them at least, taken the side of Germany—had not all of them taken the side of Germany—against the allies, before we got into the war? I am not complaining one way or the other.

Mr. TIMM. Some papers may have done it before we got into the war.

Senator KING. Have not a large number of the German newspapers since we got into the war rendered to our own country negative support?

Mr. TIMM. I do not think so, Senator.

Senator KING. And have they not published articles criticizing our allies, France and England, and "played up," to use the language of the street, German victories, and minimized our own ability to fight and the ability of our allies to fight?

Mr. TIMM. Not since we are in the war, Senator; not that I know of.

Senator KING. By the way, the Tageblatt did that, did it not?

Mr. TIMM. It did not, Senator.

Senator KING. What was it prosecuted for?

Mr. TIMM. I think the main charges are that the press dispatches were not translated truly and that the personal opinion of the translator was mixed up in the dispatches; but that was before the war.

Senator KING. Has it not been prosecuted for some activity since the war?

Mr. TIMM. No; not that I know of.

Senator KING. Do you not know that we had no statute—do you not know that the statute about translations to which you refer was not passed—until within these last six months?

Mr. TIMM. Yes; that is right; you are right.

Senator KING. I know, because I drew it.

Mr. TIMM. They claim it is the reference to the selective draft, and they claim that they only translated from the English papers.

Senator KING. Has your paper—your Bulletin—said a single word in favor of the war, in favor of the selective draft, urging united, enthusiastic support of the war, devotion to our country, to its ideals, and to the Flag?

Mr. TIMM. I think that the last official expression was made at the convention at San Francisco in 1915.

Senator KING. But is there anything in your journal—in your newspaper—since then?

Mr. TIMM. There was a statement issued by the committee of ways and means at the start——

Senator KING. You have seen Dr. von Bosse's New Year's greeting and his address when he accepted the presidency, have you not?

Mr. TIMM. Yes.

Senator KING. There is not a single word, is there, in either of those publications indicating any true spirit of Americanism?

Mr. TIMM. Well, I do not know, Senator.

Senator WOLCOTT. How long were you editor of the Bulletin?

Mr. TIMM. Up to 1913.

Senator WOLCOTT. From when?

Mr. TIMM. From 1904, when we started.

Senator WOLCOTT. You ought to be familiar, then, with the contents of that Bulletin covering those nine years, and I am going to read you something Mr. Ohlinger said in his statement. [Reading:]

Mr. OHLINGER. Now, one would naturally expect that if this organization is formed for patriotic purposes one would find expressed in its publications and official documents, occasionally at least, an expression in favor of Americanism and in favor of the cause of America. I have searched the documents, particularly the proceedings of the Alliance at its national convention in the year 1911, and the numbers of the Official Bulletin for July, 1913, and the numbers of the Official Bulletin from July, 1914, to the present time, and I must say that in spite of a careful search I have not found the expression "Americanism" used as an appeal. If it has been used it escaped me. Nor have I found any appeal to the German people, the German element of the United States, to aid in the development of purely American spirit. The constant slogan, the constant emphasis, all the way through has been either the German cause, or Germanism, or German-Americanism, or the cause of German-America, or the cause of German-Americanism, making it very clear that the purpose of the organization is a separatist purpose for this one bloc of the population.

Of course you can not offhand put your finger on anything in any issue of the Bulletin that will contradict that summary of the nature of the Bulletin, but I am going to ask you if you will not take the trouble, on the part of your organization, either to scan the Bulletin yourself or have some one do it for you and cite to us, translating for us, expressions in that Bulletin that will contradict, if it is possible to do so, this general appraisal of the work of the Bulletin made by Mr. Ohlinger.

Mr. TIMM. Yes, sir.

Senator WOLCOTT. And you can submit that to the committee.

Mr. TIMM. All right, sir; thank you.

Senator KING. The Alliance had a press bureau, had it not?

Mr. TIMM. Mr. Heinrici was editor and press agent; that was really the bureau.

Senator KING. Was not a press bureau or publication committee appointed by your organization?

Mr. TIMM. We did not have a press bureau. I do not know of any press bureau. We have a press committee at the conventions, but just for convention purposes.

Senator KING. Did not your organization issue, through the press bureau, a statement, as follows:

In unity is power, and the power of American citizens of German descent and their political significance depend on the preservation of their unity, which is the goal of the German-American Alliance. Every attempt to break it up and destroy it amounts to treason to the cultural mission of the German race in the United States of America.

Mr. TIMM. I can not remember ever having seen that.

Senator KING. I find it quoted in the volume just referred to on page 56, and I find it quoted also in a little brochure published by Dr. Earl E. Sperry, professor of history in Syracuse University.

You know Prof. Goebel, do you not?

Mr. TIMM. I do; yes, sir.

Senator KING. He teaches the German language and literature in one of the universities of this country?

Mr. TIMM. I think at Berkeley, Cal.—no; he is in Illinois now.

Senator KING. He is a member of your Alliance, is he not?

Mr. TIMM. I think he is.

Senator KING. Do you know that he published, and it was given currency by your organization, the following:

The National German-American Alliance sprang from the growing historical sense and increasing feeling of unity among the German-Americans.

Do you recall that?

Mr. TIMM. That may have been published in the Bulletin; I can not remember it; I can not recall it.

Senator KING. And the fundamental purpose of the Alliance is thus stated:

The Alliance strives to awaken and to promote to a more useful and helpful development the feeling of unity among the population of German origin in America.

Mr. TIMM. Yes, sir.

Senator KING. And also it is stated:

This power when centralized for the common and energetic defense of such justifiable aims and interests as are not in conflict with the welfare of the country and the rights and duties of good citizens; to repel nativistic attacks.

That language is also found?

Mr. TIMM. Yes.

Senator KING. Then you claim the right to centralize your power, the unity of the members of your organization, for what you may conceive to be "the common and energetic defense of such justifiable aims and interests" of your organization in any matters "not in conflict with the welfare of the country"?

Mr. TIMM. Yes, sir.

Senator STERLING. Have you a copy of your constitution printed separately, in pamphlet form?

Mr. TIMM. Yes; I have some copies here [handing a copy of the constitution to Senator Sterling].

Senator KING. Are you acquainted with Das Grossere Deutschland, a publication?

Mr. TIMM. No, sir.

Senator KING. Then I will not ask you about that.

What is the Quarterly of the Union for Germanism in Foreign Lands?

Mr. TIMM. I have not seen it.

Senator KING. That is a paper published in Germany, is it not?

Mr. TIMM. I never saw the publication, Senator.

Senator KING. What is the Historischpolitische Aufsätze und Reden?

Mr. TIMM. I never saw that paper.

Senator KING. Do you know whether or not any of your organs in this country—that is, the German papers or your organs—published from that the following?

Growing influence of Germanism in Ohio. The convention—

That is, the convention of the German-American Alliance of Ohio—

was unanimous in the belief that in carrying out the plans concerning German kultur resort should be had to legislation and that the political candidates, in order to get the votes of the Germans, must grant their demands. In Ohio Germanism is at all elections the tongue of the wagon, and is determined to make use of its power.

Mr. TIMM. I do not think that we ever published that in our Bulletin, nor have I seen it in any of our American papers in the German language.

Senator KING. Do you recall that in 1910 there was a convention of German societies and at that convention it was unanimously stated that in carrying out the plans concerning German kultur effort should be made to get legislation favorable to that end and that political candidates, in order to get the votes of the Germans, must promise to support those demands?

Mr. TIMM. That was the Cincinnati convention?

Senator KING. Yes.

Mr. TIMM. Of 1910?

Senator KING. Yes; of the Alliance.

Mr. TIMM. Yes.

Senator KING. You are familiar with that, are you?

Mr. TIMM. Yes; I think so.

Senator KING. And they took the course that I have just indicated, did they not—substantially that?

Mr. TIMM. Not that I know of. They had fights against prohibition in the State of Ohio, and I think that was about all.

Senator KING. Did not the convention go further and say that the delegates were "unanimous in the belief that in carrying out the plans concerning German kultur, resort should be had to legislation, and that the political candidates, in order to get the votes of the Germans, must grant their demands"?

Mr. TIMM. I think it would not be right to compare the resolutions which contain the words "German kultur" with the definition of German kultur in our times—at the present time—because the meaning of these resolutions in 1910 was entirely different from what people think now of German kultur.

Senator KING. German kultur is the same now, is it not, at it was 5, 10, 15, or 20 years ago?

Mr. TIMM. That may be.

Senator KING. The spirit of Germany is the same now, is it not, as it was 5, 10, 15, or 20 years ago?

Mr. TIMM. Yes.

Senator KING. It is still a military autocracy?

Mr. TIMM. Yes.

Senator KING. It still believes that force and power and might constitute right?

Mr. TIMM. I think you are right.

Senator KING. And you share the view, with all patriotic Americans, that the law of righteousness and justice and morals should apply to nations as it applies to individuals, that nations should deal justly with each other?

Mr. TIMM. Yes.

Senator KING. The same as individuals should deal justly with each other?

Mr. TIMM. Yes.

Senator KING. And that there should be a moral law to govern individuals and individual conduct?

Mr. TIMM. Yes; I do.

Senator KING. You presided, did you not, over a meeting which was held in your town within the past few months for the purpose of raising funds to defend the Tageblatt?

Mr. TIMM. I never presided at any meeting. I was secretary at the meeting.

Senator KING. Ah, secretary. You made a speech there?

Mr. TIMM. Can I state what happened at that meeting?

Senator KING. Mr. Timm, you are at liberty to state anything that you want to that will aid this committee in learning the truth in the matter under investigation.

Mr. TIMM. The Tageblatt is a labor paper owned by the labor organizations, by the trade-unions—by the German trade-unions—of Philadelphia. The trade-unions own stock and the individual members of the trade-unions own stock. Some of the German trade-unions are affiliated with the Philadelphia branch. A committee of the German trade-unions of Philadelphia called at the meeting and asked for financial support for the raising of legal defense for the editors, and a motion was passed that a committee should be appointed to raise funds, and $25 were placed at the disposition of the committee.

Senator WOLCOTT. Wait a minute. A resolution was adopted by whom?

Mr. TIMM. By the meeting.

Senator WOLCOTT. At this meeting?

Mr. TIMM. Yes; and to issue a call to the branches in Pennsylvania and throughout the country.

Senator WOLCOTT. That was a meeting of the alliance, was it?

Mr. TIMM. Yes, of the local branch; and after the meeting was closed a collection was made up, and I think that thirty-seven dollars and some cents were raised and were given to this committee. The alliance is represented in the defense committee of the German trade-unions. They have a committee appointed by the different unions, and our representatives were instructed that the money that we subscribed should only be used for the legal defense—that the editors get a fair trial—and not for the support of the publication. The call for funds was issued. I signed; our president, Mr. J. B. Mayer, had resigned at the time; he was sick and the first vice president was sick. And we raised in the neighborhood of $1,000; and one of the copies of the call got into the hands of the secretary of a society, who was in the Army, and it was sent to him at Camp Meade, and he sent in a contribution, I think, of $1.

Senator KING. Ten dollars, was it not?

Mr. TIMM. No; I think it was $1—no; it was not $10.

Senator KING. And he wrote a letter, did he not?

Mr. TIMM. Yes. I have a letter here from the same man, because when we sent out our statistical compilation of those serving in the Army it was sent to the same man, to the same society, and it again

went to Camp Meade; and here is the letter that he wrote. No; this letter was handed to him when he came to Philadelphia on a furlough. Here is the letter [handing letter to the chairman].

Senator STERLING. I understood you to say that at your first meeting there you raised about $37?

Mr. TIMM. Yes; that was at a collection after the meeting.

Senator STERLING. At a collection after the meeting?

Mr. TIMM. Yes; at a collection after the meeting.

Senator STERLING. And that was at a meeting of your local alliance at Baltimore?

Mr. TIMM. At Philadelphia.

Senator STERLING. Where was the $1,000 raised?

Mr. TIMM. That was from subscriptions from all over the country.

Senator STERLING. Oh, yes.

Mr. TIMM. From individuals, branches, and societies.

Senator STERLING. Where were those subscriptions sent; to your organization at Philadelphia?

Mr. TIMM. To the financial secretary.

Senator STERLING. To the financial secretary of the Philadelphia alliance?

Mr. TIMM. Of the Philadelphia Alliance. The State Branch and the National Alliance had nothing to do with it. Now, this first letter going to Camp Meade, that was brought out as a plot, getting subscriptions from our boys in the camp; now, that explains this plot.

Senator KING. You received another letter besides that, from a soldier, did you not?

Mr. TIMM. No; I think only from Rummelsberger—from this same one. At least, I just remember having received one letter.

Senator KING. I was not so much interested in that. You made a speech there, did you not?

Mr. TIMM. Well, I supported—I said that we could not take a stand in the matter; that we should help these men, that we knew for years, to have a good legal defense——

Senator KING. Did you not state this, in substance, Mr. Timm—if you will pardon me; I do not want to interrupt you?

Mr. TIMM. Certainly.

Senator KING. I will wait until you have concluded. It was improper for me to interrupt you there in the middle of your sentence.

Mr. TIMM (continuing). That even churches and church organizations raised funds for persons that are charged with murder, and that it was nothing wrong for us to help in the defense of these men. Of course, if they are guilty, why, they will be punished. I did not take any stand.

Senator KING. Did you make a speech there in which you said, in substance, that in this country now there was no liberty, that there was not as much liberty here as there was in Germany?

Mr. TIMM. I did not.

Senator KING. That we had to be careful what we said, that it would be unwise to communicate directly with any of the boys in the Army, because they would get into trouble?

Mr. TIMM. I did not. I did not mention it at all.

Senator STERLING. How many of these editors or proprietors of the Tageblatt were there?

Mr. TIMM. There are two editors, and one of them, unfortunately, is not a citizen, and the president of the paper, and the secretary, and the manager; five in all.

Senator STERLING. Were all five of them arrested?

Mr. TIMM. They raided the Tageblatt; no, they were not arrested. They went to the United States Marshal and gave themselves up.

Senator STERLING. They were indicted, then?

Mr. TIMM. Yes.

Senator STERLING. How many were indicted?

Mr. TIMM. All of them: all five.

Senator STERLING. All five?

Mr. TIMM. All five.

Senator STERLING. Were the proprietors of the paper?

Mr. TIMM. No, sir.

Senator STERLING. Who owns the paper?

Mr. TIMM. The German trade-unions of Philadelphia.

Senator STERLING. These men, then, were in the employ of the German trade-unions?

Mr. TIMM. Yes, sir.

Senator STERLING. Do you know at what salaries?

Mr. TIMM. I do not.

Senator STERLING. Do you know whether or not they were men of any means or property?

Mr. TIMM. I do not know.

Senator STERLING. You do not know about that?

Mr. TIMM. I do not know.

Senator STERLING. You do not know whether there was any necessity, so far as that is concerned, for taking a collection in aiding them in their defense?

Mr. TIMM. I think there was a necessity.

Senator STERLING. So far as their means or lack of means was concerned, you do not know that there was any necessity for raising funds to help them to put up a legal defense?

Mr. TIMM. I understood that the attorney firm asked for $5,000 in the first place. Now, where should they raise that $5,000?

Senator STERLING. You do not know anything about their means?

Mr. TIMM. No; I do not.

Senator STERLING. And you did not stop to inquire about that, did you, as to whether or not they were men of means or not?

Mr. TIMM. Oh, I know that they are not men of means.

Senator STERLING. Do you know that they have no property?

Mr. TIMM. They may have property.

Senator STERLING. They might, so far as you know, have been able to raise the money without soliciting contributions from the local alliance?

Mr. TIMM. I do not think that they could——

Senator STERLING. How?

Mr. TIMM. I do not think that they could raise the money themselves.

Senator STERLING. Well, you do not know anything about the amount of property that they had?

Mr. TIMM. No; I do not.

Senator KING. As secretary of the organization, would you have the telegrams forwarded to President Hexamer?

Mr. TIMM. I never had anything to do with the forwarding of telegrams from President Hexamer.

Senator KING. Are you familiar with the telegrams he received, or which it is charged he received, sometime in 1917—in February, 1917—in connection with a statement attributed to him as to what the German-Americans would do in case of war?

Mr. TIMM. I am not. I always considered the sending out of telegrams by Dr. Hexamer a private matter with him, and I did not approve of most of the telegrams that he sent.

Senator KING. I was asking about telegrams that were sent to him.

Mr. TIMM. Oh, to him?

Senator KING. Yes.

Mr. TIMM. No; I do not know anything about such telegrams.

Senator KING. Are you familiar with the claim that Dr. Hexamer said in February, 1917, that in case of a war with Germany the German-American Alliance would raise troops to fight for the United States and would turn over its German Red Cross funds to the American Red Cross, and that Dr. Hexamer immediately denied ever making the statement and claimed that telegrams sent to him and letters from German-Americans and the alliances were written in which they said that they would not fight for our country against Germany?

Mr. TIMM. I was not in Philadelphia at the time when that was sent out.

Senator KING. You remember that, do you not?

Mr. TIMM. Oh, yes; I read it in the newspapers.

Senator KING. Did you make any investigation to ascertain whether Dr. Hexamer did state, as claimed by the New York Times under date of February 14, 1917, that he was swamped with telegrams and letters from German-Americans protesting against his alleged statement that in case of a war with Germany the German-American Alliance would raise troops and so on?

Mr. TIMM. I know that he was asked for an explanation, but I do not know whether he was swamped or——

Senator KING. Do you know whether German-Americans belonging to the German-American Alliance wired Dr. Hexamer, or wrote him, protesting against this statement?

Mr. TIMM. Yes; I do. He was in Detroit, Mich., at the time and they wired him for an explanation.

Senator KING. Protesting against his statement?

Mr. TIMM. Oh, no; they did not protest; they just asked for an explanation.

Senator KING. Oh, yes. Now, so that I will make myself clear, I think I had just better put in the record the publication here. It is very brief. This is the article in the New York Times. I will have the whole extract put in; I have read only a part of it.

(The matter referred to is here printed in the record in full as follows:)

[From the New York Times, Wednesday, February 14, 1917; page 2, column 7.]

HEXAMER DENIES PLEDGE—GERMAN-AMERICAN LEADER SAYS HE NEVER PROMISED TROOPS TO U. S.

Almost swamped by telegrams and letters from German-Americans protesting against his alleged statement that in case of a war with Germany the German-American National Alliance would raise troops to fight for the United States

and would turn over its German Red Cross funds to the American Red Cross, Dr. Charles J. Hexamer, President of the alliance, issued a formal statement in Philadelphia on Monday denying that he had ever authorized the press to publish the interview which roused the wrath of so many members of his organization. In an open letter to the members of the alliance sent to the German language press Dr. Hexamer says:

"No sensible person ought to believe * * * that I have promised to furnish the Government of our country with regiments of soldiers in case of a war. I assume no right whatever to dispose of the life of a single one of my fellow-citizens. My own life I willingly place at the service of my country at any time it may need it. All that I, or the National Alliance, have done consists in the fact that at a meeting held in Philadelphia on Feb. 7, 1917, the Directors of the National Relief Fund Committee (which was organized under the auspices of the National Alliance on Aug. 3, 1914), and myself resolved that in case war should be declared the collections for Germany should be stopped and then the collections should be continued only for relief work in the United States."

Senator KING. Do you know anything about the funds of your organization?

Mr. TIMM. I do.

Senator KING. You were not the treasurer, though?

Mr. TIMM. No, sir.

Senator KING. Do you collect the funds?

Mr. TIMM. Part of them.

Senator KING. Do you know anything about the funds that were paid by Mr. Andreae?

Mr. TIMM. No, sir; I do not.

Senator KING. You know that he turned over funds to Mr. Tjarks, your treasurer, chairman of the finance committee?

Mr. TIMM. That was news to me. I never knew that Mr. Tjarks had any funds from Mr. Andreae.

Senator KING. You knew, of course, of the arrangement by which the organization was to aid in the prohibition campaign?

Mr. TIMM. Well, the organization never made any arrangement with Mr. Andreae. I always understood that the arrangement with Mr. Andreae and Mr. Keller and Dr. Hexamer was personal. There was no official arrangement.

Senator KING. Have your expenditures aggregated, for some years, $25,000?

Mr. TIMM. Yes; oh, yes. We had expenses up to $12,000 a year.

Senator KING. Twenty-five thousand dollars?

Mr. TIMM. No, no; not in one year.

Senator KING. Are you familiar with all of the expenses of your organization?

Mr. TIMM. With the running, expenses; oh, yes.

Senator KING. Well, the expenses for propaganda or whatever it it might be?

Mr. Timm. No.

Senator KING. You would not know?

Mr. TIMM. Why, I do not consider that the expenses of Mr. Keller are the expenses of the Alliance.

Senator KING. No; but I was asking you if you were acquainted with all of the expenses of your organization for all purposes?

Mr. TIMM. Yes.

Senator KING. Have you ever audited them?

Mr. TIMM. No; there was a committee for auditing them.

Senator KING. Who is the treasurer of your organization?
Mr. TIMM. Mr. Hammer.
Senator KING. How long has he been the treasurer?
Mr. TIMM. Since 1913.
Senator KING. Did you know that your organization made an arrangement with the Ancient Order of Hibernians by which you were to work together——
Mr. TIMM. Yes.
Senator KING. Along the lines stated in that agreement?
Mr. TIMM. I was present; yes, sir.
Senator KING. That was an act of your organization?
Mr. TIMM. Yes.
Senator KING. It never has been repudiated or disavowed?
Mr. TIMM. No.
Senator KING. That agreement called for political activity on the part of both organizations, did it not?
Mr. TIMM. Well, I do not think so. It is just a cooperation.
Senator STERLING. While the chairman is engaged otherwise, let me ask you this: Just recurring for a moment to the arrest of the editors of the Tageblatt——
Mr. TIMM. Yes.
Senator STERLING. Mr. Werner and Mr. Darkow?
Mr. TIMM. Yes.
Senator STERLING. Let me ask you if at this meeting at which the money was raised any statement was made as to the offense with which they are charged?
Mr. TIMM. There was——
Senator STERLING. Was there a statement made?
Mr. TIMM. Oh, yes.
Senator STERLING. It was stated that they were charged with manufacturing fake dispatches and literature favorable to the cause of Germany?
Mr. TIMM. That was not stated.
Senator STERLING. And to the detriment of the United States?
Mr. TIMM. Oh, that was not stated. It was stated that they were charged with treason, the two editors, and, I think, espionage.
Senator STERLING. Were they charged—was any statement made there at that meeting to the effect that they were charged—with changing clippings taken from other papers?
Mr. TIMM. No, sir.
Senator STERLING. So as to give aid and comfort to the enemy?
Mr. TIMM. No; they did not go into details.
Senator STERLING. Have you learned since that time that these were the specific charges against them?
Mr. TIMM. I read it in the newspapers.
Senator STERLING. Yes; that those were the charges?
Mr. TIMM. Yes.
Senator STERLING. And you did understand that they were charged with treason at the time of the meeting?
Mr. TIMM. Yes, sir.
Senator KING. I call your attention to an agreement between your organization and the Ancient Order of Hibernians. The resolutions agreed on were as follows:

Resolved, That the Joint Conference Committee of the Ancient Order of Hibernians in America and of the National German American Alliance unani-

mously declares an alliance between the people of both organizations for the good of this republic on the following basis.

I will read a part only of these resolutions. [Continuing reading:]

Second. To oppose an alliance of any kind, secret or otherwise, with any foreign power on the part of the government of the United States.

You deem that to be within the purposes of your organization, do you, to make an agreement of that character and carry it out so far as is within the power of your organization?

Mr. TIMM. I think so.

Senator KING (reading):

Third. To oppose the enactment by the Congress of the United States, or the legislatures of the various states, of any sumptuary, or any other law or laws abridging the personal liberties of citizens.

Mr. TIMM. Yes, sir.

Senator KING. And, acting upon your right, as I understand you content it exists, your Alliance has, in connection with this organization and independently of it, attempted to prevent what you call sumptuary legislation by Congress and by the States?

Mr. TIMM. Yes.

Senator KING. And by the cities and counties?

Mr. TIMM. Yes.

Senator KING. And in accomplishing that you have communicated with Senators and Congressmen?

Mr. TIMM. Yes.

Senator KING. You have maintained an organization here in the city of Washington?

Mr. TIMM. No; we never did.

Senator KING. Do you not know that there was one maintained here, the expense of the rental of the building being $600 a year?

Mr. TIMM. No, sir.

Senator KING. Which was paid by the brewers?

Mr. TIMM. No, sir; that is news to me.

Senator KING. You heard the testimony of Mr. Andreae?

Mr. TIMM. I did not.

Senator KING. Dr. Hexamer, the president of your organization, and other officers would work together when they saw legislation coming or proposed, in the States or in Congress, of what you believed to be a sumptuary character or in any way affecting the liquor question?

Mr. TIMM. Yes.

Senator KING. And I suppose your organization procured the adoption of resolutions by those organizations and societies, and so on?

Mr. TIMM. Yes, sir.

Senator KING. And had them transmitted to the legislatures and to Congress?

Mr. TIMM. Yes.

Senator KING. And if persons were hostile to the views of your organization on those various questions your organization claimed the right, and exercised it, to defeat them and to try to secure the nomination and election of men who were in harmony with your views?

Mr. TIMM. We never took any action against those that did not agree with us in our views on prohibition. We just supported those that did agree with us.

Senator KING. Did you make lists of those who were friendly to your views and those who were unfriendly and see that they reached the members of your organization?

Mr. TIMM. We only made lists of those who were friendly to our views.

Senator KING. If a Senator or Congressman was friendly, you knew that and would indicate that to the members of your organization?

Mr. TIMM. Yes, sir.

Senator KING. I read further from these resolutions:

Fourth. To oppose any and every restriction of immigration of healthy persons from Europe, exclusive of convicted criminals, anarchists and those of immoral character.

You have proceeded in line with that arrangement with this organization to secure national legislation of a character which you thought met your views upon immigration?

Mr. TIMM. In fact, there was never an occasion to carry this agreement out, Senator. It has practically been a dead letter.

Senator KING. Well, you have acted independently?

Mr. TIMM. Oh, yes; that may be.

Senator KING. You acted with some members of the Ancient Order of Hibernians on the question of neutrality, did you not, and on the question of getting a conference on the question of embargo?

Mr. TIMM. Not that I know of; I did not have anything to do with this neutrality matter.

Senator KING. Is Michael Singer one of the members of your organization?

Mr. TIMM. He is not.

Senator KING. Has he ever been?

Mr. TIMM. No, sir.

Senator KING. He publishes a paper called the Zeitgeist?

Mr. TIMM. The Zeitgeist.

Senator KING. A German newspaper?

Mr. TIMM. Yes, sir; and he antagonizes our organization.

Senator KING. He antagonizes your organization?

Mr. TIMM. Yes, sir; because we are not politically active. While here we are charged from one side with being too active politically, from another side we are charged with not being active politically.

Senator KING. Is there anything else you want to ask the witness?

Senator STERLING. Just a word more. What is your business, Mr. Timm?

Mr. TIMM. I was in the newspaper business, Senator.

Senator STERLING. That has been your business in this country ever since you came here?

Mr. TIMM. Yes, sir. I was a compositor, and then I published a newspaper for years. I was for 10 years editor of an afternoon paper in Philadelphia.

Senator STERLING. What was the name of your paper?

Mr. TIMM. The Philadelphia Abendpost.

Senator STERLING. Published in German?

Mr. TIMM. In the German language; yes, sir.

Senator STERLING. When was it that you engaged in this citizenship school work of which you spoke?

Mr. TIMM. We were active in that line of work for years.

Senator STERLING. Where were you active in that line of work?

Mr. TIMM. We had classes in the evening, and we always arranged it that when we had a meeting we would have a class from 8 to 9. and we would start our meeting at 9 o'clock.

Senator STERLING. Where was this?

Mr. TIMM. In Philadelphia.

Senator STERLING. You say "we arranged it"; by that whom do you mean?

Mr. TIMM. I mean the Philadelphia Branch has started that, and it was taken up by the State Branch and by the National Alliance.

Senator STERLING. How long did the Philadelphia Branch engage in that sort of thing?

Mr. TIMM. Oh, for five years.

Senator STERLING. Beginning when?

Mr. TIMM. In 1913.

Senator STERLING. Are you keeping up with that now?

Mr. TIMM. Well, now we have stopped everything. We have made the proposition to Mr. Creel—he mailed us a blank, whether we would aid in the Americanization work, and we made the same offer to Mr. Creel that we made to the Americanization Congress, only with the difference that we said that we are willing to take up the work again now under the supervision of the authorities.

Senator STERLING. What was the scope of your work at these citizenship classes?

Mr. TIMM. Here is my report on that work, Senator [indicating papers].

Senator STERLING. Well, I have not time to read your report now. but I would like your statement in a general way of what your work was.

Mr. TIMM. Mr. Mayer, the president of the Philadelphia Branch, used to be a teacher, and he is an expert in this line through having the candidates for citizenship taught, the same way as in school, the three different branches of our Government.

Senator STERLING. These schools were for candidates for citizenship?

Mr. TIMM. Yes.

Senator STERLING. They were not schools held for the German population generally?

Mr. TIMM. No, sir.

Senator STERLING. The German adults generally?

Mr. TIMM. No, sir.

Senator STERLING. But just for those who were candidates for citizenship?

Mr. TIMM. Yes.

Senator STERLING. And they were for the purpose of instructing them as to the procedure in making out their citizenship papers, were they?

Mr. TIMM. Yes.

Senator STERLING. Did you ever publish anything along the line of American citizenship?

Mr. TIMM. We advocated the establishment of these schools.

Senator STERLING. But answer my question, Did you ever publish anything?

Mr. TIMM. This booklet and the Constitution we had printed.

Senator STERLING. Yes; this booklet, now, is a little pamphlet containing 43 questions and answers, and they are for the purpose of instructing candidates for citizenship who went to take out naturalization papers?

Mr. TIMM. Yes.

Senator STERLING. That is all?

Mr. TIMM. Yes.

Senator STERLING. Did your instruction in these citizenship schools extend beyond that?

Mr. TIMM. We went to different towns——

Senator STERLING. You can answer that question, can you not? Did it extend beyond this?

Mr. TIMM. No; it did not.

Senator STERLING. No. Now, one of the provisions in your charter is, or one of the purposes declared in the charter is, the study of American history. Did you teach American history at any of these schools, beyond such as would be taught in these questions and the answers to them?

Mr. TIMM. We did not.

Senator STERLING. No. Another purpose declared in the charter of the organization of the National German-American Alliance is the study of American institutions. Beyond the 43 questions and answers to them contained in this little booklet, did you teach anything of American institutions?

Mr. TIMM. Only what was necessary in——

Senator STERLING. Only what was necessary in order to carry out this instruction in the schools?

Mr. TIMM. Yes, sir.

Senator STERLING. Another purpose described in your charter is the conservation of the principles of representative government and the protection and maintenance of all civil and political rights. Did you teach anything in these schools, or publish anything which you disseminated among the German people in this country, for the purposes of that particular principle laid down in your charter, namely, the conservation of the principles of representative government and the protection and maintenance of all civil and political rights?

Mr. TIMM. Not in these schools.

Senator STERLING. No; nor did you publish or send out any literature along those lines?

Mr. TIMM. No.

Senator STERLING. To the German people in America?

Mr. TIMM. No.

Senator STERLING. That is all.

Senator KING. Did your organization, Mr. Timm, as an organization, oppose woman suffrage?

Mr. TIMM. No, sir.

Senator KING. Did your State organization or your State Alliance do so?

Mr. TIMM. We had the question up in 1912 at Altoona, in our Pennsylvania State Branch, and we decided to be neutral on this question because we have opponents of woman suffrage and also friends of woman suffrage.

Senator KING. Then that is the reason that you did not enter the contest?

Mr. TIMM. Yes.

Senator KING. But it was considered by your State organization whether you would or would not?

Mr. TIMM. Yes.

Senator KING. I have here what purports to be a tract from the president of the German-American Alliance.

Mr. TIMM. Mr. Bauer; yes.

Senator KING. Mr. Carl Bauer.

Mr. TIMM. Yes.

Senator KING. Dated in March, 1913, in which he addresses the members of the National German-American Alliance as "Dear Brothers," and urges opposition to the constitutional amendment for woman suffrage.

Mr. TIMM (after examining paper). Yes.

Senator KING. I guess that is the same, is it not [handing witness another document]?

Mr. TIMM. That is the same thing; yes, sir.

Senator KING. Do you know whether the State Alliance of Nebraska ever took any action upon this matter?

Mr. TIMM. I really could not say what stand they took on the question.

Senator KING. What property has your organization now?

Mr. TIMM. We have a fund of $30,000 in bonds, of which only the interest can be used.

Senator KING. Is that what is called the iron fund?

Mr. TIMM. Yes; that is the iron fund. And there are several thousand dollars in the treasury.

Senator KING. That fund was contributed by various individuals, was it not?

Mr. TIMM. By the life members; it is from life memberships.

Senator KING. You know the persons who made the contributions?

Mr. TIMM. Yes; I have the applications with me.

Mr. SCHOLTZ. I beg pardon; that list is already on file. I think Mr. Sutro gave it to the reporter.

Senator KING. The $30,000, then, came exclusively from those who were seeking life membership?

Mr. TIMM. Yes, sir.

Senator KING. And what was the purpose for which the fund was to be used?

Mr. TIMM. Well, for general purposes; that is to say, the interest.

Senator KING. Does your organization owe any debts?

Mr. TIMM. Not that I know of.

Senator KING. Then, if a dissolution of this corporation were ordered by Congress and the Attorney General should take proceedings to dispose of any funds in the possession of this organization, all that he would have to take into his possession would be the $30,000?

Mr. TIMM. Yes, sir.

Senator KING. And the donors of that could be very easily ascertained?

Mr. TIMM. Yes.

Senator KING. Do you want to ask the witness any questions, Mr. Scholtz?

Mr. SCHOLTZ. No; I thank you.

Mr. TIMM. I beg pardon, Senator. There was a man who made charges in the newspapers of Philadelphia by the name of Hajek, or Heyck.

Senator KING. Yes.

Mr. TIMM. And I presume he is the same man, and he is trying to put those words in my mouth at that meeting which I never uttered. He claims that he sneaked into our closed doors meeting, and we never had any closed doors meeting. I thought I would have the pleasure of being confronted with Mr. Heyck, and I have some questions here to ask him.

Senator KING. If you will just leave those questions with your attorney, if that person should come before the committee—I do not know that he will be here—as a witness, your attorney, or yourself, if you will come back, will be at liberty to interrogate him as you see fit.

Mr. TIMM. I could not file the questions.

Senator KING. You may file them with the reporter, if you wish.

Mr. TIMM. But, if you gentlemen do not take any stock in this man's testimony, whatever he may have said, of course, I would not like those questions to go in the record.

Senator KING. If those questions are proper, we would be very glad to propound them to him, if he appears, or Mr. Scholtz, who is here as the attorney for the organization, will be privileged to subject him to any cross-examination that is legitimate that he may desire; so you may leave a copy of your questions, if you care to, with the stenographer, and hand a copy to your attorney so that he will have them.

Now, is there anything else that you want to submit to the committee?

Mr. TIMM. No; I am at your disposal.

Senator KING. Well, we will excuse you, Mr. Timm.

Senator STERLING. Will you leave that report with us?

Mr. TIMM. I have just the one copy, Senator, but I will be glad to have a copy made for you.

Senator STERLING. I should like to have that.

Senator KING. Where are the books and memoranda and papers belonging to the corporation?

Mr. TIMM. I have copies of them here. I forgot to mention the letters that we got from candidates for citizenship. These are from 1915, and those [indicating] are from 1917; and this bunch here is all written in English. Now, there [indicating] are hundreds of letters from all over the country, and that shows some of our work in naturalization. I will be glad to leave the letters here, if you wish them.

Senator KING. You have all the letters, have you?

Mr. TIMM. Yes; I kept all the letters.

Senator KING. We do not care for them, except you can leave them with your attorney and let him count them, and then give us the number of them, if you wish.

Mr. SCHOLTZ. Do you want that done? All right, sir.

Senator KING. If you care to do it.

Mr. SCHOLTZ. No; we do not care to.

Senator KING. I had reference in what I said to your general account books.

Mr. TIMM. I have them here.

Senator KING. And the treasurer's books?

Mr. TIMM. I have them here [indicating books].

Senator KING. They are here?

Mr. SCHOLTZ. We have them all here for your inspection, if you want to see them.

(Mr. Timm here produced several books.)

Senator KING. Has Dr. Hexamer any documents or papers or records of the organization?

Mr. TIMM. Well; no. We have them in our office, and the Doctor has no correspondence.

Senator KING. You may take back those that you have with you. I do not think that the committee will have any occasion for further examination of them.

Mr. TIMM. Yes, sir.

Senator KING. If so, we will notify you; but we will not examine them at present.

Mr. SCHOLTZ. All right, Senator.

Mr. TIMM. I will be here to-morrow, you know, with Dr. von Bosse.

Senator KING. We do not want you unless you desire to be here.

Mr. TIMM. The Doctor will want me here when he is here.

Senator KING. All right.

We will stand adjourned until to-morrow afternoon.

(Thereupon, at 5.40 o'clock p. m., the subcommittee adjourned until to-morrow, Thursday, March 21, 1918, at 2 o'clock p. m.)

NATIONAL GERMAN-AMERICAN ALLIANCE.

THURSDAY, MARCH 21, 1918.

UNITED STATES SENATE,
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY,
Washington, D. C.

The subcommittee met at 2 o'clock p. m. in the room of the Committee on the Judiciary in the Capitol.

Present: Senators King (chairman), Wolcott, and Sterling.

STATEMENT OF MR. VON BOSSE—Resumed.

Senator KING. You may proceed, Mr. von Bosse.

Mr. VON BOSSE. I stopped the last time when I was here at charge No. 5 of Mr. Ohlinger. [Resuming reading from prepared statement:]

"'It has furthered the aims of organizations which have since been absolutely convicted of disloyalty.' This charge is not only false, but malicious. There have been no Tories among us. In reply to such charges against one of our members, I ask leave in this connection to present the gentleman's letter also in defense of the others, who share his views."

This letter states the patriotic position the gentleman took, even during the Mexican time, and I will file it to save your time, unless you wish to have me read it.

Senator KING. It is an expression of his view?

Mr. VON BOSSE. An expression of his view and of his loyalty; and I offer it because it expresses the same thing that we hold. I have worked in similar work as he, in furtherance of the war projects of the Government.

Senator KING. Who is the man?

Mr. VON BOSSE. Mr. John B. Mayer, of Philadelphia, who was mentioned several times in the investigation.

Senator KING. You may file it and it will become a part of the record.

(The letter referred to is here printed in the record in full, as folllows:)

To the UNITED STATES SENATE COMMITTEE,
Care the Hon. William H. King, chairman.

GENTLEMEN: In the public press I read that a Mr. Ohlinger has, not directly, but by innuendo, accused me before your honorable committee of disloyalty to my country.

I resent this insinuation most emphatically. Just recovering from a severe illness, I am not able to appear before you personally, but kindly request of you to allow my side of the story to be read to you. I can not and will not let the least shadow of disloyalty rest upon my good name.

First I wish to set the statements of Mr. Ohlinger right. I am not, nor was I ever, chairman of the legislative committee of the National German-American Alliance; don't know that such an office existed.

I was not chairman of the legislative committee of the Pennsylvania alliance when members of that body went to Harrisburg to protest against the club-license bill. I went there as an American citizen to assert the right as such, the same right with which Mr. Ohlinger does now appear before you; yes, more than this, we went there on invitation of the respective committee of the legislature, who wished to hear the pro and contras on the proposed legislation.

And now, since Mr. Ohlinger has mentioned my name before you, as a citizen I beg your indulgence to state some of my activities in public life in the last few years:

When two Philadelphia soldiers were killed at Vera Cruz in 1914 in our controversy with Mexico, and the city of Philadelphia decided to give the two heroes a public funeral, I at once offered the mayor of Philadelphia the assistance of the United Singers, an organization of which I am president (which is a member of the German-American Alliance of Pennsylvania), and about 500 singers, with their trained voices, added to the solemnity of the funeral ceremonies at Independence Hall.

When the mayor of Philadelphia issued a call to the citizens to assist the families of those of our boys who had gone to the front at Mexico, I again offered the services of the United Singers, and in July, 1916, we arranged a monster concert, at which we realized a substantial sum for this purpose.

Sums ranging from $4,000 to $6,500 were also realized by us at concerts for the flood sufferers at Galveston, for the distressed city of San Francisco (1906), and for the flood sufferers in the Middle West (1913).

When the mayor of Philadelphia called a meeting of the citizens of our city after our relations with Germany had been severed, I stated at this meeting that in a controversy with a foreign government the German-Americans are Americans and nothing else, and my fellow citizens indorsed every word I had said.

Upon the call of the mayor to form a home-defense body I requested my fellow citizens to enlist, with the result that over 800 German-Americans entered the Home Defense Guard. Furthermore, I asked the different societies to offer their halls for drilling this Home Guard and for quarters in case larger bodies of our troops should pass through our city and be compelled to stay here overnight or longer. The societies complied with my request most promptly, and a detailed list of these halls was given to the mayor, stating all the facilities they possess.

On Flag Day we arranged a celebration in front of the Betsy Ross House (the birthplace of the American Flag) which turned out to be quite a patriotic demonstration.

Upon the call of our country to subscribe to the Liberty Loan we at once advised our members to do so. I organized a committee among the German-Americans and personally collected over $100,000 for it, whereupon I received from the Federal reserve bank the following communication:

"The officers and directors of the Federal Reserve Bank of Philadelphia are deeply grateful to Mr. J. B. Mayer for the patriotic service rendered by him in connection with the placing of the second Liberty Loan of 1917.

"RICHARD L. AUSTIN,
"*Chairman of the Board of Directors.*
"CHARLES S. RHOADS,
"*Governor.*

"PHILADELPHIA, PA., *November 1, 1917.*"

And perhaps the best answer to Mr. Ohlinger's insinuation is the fact that the Secretary of the Treasury, through his Philadelphia representative, has asked me to assist also in the placing of the third Liberty Loan and to select a committee for this purpose, which request I have gladly complied with and not only formed the committee but have quite a large sum promised at this early date.

I have always urged Germans to become citizens of our country, stating to them that if they make good use of the advantages of our country, as protection of police, use of streets, light, schools, etc., they should also be willing to take upon themselves the duties of a citizen. To make matters easier for them, I compiled a little book entitled "How to become a citizen," which contains extracts from our Constitution, and which has been translated in 10 different languages (among them Swedish, from which nation Mr. Ohlinger claims descent).

I also founded what I called "citizenship schools," where in the evenings I taught candidates for citizenship the principles of our Constitution; and this not only in Philadelphia, but over the whole State of Pennsylvania (all certainly without any remuneration).

I do not know Mr. Ohlinger nor the motives which led him to appear before you, but I certainly would like to ask him what he has done for his country, whether he has induced his fellow men of like descent to become citizens, if he has taught them the principles of our wonderful Constitution, and how much he has collected for the Liberty Loan.

I deny the right of Mr. Ohlinger to attack my privilege to give my opinion as to certain proposed legislation in our State and I most emphatically resent his insinuations as to my loyalty to my country.

I believe I have gained and retained the confidence and respect of my fellow American citizens, both native and of all nationalities, and I owe it to myself and to my children that I do not let the remarks of Mr. Ohlinger pass without raising my voice in protest against his insult.

I am, gentlemen,

Yours very respectfully,

J. B. MAYER,
3405 West Cumberland Street.

PHILADELPHIA, *February 28, 1918.*

Mr. VON BOSSE (reading):

"Considering their numbers the members of the Alliance have given a remarkable testimonial by their behavior of their honesty and fealty. Were they inclined to be disloyal not a wheel could be moved in this country. Words cannot express the feelings we hold for the bitterness that we suffer by such charges. I ask: where are the persons and aims, which the Alliance has supported since April 1917 and before, for which disloyalty is claimed and proved?

"*Charge No. 6.*—'It has developed a rabid and violent opposition to prohibition or to any interference with the liquor traffic.' I might say 'Tread softly, brother,' for when it comes to the use of rabid and violent means in furtherance or opposition we are in the infant class as compared with the Anti-Saloon League and other apostles of sumptuary measures."

Senator WOLCOTT. Mr. von Bosse, that statement may be entirely correct; the advocates of the two sides of that question unquestionably are inclined to run to extremes; they are very positive, and there is a great deal of spirit behind the respective groups. I want to call your attention to this fact, however, that the Anti-Saloon League is not enjoying a Federal charter.

Mr. VON BOSSE. Yes; I understand.

Senator WOLCOTT. So that its status is entirely different from that of the German-American Alliance. Do you not think that there is a very marked distinction between the two cases?

Mr. VON BOSSE. The reason I mention it in comparison is this. Because the Anti-Saloon League, I understand, has been looked upon as the chief proponent of prohibition measures, as the German-American Alliance has undoubtedly been considered in many circles the chief opponent of prohibition. That is the reason that I compared the two, as representing the two opposing sides.

Senator WOLCOTT. Yes. Well, I guess that is true. But if the German-American Alliance did not have a Federal charter this committee would have no right to be concerned about its attitude on the prohibition question.

Mr. VON BOSSE. Do you wish me to strike this out?

Senator WOLCOTT. Oh, no, indeed.

Mr. VON BOSSE. I just mentioned it as a comparison between the two opponents.

Senator WOLCOTT. I only interjected my remark because it seemed to be a proper comment on the point you are making.

Senator KING. The committee would have no right, and they have no inclination, to strike out any of the statement that you have prepared, and we want you to feel that you are at full liberty to make any statement that you care to, expressing your views and your interpretation of the attitude of the organization, and so forth.

Mr. VON BOSSE. Thank you. [Reading:]

"That we have opposed prohibitory measures we cheerfully admit. How the members feel about prohibitory laws can well be gleaned from the arguments and citations advanced on the accompanying pamphlet," which I also beg leave to file. It is taken from a pamphlet put out by the Independent Citizens' Union of Maryland, which is one of our most important organizations.

Senator KING. Is that in English or in German?

Mr. VON BOSSE. It is in English. The first three pages are what I offer.

Senator KING. Mr. von Bosse, I find that this pamphlet contains quite a number of pages closely printed.

Mr. VON BOSSE. It is only the first three pages, Senator, those that I have marked, that I wish to refer to. I have a copy of it here in typewriting.

Senator KING. What I wanted to ascertain was what part of this you desire printed in the record as a part of and in connection with your testimony.

Mr. VON BOSSE. The first three pages only. I had them copied here.

Senator KING. Very well; that will be put in.

(The matter referred to is here printed in the record in full, as follows:)

[From a pamphlet published by the Independent Citizens' Union of Maryland.]

AS FREE MEN AND AMERICAN CITIZENS.

We unequivocally oppose prohibition. Local option is prohibition on the installment plan. The local-option bill, a partisan measure, dishonest in its application only to "wet" territory; establishes new rules of evidence and a spy system, encouraging hypocrisy, and permits any man's house to be searched "on belief."

AN INTOLERABLE COMMANDMENT.

Being men, not children, the members of the Independent Citizens' Union of Maryland oppose prohibition as an insult to their manhood and in derogation of their inherent right to think and act untrammeled in all matters affecting their own welfare.

To command by law, "Thou shalt not eat this nor drink that because, in the opinion of some people, it may not be good for us," would be an usurpation of power upon the part of the State unwarranted by necessity, and an infringement of the rights and liberties of the individual citizen.

As free agents, endowed by the Creator with discernment to know good from evil, we resent the very idea of being put under guardianship, and hold, as did Blackstone, that—

"Every wanton and causeless restraint of the will of the subject, whether practiced by a monarchy, a nobility, or a popular assembly, is a degree of tyranny."

COMMON SENSE VERSUS BRAINSTORM.

We are not ignorant that abuses arise out of the excessive use of alcoholic liquors; but ills arise from nearly all abusive use and practice. Men come to harm in a thousand ways; shall, for that reason, things be declared deodand and the use of similar things forever forbidden?

Where and when evils exist intelligent effort should be made to find a remedy and practically apply it. This is a universal rule, and equally applicable to the liquor question. Local conditions require local consideration, and the action or example of some other State or community is of value only so far as the conditions are the same.

The introduction of prohibition in the State of Maryland is fraught with so many consequences of an economic character that no member of the legislature, mindful of his oath and trust, can afford to hastily act. It is worthy of the most serious consideration, and the members of the legislature, in the brief time at their disposal, can not give the subject that study which its great importance requires. The mere assertions and claims of the partisans for and against prohibition are not facts from which they, sitting as a jury, could easily decide and then properly legislate on.

APPOINT AN IMPARTIAL AND COMPETENT COMMISSION.

The entire liquor question should be placed in the hands of a well-qualified commission, made up of men able to act impartially, who should thoroughly consider every phase of the liquor question, whether it be styled prohibition, local option, high or low license, and then have them report their findings with recommendations for the necessary legislation to the next session of the Maryland General Assembly. In some such manner only can we hope to get safe and sane legislation.

This suggestion is not put forth for the purpose of "sidetracking" any present legislation, but solely to have every question in issue weighed and considered, and so securing an intelligent basis for intelligent legislation.

Emotional "brainstorm" may well be pleaded by Carrie Nation and kindred spirits, but for legislaturemen to be swayed by enthusiasts to the point of making laws impairing the rights and liberties of the citizens, and affecting the industries and well-being of the State, would be a betrayal of the trust put in them by the people.

LAWS MUST BE REASONABLE.

We yield to no one in loyalty and patriotism or in observance of the laws; but, as laws depend for their enforcement upon public opinion, they must be just and reasonable, permanent and not evanescent. Prohibition laws are neither just nor reasonable, and therefore impossible of enforcement. For, as long as men grow potatoes, corn, wine, apples, and the many products out of which alcoholic stimulants can be made, prohibition can not be enforced. Sensible men can not ignore these facts.

Mr. VON BOSSE (reading):

"We wish to draw a straight line of distinction between our opposition to prohibition and to the charge that we are opposed to any interference with the liquor traffic. On the contrary we have repeatedly found fault with the manner of conducting the so-called 'American saloon,' 'treating' and other evils incident to the liquor business. It was not opposition to prohibition of alcoholic beverages as much as to the curtailment of personal liberty and the method of 'fiat decrees' rather than that of conviction by education, that was contained in the Alliance program.

"*Charge No. 7.*—'That the German American Alliance was being financially assisted by unpatriotic and hostile American people.' You have seen by our books where the money came from and where it went. After all the crux of the matter is not so much where the money came from as what was done with it. Our books show that every cent was properly and legitimately spent. How such charges

are made to work to the discredit of the Alliance is patently evidenced in the issue of the Philadelphia Press of Saturday, March 2, a copy of which we offer herewith."

Senator WOLCOTT. How can we get this [indicating exhibit] in the record? This is a photographic copy of some excerpted pages.

Mr. VON BOSSE. I will not give it to you for the record, then. I will just present it as an exhibit.

Senator KING. No. We want to put in the record whatever you deem relevant.

Mr. VON BOSSE. I have the explanation here of what is in there.

Senator KING. Then your explanation will dispense with the necessity of putting in the record those photographs?

Mr. VON BOSSE. Yes; what I have here will explain it.

Senator KING. Proceed.

Mr. VON BOSSE (reading):

"By some means they secured a copy of the translation of the report of the auditing committee of the Alliance, made for submission to your committee and printed it with bold headlines falsely stating the 'German Alliance had spent $37,711.70 since July 1, 1917,' and further stating 'no details are given of large sums spent since United States went into the war.' As a matter of fact the report covers a period of over twenty-eight months, from July first, 1915, to November 15th, 1917."

I have the full report. Possibly you already have it. I do not know. That need not go into the record unless you choose.

Mr. SCHOLTZ. I think we ought to have that in the record.

Senator WOLCOTT. Did Mr. Tjarks present that?

Mr. SCHOLTZ. No; he did not present that. It is not in detail. We have the books here to show the details.

Senator KING. It will be inserted, then.

(The report referred to is here printed in the record in full, as follows:)

NOVEMBER 17, 1917.

Dr. C. J. HEXAMER,
President National German-American Alliance.

DEAR DOCTOR: The undersigned committee appointed to audit the books and accounts of the National German-American Alliance met on Saturday, November 17, 1917. The books and accounts of the financial secretary and the treasurer were compared with the vouchers and receipts and audited, and were found to be correct.

The following accounts were audited, beginning with the date of the last audit, from October 21, 1916, to November 15, 1917:

Alliance treasury:

Cash balance July 1, 1915	$2,144.28	
Receipts July 1–Nov. 15, 1917	30,223.35	
Total	32,367.63	
Expenditures July 1–Nov. 15, 1917	31,711.70	
Balance	655.93	
Received from "cordial relations with other national organizations" account	550.12	
From "language and school" account	116.66	
Balance in treasury		$1,322.71

National monument "Pastorius" fund:		
Balance Oct. 21, 1916	$4,420.37	
Interest	103.42	
Total	4,523.79	
Expenditures	915.70	
Balance		$3,608.09
Muehlenberg monument fund:		
Balance Oct. 21, 1916	20.00	
Interest	.95	
		20.95
Alliance monthly "Mitteilungen":		
Receipts	980.65	
Expenses	881.35	
Surplus		99.30
Alliance emblems sold:		
Receipts	188.70	
Expenses	71.50	
Surplus		117.20

A report from John Tjarks, chairman of the finance committee of the National German-American Alliance, was submitted to us and audited, in accordance with which there were in his hands:

General fund:		
Cash balance brought forward and receipts to November 10, 1917		$13,523.71
Expenditures		4,100.00
Balance		9,423.71
"Elserner Fonds" (trust fund):		
Cash balance November 10, 1917		994.91
The par value of the bonds, which are on deposit in the Safe Deposit & Trust Co., of Baltimore, Md., is		30,000.00

(These bonds were examined by Mr. Scholtz, who found them to be correct as per list.)

Recommendations of the auditing committee.—For the purpose of obtaining at any time immediate information in regard to the finances of the Alliance the committee recommends—

1. That the financial secretary shall submit semiannually, in January and July of each year, a written balance sheet to the executive of all income and expenses. These reports should show:
   (*a*) Receipts, itemized to show their source;
   (*b*) Salaries and costs of representation by officers and employees;
   (*c*) Expenditures for office, printed matter, etc.; and
   (*d*) Receipts and expenditures of the finance committee.
2. All moneys and securities of the Alliance, in so far as this has not been attended to as yet, should be deposited in the name of the Alliance.
3. The office of the finance committee in Baltimore shall be discontinued, which will save $500 to the Alliance.

Mr. VON BOSSE (reading):

"Mr. Ohlinger has presented his charges before to the American public, as is evidenced from the translation of the following editorial on him in the Official Bulletin, Volume 8, No. 5."

Now, unless you wish to hear this, I will also file this.

Senator KING. Of course, the committee will read it. I understand it contains some comments upon Mr. Ohlinger?

Mr. VON BOSSE. Yes; it is quite complimentary.

(The matter referred to is here printed in the record in full, as follows:)

MR. OHLINGER'S CONTRIBUTION TO PRO-BRITISH PROPAGANDA.

Of late pro-British propaganda has been giving its special attention to the German-American National Alliance. Wherever there was the least excuse to hold up to suspicion by distortion of facts the activity of the Alliance and to foist upon it unpatriotic and disloyal aims, it was used to the full extent. The latest attack is in connection with an article in the Atlantic Monthly, which has constituted itself an advocate of Anglo-Saxonism; that is, of an entire turning of the United States into a British country. The article is headed "German propaganda in the United States," and is written by a dyed-in-the-wool Anglo-Saxon named Gustavus Ohlinger, of Toledo, Ohio. This man takes the position that everything not pro-British and not enthused for Anglo-Saxonism must be doing German propaganda. In his mind there is no doubt that this propaganda is being directed from Germany and has political aims. He also does not hesitate to identify the aims of the German American National Alliance with those of the General German School Society for the Preservation of German, of the Pan-German Society, and the German Navy Association, although the executive of the National Alliance has declared repeatedly that its members are American citizens and not citizens of Germany.

He gives prominence to a statement that the Alliance, among other things, has as its most important aim the opposition against any curtailment of the liquor trade, although at each convention it adopted resolutions to agitate against all abuses and detrimental occurrences in the saloon trade and especially against the bad custom of treating. He blames the Alliance for advocating the introduction of instruction in German in the public schools and working for it, although even the most renowned professors of American colleges and universities have drawn attention to the necessity of the study of German for all who study the sciences or intend to be active in commerce or industry. He forgets that the German language takes second place among the world languages of European origin, another argument for the propaganda of the National Alliance.

The Anglo-Saxon Gustavus Ohlinger, furthermore, has discovered that the Alliance's committee appointed for the purpose of examining school books of American history is to recommend them for introduction into the public schools provided the services of German immigration in the founding, defense, and progress of the Republic are duly recognized was mainly to see that in the books the "German cause" was duly recognized. It is clear that with this statement he intends to mislead the reader of the article. This is also true regarding the claim that the Alliance advocated the support of "German candidates". The intention is to make the impression that such candidates were not, in the first place, American citizens, but were conducting a German propaganda. Furthermore, the translation of the word "Deutschtum" in the United States with "German people" is badly chosen, to say the least, and intended to cause a false impression. Under "Deutschtum" we mean persons of German origin and who honor the ethical and cultural inheritances of the old country. Mr. Gustavus Ohlinger, as could be expected, did not mention that this kind of "Germanism" may very nicely be united with "Americanism" and that it does not in any manner hinder the adherent of the first mentioned in the exercise of their duties as American citizens. He declares: "At the outbreak of the war in Europe the *scparistic* idea was sharpened and the activity of the Alliance multiplied." Any one who knows the German Americans knows also that the separistic idea is far removed from them. Only Mr. Ohlinger does not know it. He makes a capital offense of the fact that the German Americans interceded for the justice of the cause of their old Fatherland and were not convinced that assassination is justified and that defenders of a nation whose government had incited it were placing themselves in the service of a moral view in the Anglo-Saxon sense. The agitation of the German Americans in favor of the Government of the United States prohibiting the exportation of arms does not suit Mr. Ohlinger. According to his assertions, the "American Truth Society," the "American Neutrality League," the "American Embargo Conference," and other organizations aiming to bring about the prohibition of arms exportation were organized at the behest of the Alliance. According to Ohlinger, it is also a proof of the separistic tendencies of the Alliance

that the German American organizations after the sinking of the *Lusitania* had demanded the calm examination of the facts and the continuation of peaceful relations with Germany. The approach also between the German-Americans and the Irish-Americans, already brought about in 1907, causes Mr. Ohlinger to see danger for Anglo-Saxonism. He is suspicious even of the fact that Dr. Hexamer several years ago received the Order of the Red Eagle from the German Emperor.

He is not a bit backward in dishing up to his readers the absurd invention of a German invasion of Canada as a fact which hardly could be doubted. But he forgets that an investigation made last year at the instigation of the British Ambassador proved that there was not one word of truth in the entire story.

At the conclusion of his article, proceeding from the wrong impression that everything not pro-British and of German origin is un-American and in the service of "German propaganda", Mr. Ohlinger arrives at the following conclusions: "Held up to the light of history, the propaganda of those Germans who are Americans only geographically and politically is as unnatural as it is pernicious. This propaganda condemns itself through the results which would follow the adoption of the same by other nations in this country." Mr. Ohlinger forgets that during the entire war the German Americans have never taken a hostile attitude toward their fellow citizens of other origin, a proof that they are considering themselves Americans solely and know no strife of nations among American citizenship. A German pastor in Gary, Ind., was the only victim of race hatred in America, and he was assassinated because his open attitude for the justice of the cause of the old fatherland was not according to the heart of a murderer from the camp of the allies.

Mr. Gustavus Ohlinger declares also: "The separistic ideal, which has been continued for the last 20 years, made it impossible to the German element to accomplish its mission. A people insisting upon the superiority of its own culture, defaming the Anglo-Saxon race as decadent, and placing itself ostentatiously in contrast to everything which could point to English influence, has simply missed its high office. These people, under the influence of these false leaders, have become nothing more nor less than the dunces of the Prussian junkers."

A communication sent by the press bureau of the National Alliance to the editor of the Atlantic Monthly containing, after referring to the distortions and wrong assertions, a request whether a reply would be accepted, received the following answer: "The treatise regarding 'German propaganda' was written with due consideration of facts, and I personally have taken so much pains with verifying them that I do not believe it contains one wrong statement. The question of a correct emphasis, of course, is harder to determine. We are thoroughly acquainted with the official organ of the Alliance, which was actually of great service in the writing of the article in question. The Atlantic has made it its aim to be scrupulously impartial, and I can hardly believe that any partial publication like yours could have come to an unprejudiced conclusion."

This is followed by the name of the editor and therewith all possibility of a reply and correction seems to be excluded. And that is called impartial by the Atlantic Monthly.

Mr. VON BOSSE (reading):

"While we are on the subject of finances we might say that the witness Ohlinger, took occasion often to insinuate that the funds of the Alliance were out of proportion to its membership.

"This we regretfully admit, for though we made claim to a large membership we did not get in the funds that we were entitled to. This admission will be found throughout the minutes of every convention. It will also be found that State organizations which had not paid their dues, were only permitted to participate upon their delegations pledging to make good their arrearages.

"In a number of cases arrearages were remitted because they could not be collected.

"Nor is the question of numerical strength firmly fixed by the show of dues paid. As before stated many organizations have both passive and active members. The passive members may be at the

ratio of 3 to 1 and the association paying only for the one would yet have a voting strength of four.

"That there might have been a little tendency to inflate the strength of the membership may not be denied.

"But despite all that said about the finances, the question that affects the present issue is what amounts did the Alliance receive, and particularly what did they do with the money.

"That the money did not all come from dues is apparent from the reports. The money was solicited by the efforts of the members of the Finance Committee, solicitors employed by them, by appeals of Dr. Hexamer and Secretary Timm, and the gifts came from prosperous German-Americans throughout the country.

"The names were not published because, as a rule, the donors did not desire it.

"After all I can again say that the crux of the question is, not what was collected, but how was it spent?"

Senator WOLCOTT. Referring to these private contributions from donors who did not care to have their names published, Mr. Timm made those collections, did he not, or solicited those contributions?

Mr. VON BOSSE. I understand that Mr. Timm solicited a number of them.

Senator WOLCOTT. I think we had that in testimony, but I wanted to verify it.

Mr. VON BOSSE. You had that in the testimony. Mr. Timm collected a portion of it, as I state.

Senator WOLCOTT. Do you use his name there?

Mr. VON BOSSE. Yes.

Senator WOLCOTT. I missed that.

Mr. VON BOSSE. Yes; I say that Mr. Timm, the secretary, and Dr. Hexamer did this. Do you want me to read the last sentence again?

Senator WOLCOTT. No; I missed that. I was thinking of something else.

Mr. VON BOSSE (reading):

"The report of the Treasurer printed in the proceedings of the various conventions, shows the disbursements clearly itemized.

"These further show that not a penny was spent in any improper manner.

"From these reports it will be seen that the expenses of the Alliance were for the years:

"From October 1st, 1909, to September 30th, 1911	$5,281.31
"From September 27th, 1911, to September 9th, 1913	20,897.58
"From September 15th, 1913, to July 1st	28,563.92
"From July 1st, 1915, to November 15th, 1917	31,711.70
	"86,454.51

"An average for the eight years of some $10,000.00 per year. Certainly not an inordinate sum for an organization to spend.

"On page 16 of the testimony Mr. Ohlinger cites what he pleases to state as being an editorial from the Bulletin, volume 7, No. 9, p. 4. As a matter of fact it is not an editorial at all, but simply a compilation of what newspapers and individuals had to say about the convention held at San Francisco, and the records of which are contained in the said number.

"On page 17 of testimony the witness refers to 'The bulwark of Germanism,' an article by Max Heinrici, and makes him an officer of the Alliance.

"Just to keep the record clear, we might say that Mr. Heinrici was not an officer of the Alliance then or at any other time. It is true he was an employee as recited."

Senator KING. He was employed as editor of the Bulletin?

Mr. VON BOSSE. He was employed as editor of the Bulletin for a time.

Senator STERLING. Do you remember what time?

Mr. VON BOSSE. I could not state definitely, but I think it was until about 1916. Am I correct, Mr. Timm?

Mr. TIMM. 1913.

Mr. VON BOSSE. 1913?

Mr. TIMM. Yes.

Mr. VON BOSSE. I am informed until 1913 by the secretary.

Senator STERLING. Until 1913, or subsequent to 1913; and about how long from one date to the other, do you know?

Mr. TIMM. May, 1913, to May, 1916.

Mr. VON BOSSE (reading):

"Mr. Ohlinger's charges are grave but vague, as far as the Alliance as a body is concerned. We resent the arrogant attitude of those, who would monopolize Americanism, because they can see Americanism only as they would have it. To us Americansm means undivided allegiance to America, and in support of the Government we have even refrained from criticism of the Government during the war. But it does not mean exclusion of the reverence of sacred tradition, as it has come to us from our fathers nor either the perpetuation of those traditions.

"In conclusion permit me to try to set right a few points which were brought out here recently. There are four of them and I will take but a few minutes more of your valuable time.

"HEXAMER'S SPEECHES.

"(1) We admit, that the words, which Dr. Hexamer spoke, when taken from their connection, when stripped of their tinsel, when taken literally seem peculiar to many Americans, if not propagandist especially when used in regard to 'Kultur.' But we use the word 'Kultur' in a different sense from that associated with 'German Kultur' to-day. To us 'Kultur' means simply the continuation of the study of German literature, art, and music, with attendant spread of its understanding accompanied by the easy and happy customs of living in vogue abroad. If this is encouraged for the French in such magazines as the 'Outlook' in its edition Volume 118, No. 9, why should it not be right for the German?"

Senator WOLCOTT. What was the date of the Outlook article?

Mr. VON BOSSE. I think it is March 2, if I am not mistaken. I can tell you in a moment. The 23d of February—a week earlier. I shall read that part that I refer to:

In response to this letter we make one or two practical suggestions to our correspondent. First, establish a Groupe of the Alliance Française, if one does not already exist in your community. The Alliance Française is an American Association whose purpose is to do exactly what you want to have done in your

community. Through lectures and literature it extends a knowledge among Americans of the French character, the French people, and the fine and noble achievements of the French in literature, science, and art. Full information about the Alliance Française may be obtained by writing to its secretary, Prof. Louis Lelamarre, 200 Fifth Avenue, New York.

"For the past twenty years there has been hardly any immigration from Germany to this country and the modern meaning of 'Kultur' was not universal when the immigrants came here in such large streams. When Dr. Hexamer speaks of an 'inferior Kultur' he means much, that comes from other countries and makes its imprint upon our national life to the exclusion of that from Germany. 'Deutschtum' to us also means something different. It means the perpetuation of social customs and veneration of the German birthland by study of its characteristics. It has been my dream, that the land of mine and my mother's birth and the land of my father's birth might grow to love each other more and more and where we have been indiscreet or overzealous it has been from an over-effulgence of sentimental feeling in this connection. That we were not alone in this desire before 1917 is evident from many articles, which I have read, some of which I shall cite in support of my view. If we are to be held disloyal for utterances before we were at war then many besides those in our Alliance will be forced to plead guilty.

"As in the case of the Alliance so are the accusations brought against Dr. Hexamer of a very flimsy character.

"To give another instance, Dr. Hexamer while in the office of Mr. Humes, the United States District Attorney, of Erie County, Pennsylvania, engaged in a general academic discussion on government and is reported incidentally to have asserted that he was of the opinion that a monarchial system was better than our form of government, and that the legal system and laws of Germany were better and more concrete than the laws of this country. And that there was much more liberty under the laws of Germany, as well as under the more liberal monarchies of England and Italy, than under the laws of this country.

"Which so surprized the worthy District Attorney that he had the remarks taken down, for future use, by his stenographer.

"By the same token Mr. Hume would perhaps impeach President Wilson as a man unfit for American citizenship and convict him out of his own writings:

"The President of the United States was intended by the makers of the Constitution to be a reformed and standardized king."—Constitutional Government in the United States.

"There is a great deal of nonsense talked about the necessity of keeping the three coordinate branches distinct and free from one another's interference. There is no such necessity; the talk is either ignorant or hypocritical. The pretense that the three branches are distinct is responsible for more corruption than any other single feature of our system."—World's Work, May, 1911.

"What the Doctor said about German laws and social legislation has been said by American scholars often before.

"Dr. Hexamer was the head of the Alliance for 17 years, he in that time made many addresses; in not one is a word derogatory of America or the Americans to be found. On the contrary they all breathed a spirit of exalted citizenship and a devotion to our country.

"He took a proper pride in his Germanism, and with oratorical liberty often dwelt upon his race's achievements, but nowhere did he asperse other races or speak in belittlement of the United States."

Senator WOLCOTT. You say that nowhere did he asperse other races.

Mr. VON BOSSE. In the United States.

Senator WOLCOTT. What is your language there?

Mr. VON BOSSE. I said, "nowhere did he asperse other races or speak in belittlement of the United States." I might add there "in the United States", so as to make it read, "nowhere did he asperse other races in the United States or speak in belittlement of the United States." That is my meaning.

Senator WOLCOTT. I was going to say that he cast very serious aspersions on the British.

Mr. VON BOSSE. Yes; but what I mean is in our country.

Senator STERLING. The plain implication of what he said on one occasion—while I do not just now recall the occasion—was that German kultur was superior altogether to American culture and American ideals.

Senator KING. You are referring, doubtless, to the same matter I have in mind. He said, "We are asked to become Americanized." Then he says, "You German-Americans will not do that, because that would be descending to an inferior culture."

Senator STERLING. Yes.

Mr. VON BOSSE. I do not understand his speech in that light, Senator. I have his whole address here, translated, so that you would not have extracts from it merely. [Continuing reading:]

"So when this charge is brought against him it is based upon false inference and misplaced emphasis applied to disconnected parts of his utterances for the plain purpose of arousing antagonistic public opinion.

"Mr. Humes appeared as a witness for the prosecution, and as such he did his duty."

Senator WOLCOTT. How is that?

Mr. VON BOSSE (reading):

Mr. Humes appeared as a witness for the prosecution——

Senator WOLCOTT. Where do you mean—here?

Mr. VON BOSSE. So I understood.

Senator WOLCOTT. Who was representing the prosecution here?

Mr. VON BOSSE. I do not know who has brought the charges against—Mr. Ohlinger brought the charges against us first; and Mr. Campbell undoubtedly was in the prosecution. I consider any charges brought against us as a part of the prosecution.

Senator KING. Mr. von Bosse, let me make the matter clear: I introduced this bill to revoke the charter of the National German-American Alliance. I did it at the request of a number of German-Americans. I did it at the request of a number who wrote me who claimed to be, or to have been, members of the organization, stating that the organization was seeking to maintain racial lines and to keep the Germans from assimilation and absorption; that the activities and tendencies of the organization were distinctly un-American; that it was not for the best interests of the German-Americans themselves who came to this country as well as their descendants, and for our country, to have efforts made to maintain separatist groups in this country, whether they were of the Irish or the English or the Scandinavians or the Germans.

In the light of these complaints and complaints from other sources (and I will say that similar statements were made to other Senators) I conferred with several Senators concerning what course should be pursued, and I then concluded, without any feeling of prejudice and without any fixed opinion, to take some action, and accordingly prepared and introduced this measure; I mean, without any opinion as to whether the charter ought to be revoked or not; but I regarded the information sufficient to merit at least some consideration of the subject and perhaps an investigation.

Upon the introduction of the bill it was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary. I did not press it to a hearing; and, indeed, I was so busy that it escaped my attention, and I am not sure that I should have pressed it, at least for the present.

Mr. VON BOSSE. Yes.

Senator KING. But you and Mr. Timm asked to be heard, and the clerk to the Committee advised me of that fact. Thereupon I conferred with the Chairman of the Committee and suggested that perhaps he had better appoint a subcommittee to hear you and any others who desired to come before the subcommittee. The Chairman of the Committee then appointed a subcommittee consisting of Senators Sterling and Wolcott and myself. We then told the clerk to advise you of the fact that a subcommittee had been appointed and that the committee would be glad to hear you and Mr. Timm whenever you wished to appear.

I was also advised that Mr. Ohlinger had written a book concerning the activities of the National German-American Alliance, and I then suggested the propriety of having him subpœnaed to testify to what he might know regarding this matter; and it developed that Mr. Humes and Mr. Andreae knew something about its alleged activities, and the committee ordered those two gentlemen, and perhaps one or two more, subpœnaed. That is about the way the proceedings have been carried on.

Now, you may regard Mr. Humes as a witness for the prosecution, if you wish. He came here in obedience to the subpœna of the committee, as did Mr. Ohlinger.

Mr. VON BOSSE. And Mr. Campbell?

Senator KING. And Mr. Campbell.

Mr. VON BOSSE. You see, I am not well enough acquainted with the legal aspects of it.

Senator KING. Yes.

Mr. VON BOSSE. But it seems to me that when charges are made against anyone there is a sort of a prosecution on hand.

Senator KING. No, no; there is no necessity——

Mr. VON BOSSE. But I am quite willing to accept your explanation.

Senator KING. I just wanted you to understand the matter fully. It had heretofore been explained to you.

Mr. VON BOSSE (reading):

"Mr. Humes appeared as a witness for the prosecution and as such he did his duty. But an analysis of his testimony shows nothing that in any way bears out the charge of disloyalty against the National Alliance or its membership.

"He had the books and papers of the Allegheny Branch of the State Alliance of Pennsylvania; these had been voluntarily turned

over to him. He went through them with a microscope. He found that they had opposed prohibition and the Democratic party.

"That prior to our war they had been pro-German in their sympathy, but he had to admit *that since the war they had done nothing which could reflect upon their loyalty.*

"And the books and proceedings of every branch in the United States will show as clean a record.

"If the Alliance's members have not been as demonstrative in their show of loyalty to the United States as was perhaps expected, it has been out of a feeling of dignified self respect that refused to stultify itself by loud external professions of a hurrah patriotism. In the *lodge* they have quietly and effectively fixed their position to be one of fidelity to the United States and absolute acceptance of the decision of President Wilson and Congress. And this is the whole truth.

"HEXAMER'S MUCH QUOTED SPEECH.

"Much has been said of Dr. Hexamer's Milwaukee speech. I have had a translation prepared of this speech with all it included on 'Kultur' etc."

I will file it, unless you wish to hear it.

Mr. SCHOLTZ. I think that ought to be read for the benefit of the committee, because there has been a great deal of misconception on that very point.

Senator KING. Yes. Just a moment; let me look at this [indicating galley proof sheets]. What is the Germania Herold?

Mr. VON BOSSE. It is a newspaper in Milwaukee—a daily. I think it has 13 numbers a week, if I am not mistaken.

Senator KING. Is that published in the German language?

Mr. VON BOSSE. Yes.

Senator KING. And was the speech as it appeared in the Official Bulletin for December, 1915, on page 3, the same as that which appeared in the Germania Herold?

Mr. VON BOSSE. So it says in the Bulletin.

Senator KING. All right; you may proceed.

Mr. VON BOSSE. This is the speech [reading from translation]:

We are confronted by a great and bitter struggle, a struggle that can only be successfully met if we are a unit—"a united brotherhood"!

Senator KING. I find, in the beginning, these words [reading from copy of hearing]:

After a few introductory words in which Dr. C. J. Hexamer expressed his thanks for the reception which he had received from the local Germanism in beautiful Milwaukee, he, the President of the National German-American Alliance, addressed the banqueters who were assembled in his honor last evening again most important words, which contained a repeated battle cry to our Germanism.

Mr. VON BOSSE. Yes; that is where I am.

Senator KING (reading):

MY DEAR FRIENDS: We have before us a bitter struggle.

Mr. VON BOSSE. I have:

We are confronted by a great and bitter struggle—

My reading is a trifle different. [Continuing reading:]

a struggle that can only be successfully met if we are a unit—"a united brotherhood"! The time of petty differences in our associations and organizations

must cease. All that makes for discord must be set aside and every man of us must wholeheartedly enter the battle for our ideals. He who (at this time) discards his Germanic characteristics as he would an old glove is not worthy to be spat upon!

Senator WOLCOTT. This translation [reading from transcript] uses the word "Germanism". You substitute for that the words "Germanic characteristics".

Mr. VON BOSSE. "Germanic characteristics".

Senator KING. What is the word in the original?

Mr. VON BOSSE (examining German original). The original is "Deutschtum"; but, as I stated before, "Deutschtum" means with us something entirely different from it is often taken to be. It means nothing but Germanic characteristics, as I stated before—the love for German customs.

Senator KING. Just one moment. "Deutschtum," as it is used by the Emperor of Germany and by the political writers as well as the scientific men and by the Pan Germanic League, has an entirely different meaning, has it not, from that which you ascribe to it?

Mr. VON BOSSE. Yes; absolutely.

Senator KING. And the German dictionary gives as a definition of "Deutschtum," does it not, "German nationality or patriotism"?

Mr. VON BOSSE. Well, that is meant for Germany, of course; but the "Deutschtum," as we use it and as I have grown up to know it and have found it in all that I have been in contact with in America, has meant nothing further but, plainly, the continuation of our German customs; and I will be frank to admit that to a certain extent—not wholly, but to a certain extent—it has meant the free and easy life of German social circles; and that is the Germanic characteristics that the Doctor here means are what we consider true, in German love for fidelity and love for truth, that he ascribes really to the members of his race. [Continuing to read:]

Such a fellow is a deserter—a French phrase, which can be bettered by applying to such the language of the great Blücher, who said: "Such a fellow is a common cur!"

Long have we stood the preachment, "You Germans must assimilate and lose your identity in the mass of the American people!" Yet we will never be ready to adopt an inferior culture; on the contrary, it is our aim to raise the others to our height.

In this country we have witnessed many historic epochs, epochs that I might liken to the days of the week.

First there was the Spanish day, which really was no day, but a night of dread darksomeness lit up at times only by the fire of the auto-da-fé; then came the French day, a day full of manly battles and of enthusiastic activity, yet this activity was fitful, as if engendered by champagne, and its consequences were as of the day after much drinking; then followed the day of hard labor, a day that arose gray out of the somber mist and colored all things gray; it taught us much and it cost us much, very much; this gray day was the English day. And then came the day when the birds sang gaily and the blue heaven laughed, when labor, paired with joy, in happy stimulation entered—this was the German day!

What are the great factors we are ready to transmit to our people and which Germanism cherishes, honors, and guards as a precious jewel?

Senator WOLCOTT. What is the word in the original there for in my translation. [Continuing reading:]

Mr. VON BOSSE. I will look at it [examining original in German].

Senator KING. And please, while you are looking, see if there was a heading, "The great German ideals."

Mr. VON BOSSE. If there was a heading?

Senator KING. Yes; the heading appears here after the words "German day."

Mr. VON BOSSE. Oh, yes; it is here. I did not see it.

Senator KING. You omitted that in your translation?

Mr. VON BOSSE. Yes; I did not do it purposely.

Senator KING. That heading is "The great German ideals."

Mr. VON BOSSE. I left out all the headings and just used the translation of the words of the speech. As I say, I had this translation prepared.

Now, you wish to know what word is used here for "Germanism"?

Senator WOLCOTT. Yes; what is the word which you have translated as "Germanism"?

Mr. VON BOSSE. The word is "Deutschtum."

Senator WOLCOTT. Why do you not in this connection again translate "Deutschtum" as "German characteristics"?

Mr. VON BOSSE. "German characteristics" was translated before from "Deutschtum."

Senator WOLCOTT. Yes.

Mr. VON BOSSE. Because it means something different in this connection from what it means in the other connection. In this connection it means the characteristics that I pointed out, the love for fidelity and truth, while here "Germanism" means the thing as a whole—the German people as a whole; what they have brought to this country.

Senator WOLCOTT. Your translation is a combination of a translation and an interpretation, then?

Mr. VON BOSSE. All translations are interpretations and must be if they are to be correct.

Senator WOLCOTT. That is true to a certain extent.

Mr. VON BOSSE. You will find that "Deutschtum" is used differently, according to the connection and the occasion on which it is presented.

Senator WOLCOTT. I just wanted to see why you translated it differently in those two connections.

Mr. VON BOSSE. Yes.

Now, Senator, I left those headings out. I have not those headings in my translation. [Continuing reading:]

First of all there is that noble being—the German housewife, the German mother! Without her there would be no German conscience (Gemüt). Happy he who had a German mother and passed his childhood in a German home. What depth of conscience (Gemütstiefe), what innate love a German home doth harbor! How holy to the German is his family! There (in the home) is to be found the stern but just father, who, protecting all, raises his sons to be worthy men. There is the dear old grandmother, whose interceding oft saved the bad boys a drubbing! There the good loving mother, who carefully implanted the seed of the good and noble in the soul of the child and who sympathetically nurtured and watched over the growth of mind and spirit and body even to the end of her days. Such is the German family—that holy stead where love and reveration blend, and the father is not callously called the "old man" and the mother "old woman." German children look up to their parents with respect and hearty love and view them as examples fit to pattern by.

And what glorious feast days the German family enjoys. Christmas, with its tree and bright lights that radiate into the hearts of all, or a merry birthday celebration. Aye, such a home may lack money, but every one is concerned

to do some little thing that will make the other happy. The mother has stinted herself to give to her favorite; the father has deprived himself to provide a surprise; even little Wilhelmina has privily knitted a pair of slippers, truly of a garish color, but what matters it, for it was not with wool but with her heart that they were worked.

Such love is not to be found in the house of riches; not Rockefeller nor Morgan and their like can show it.

Furthermore, the German's joy of life is one of the great factors of German success. Look upon our brethren in the trenches, surrounded as they are by horror and misery, yet they are cheery, sing their German songs, and with sportive phrase upon their lips bare breast to the foe. Such a people can not be destroyed. It must conquer and overcome!

As our brethren battle over there, so must we wage war here against the enemy of Germanism.

Senator WOLCOTT. Is the word in the original there the same word "Deutschtum" which you now translate as "Germanism"?

Mr. VON BOSSE. I will look it up. [After examining original in German.] Yes, sir; it is "Deutschtum," with the meaning I ascribe to it.

Senator KING. Do you not think that the word "Deutschtum" there conveys an entirely different meaning from what you have ascribed it?

Mr. VON BOSSE. No, sir. [Continuing reading:]

We rise above the spirit of Puritanism (Muckerthum) with its mournful mien and ever seeking of the mote in the neighbor's eye the while overlooking the beam in its own. It is our duty to endow the American people with that depth of spiritual feeling which seeks and sees the good, the beautiful, and the truly real. For it is that patient penetration of our inmost souls as also the seeking of the true nature of our surroundings that gives us depth of consciousness and makes us strong of character.

We German Americans, though viciously assailed, are confronted by a great task. It is our duty to stand firm, even as our forebears did when the Tories contemptuously called them a "dirty mob," those selfsame Tories who so denounced and insulted Washington as to cause the father of our country bitterly to exclaim, "That he would he were in his grave rather than President of such States." Do you remember how the press viciously assailed and flung mud at the noblest man of our country—Abraham Lincoln?

Senator KING. Is the word "English" in there before the word "press"?

Mr. VON BOSSE. I do not see the word "English" here. I said "the press."

Senator KING. I say, is the word "English" there? It is in this translation [indicating galley-proof sheets of first day's hearing].

Mr. VON BOSSE (after examining original in the Bulletin). It should be in here; it is in the original. It is not in this translation; it has been left out. It should read "English press". It has been left out of this translation, I say; it was not done purposely. I had this translation prepared, as I did not have the time to do it myself.

Senator WOLCOTT. It is not your translation?

Mr. VON BOSSE. It is not my translation. [Continuing reading:]

Do you remember how the English press viciously assailed and flung mud at the noblest man of our country—Abraham Lincoln? Remember this and let it hearten you, as sure as the sun arises on to-morrow's morn so surely will future history praise the conduct of the Germans in seeking to keep this land free from the clutches of English tyranny.

Senator WOLCOTT. Now, wait a moment, Dr. von Bosse. If this translation here in the galley proof is correct, there has been something else omitted by your translator.

Mr. VON BOSSE. What is that?

Senator WOLCOTT. Start that sentence again about how the English press has thrown mud at the noblest man of this land.

Mr. VON BOSSE. This translation reads:

Do you remember how the English press viciously assailed and flung mud at the noblest man of our country—Abraham Lincoln?

Senator WOLCOTT. Is that the end of the sentence?

Mr. VON BOSSE. No; well [examining original], the literal translation would be:

And then be proud that you are also being attacked by such spirits.

The translator has put in for me here:

Remember this and let it hearten you.

That is his interpretation of it.

Senator WOLCOTT. That is a very liberal translation.

Mr. VON BOSSE. If you want me to, I will add, "And then be proud of the fact that you are in like manner being assailed"— or "attacked"—"by similar spirits." Is that what you have there?

Senator WOLCOTT. Yes; that is right.

Mr. VON BOSSE. I will be thankful to you if you will mention to me any discrepancies.

Senator WOLCOTT. Yes; that is why I have this translation by Mr. Ohlinger before me.

Senator KING. Mr. Ohlinger's translation, then, is a little better than your translation?

Mr. VON BOSSE. Possibly it is better.

Senator KING. A little truer to the German text.

Mr. VON BOSSE. That is the objection that I have, Senator, that Mr. Ohlinger's translations were too literal, just as this one.

Senator KING. You have in your translation, "Remember this and let it hearten you"?

Mr. VON BOSSE. Yes. "Remember this and let it hearten you." [Continuing reading:]

No people are so modest and no people so ready to recognize the good in others and adopt it as the Germans; this has been the source of their progress. But we will not permit our civilization of 2,000 years to be trampled upon in this land.

Senator KING. Is not the word "kultur" used there in the original? Does it not read, "but we will not permit that our kultur", etc.?

Mr. VON BOSSE (examining original). The words are "Deutsche kultur"; yes, sir. "Kultur," as I explained before, does not mean any more to us than a continuation of the study of German art, literature, and——

Senator KING. But the original in German uses the words "Deutsche kultur"?

Mr. VON BOSSE. It uses "Deutsche kultur".

Senator KING. And instead of "Deutsche kultur" your translation uses the word "civilization".

Mr. VON BOSSE. I can put in "kultur", but the word "civilization" bears out better the meaning.

Senator KING. No; I want you to put it just as you want it.

Mr. VON BOSSE. I will leave it "civilization", then.

Senator KING. All right; proceed.

Mr. VON BOSSE (continuing reading):

Many have been born here and many have impressed their German culture upon the land of their children——

Senator WOLCOTT. Now, is that the language that the translator used, or did he use the word "civilization"?

Mr. VON BOSSE. He used the word "culture". I will put in there the word "civilization".

Senator WOLCOTT. You make it just as you want to.

Mr. VON BOSSE. I will make it "civilization" by preference myself. [Reading:]

Many have been born here and many have impressed their German civilization upon the land of their children, but it is only possible through united action to overcome the gloomy spirit of Puritanism and prohibition—even as Siegfried overcame the dragon. Let us stand up for our good rights and work together! Every organization is just as strong as its weakest link in the chain.

Senator KING. Is that "organization" or "alliance"? Does it not refer to the Alliance?

Mr. VON BOSSE. No; the word is "Vereinigung". It is "Jede Vereinigung"; that is, "every organization". [Continuing reading:]

Who would be weak? Be strong! Strong be overyone who battles for Germanic culture;

I will change that to "civilization", I did before.

Senator KING. But the text of the original is——

Mr. VON BOSSE. It is "Deutsche Kultur". [Continuing reading:]

strong be he and German! Remember, you German pioneers, that we have to give to our people here the best that exists on earth—Germanic civilization——

Senator WOLCOTT. Does the original in German show "Kultur"?

Mr. VON BOSSE. The words used in the original are "Germanische Kultur". [Continuing reading:]

and for that, my friends, fortune be with you!

Senator KING. Are not the words in the original of this import:

Who will be weak! Be strong!! Let everyone be strong who steps forward and battles for German kultur! Let him be strong and German!

Mr. VON BOSSE (translating from the German):

Who would be weak! Be strong! Strong be everyone who battles for Germanic civilization; strong be he and German!

Yes; I read that.

Senator KING. Yes.

Mr. VON BOSSE. That means no more, as I would use it, and I am positive in my declaration that Dr. Hexamer used it, knowing him as I do as an American, "Let him be strong and German," than to live up to the things that we understood by "Deutschtum". Now, that is the translation of that. [Continuing reading from prepared statement:]

"If the Doctor is somewhat fulsome in his praise of the German characteristics remember that he was speaking to a German audience and at the banquet board."

Mr. SCHOLTZ. If you will permit me, Mr. Chairman, at this moment to say a word. I have here Muret-Sanders' dictionary, the same dictionary that Mr. Ohlinger used the other day when he gave

you his interpretation of "Deutschtum." I find here on page 473 of the first volume, under the word "Deutschtum," the following definition: "German nationality." It says to see also the ninth definition under "deutsch," and there "Deutschtum" is given as meaning "distinctive character of the German nation (language * * *)" and the like. There is a reference there to "Kultur," which, as it begins with "k" in German, is in the second volume, which is not here as yet.

Senator WOLCOTT. You say, "and the like."

Mr. SCHOLTZ. Yes; I am using my own language there, as I would say "and so forth". It says: "distinctive character of the German nation (language, &c.)". So that indicates generally that they refer to a range of subjects covering that which is German, not the nationality alone. This is the first volume, which runs through the letter "j" only. I have sent for the second volume.

Mr. VON BOSSE (reading):

"GERMAN AMERICANISM.

"On page 21 of the testimony the witness states that the Alliance was engaged in this country to incite people against other nations and was engaged in a propaganda hostile to Great Britain and France prior to the outbreak of the war.

"In support of this he cites as evidence his testimony on page 16 which not only was subsequent to the war, but, as has been shown, did not represent the official views of the Alliance, and further an intelligent reading will show that it does not inculcate enmity to the Anglo-Saxon race but it simply infers an opposition to the boasting that this in an Anglo-Saxon country."

Senator WOLCOTT. Pardon me, your phrase "prior to the outbreak of the war" is a little ambiguous. What do you mean; prior to the beginning of the European war or our war with Germany?

Mr. VON BOSSE. The language is "and was engaged in a propaganda hostile to Great Britain and France prior to the outbreak of the war." As I recollect, it means the entrance of ourselves into the war. Most of our references mean that, Senator. We make a difference between things that were done before we entered the war and things that were done since we entered the war, meaning by "we" the United States.

Senator WOLCOTT. Of course, you agree that a great many of the members of the German-American Alliance, including yourself, engaged in just such propaganda as Mr. Ohlinger contends?

Mr. VON BOSSE. As individuals; yes. What I mean to do is protect the Alliance as a body.

Senator WOLCOTT. I see.

Mr. VON BOSSE (continuing):

"Throughout his testimony the witness Ohlinger viciously charges the Alliance with:

"Lack of Americanism (without particularly defining what this means).

"Fostering German Americanism *i. e.*, as we understand it—the maintenance of the virtues of German civilization (Kultur) as expressed in knowledge, science, invention, philosophy and art; the preservation of German characteristics, such as honesty, conscien-

tiousness, straightforwardness, the exercise of thrift; purity of life. and a joy of living that finds expression in intelligent and harmless diversion. To all this we plead guilty.

"If to draw a distinction between what those of our blood have done for the preservation and upbuilding of the United States as a nation, so that the same may not submerged in the general phase 'American' which word the Anglo-Saxon element have preempted for themselves; and to demand credit therefor in the records of history for ourselves, be fostering German-Americanism then we again plead guilty.

"If, to call upon our membership as speedily as possible to acquire the rights of citizenship and to take an active part in the life of the community by expressing their will at the polling place, be fostering German-Americanism, then we are constrained to plead guilty.

"If, to teach them to regard men and issues above party ties and to vote according to their best understanding, be fostering German-Americanism, then we are guilty.

"How this fostering of German-Americanism works out in practice may be exemplified by a recent and near by instance. At the last municipal election in Baltimore City of the two candidates for mayor, one was a German-American, a member of the local branch by reason of his membership in several of the local societies; a man popular and having a host of friends, and whose candidacy was expected to gather in the so-called 'German American vote'; the other was a man up for a second term, whose record had been clean and progressive, hence, upon merit alone, the local branch declared in his favor and its officers—who, by the way had opposed his first election because of his reputation as a partisan and spoilsman, in some cases took the stump in his favor. He was elected. Your members in Congress from Baltimore may be cited as witnesses to the truth hereof.

"If, to have men debate the pros and cons of an election issue before their body so that its members may understand the matters to be voted upon, be fostering German-Americanism then in this, as in a thousand such other instances, the German-American Alliance is guilty.

"That we do all these things the witness Ohlinger would not admit. Though the records show it and an intelligent and sympathetic investigation must prove it.

"We will not say that the witness was biased nor that he was prejudiced, but we do say that his charges so far as they ascribe to the Alliance or its membership any conduct inimical to the best interests of our land or its people—are false.

"When he says that we take pride and seek to make a great and imposing demonstration at the unveiling of monuments such as that of Steuben. Herchheimer, Mühlenberg, and other like occasions, he speaks the truth. Are not such occasions worthy of our interest: what would he have us do? President Taft attended, why should not we? Will the gentleman kindly prescribe a formula of action for us! It would no doubt be curious to note his recipe of conduct for German-Americans!

"There are so many accusations and insinuations buttressed up by his opinions and arguments, chiefly based upon excerpts from speeches and proceedings, torn from their context and so liable to any misin-

terpretation that he chooses to put upon them, that it were impossible to answer them all. As it is, if you gentlemen really want the truth, as I believe you do, and we are not to be condemned because of the political activity of the men who attended the Chicago conference, then get some one, unbiased and fairly conversant with the German language to go over the records of the Alliance and as a master in chancery would, render his opinion on his findings. So without going further in particulars to answer this witness we will say: That the Alliance had no official connection with the Chicago Conference; that in so far as its members attended or its constituent bodies participated, it was as individuals and in their own right as citizens of the United States.

"That as to the embargo movement the Alliance believed it to be good and proper and in the best interests of this country, and its officers and members did participate.

"That the Alliance did all in its power to preserve the peace between the Nations is admitted.

"That the Alliance opposed the Anglo-French loans is also admitted."

Senator WOLCOTT. Is it admitted that the Alliance opposed the German loan?

Mr. VON BOSSE. I can not admit that at present without looking up the records especially.

Senator WOLCOTT. You do not believe they did, do you, Dr. von Bosse? You recall Germany borrowed money here?

Mr. VON BOSSE. Yes; I remember that bonds were sold here.

Senator WOLCOTT. The first loan, as I recall, was made to the German government. Did the Alliance oppose that as an unneutral act?

Mr. VON BOSSE. If I am not mistaken, the Alliance opposed all loans.

Senator STERLING. How did the Alliance oppose all loans? Did you have any meeting of the Alliance in which the proposition was discussed or brought up at all?

Mr. VON BOSSE. The Alliance opposed the loans through official communications.

Senator WOLCOTT. You are not referring to the German loan, though, are you?

Mr. VON BOSSE. No; I am talking of the Anglo-French loan; but I would not state that the Alliance did not oppose the German loan, because, if I remember correctly, it opposed all loans. This is somewhat clearly in my mind because at that time I was more interested in that.

Senator KING. And do you not recall that in a large number of German communities in this country and in German newspapers there were advertisements in favor of the German loan and the German-Americans were urged to subscribe to the German loan?

Mr. VON BOSSE. Those were undoubtedly published by banks, and so forth, that handled the loan.

Senator WOLCOTT. You do not want to go on record here, do you, as saying that the German-American Alliance was opposed to the German loan?

Mr. SCHOLTZ. May I interject, just there——

Senator KING. You may in a moment.

Mr. SCHOLTZ. I just want to suggest that I think that the German loan was after the Anglo-French loan.

Senator WOLCOTT. I think you are mistaken; but there is the more reason, then, why the German Alliance should have opposed it, having opposed the French and English loan.

Mr. VON BOSSE. I will say this: I am perfectly honest in stating that I do not recollect whether the Alliance opposed it or not; but I am going to say this, that I am certain, so far as I know, that the Alliance never advocated the purchase of any German bonds.

Senator WOLCOTT. It is not a question of advocacy; it is a question of opposition.

Senator STERLING. Anybody would infer from your statement made a little while ago that the Alliance was opposed to all loans, including the German.

Mr. VON BOSSE. I say that, if my recollection serves me correctly, I believe the Alliance opposed all loans; but I am not certain.

Senator WOLCOTT. I wish you would make certain of that; and if you can find that the National German-American Alliance, or any, even the most remote and obscure, club or society, placed itself on record as opposed to the German loan, let us have that information.

Mr. VON BOSSE. You mean picking out the German by name or all loans?

Senator WOLCOTT. The German by name, as you say they opposed the Anglo-French loan by name.

Mr. VON BOSSE. All right; if I find it I will let you have it immediately.

Senator WOLCOTT. I think you will have to search long for it, sir.

Mr. VON BOSSE. I was not at the San Francisco convention, but it has seemed to me as though there was some decision of some kind opposing all loans; but I am not positive.

Senator WOLCOTT. That may have been; when it was discovered that the Germans could not get any money out of this country they may very well have opposed all loans.

Mr. VON BOSSE. I do not know what they got here. I know I did not buy any.

Senator WOLCOTT. What I mean is, if there came a time when the German-American Alliance went on record as opposed to all foreign loans it would not necessarily be of any significance as proving anything, because let us assume that there was this situation, that the Germans had negotiated a loan here and could not negotiate any more, and in the meantime our money market was open freely to the English and the French; then for them to adopt such a resolution as that would, of course, in substance amount simply to opposing the Anglo-French loan, because there could not be any more German loans under that situation.

Mr. VON BOSSE. May I ask you a question, Senator?

Senator WOLCOTT. Certainly.

Mr. VON BOSSE. Did President Wilson oppose the German loan?

Senator WOLCOTT. He did not, so far as I know.

Mr. VON BOSSE. Did he not oppose the Anglo-French loan at one time?

Senator WOLCOTT. I do not recollect that he did.

Mr. VON BOSSE. I am pretty sure he did. I can not give you the exact words.

Senator WOLCOTT. I do not recall it.

Senator KING. No; there you are wrong. I think at one time there was some question about the wisdom of the Federal reserve banks taking on too many foreign loans, because of the fact that their assets must be liquid, and liquidity, with too many foreign bonds, might be jeopardized, and for that reason, I think, there was some suggestion, maybe from the President.

Mr. VON BOSSE. I see. Then I misunderstood.

Senator KING. And I think it was from the Federal Reserve Board; but on that I am not quite clear.

Senator WOLCOTT. Are you through on that, Senator?

Senator KING. Yes.

Senator WOLCOTT. I was going to ask Mr. von Bosse another question. I want to put it to him so that he may not admit more than he wants to. I wondered, Mr. von Bosse, if you had admitted really more than you intended to. You admit that the National German-American Alliance opposed the French loan?

Mr. VON BOSSE. I do.

Senator WOLCOTT. All right, then.

Senator KING. Is it not a fact that many of the State and local alliances sent letters to various banks, insurance companies, and trust companies inquiring of them whether any of their funds were invested in foreign bonds—that is, Anglo-French or Russian bonds?

Mr. VON BOSSE. I do not know, Senator. I know that individuals did so by letters that I saw published in magazines, but I do not know of my own knowledge.

Senator KING. Did not the alliances also warn insurance companies that, if such was the case, their members—that is, the members of the alliance—would be unable to take any further policies in those insurance companies?

Mr. VON BOSSE. I do not know.

Senator KING. And did they not state that there were 2,000,000 or more of members of the National German-American Alliance who entertained this view and that they would organize independent insurance companies if loans were made to the allies?

Mr. VON BOSSE. I do not know; and it sounds perfectly ridiculous to me for any branch to have ever tried anything like that, if they did. I never heard of it before.

Senator KING. Did not the Minnesota Alliance advise its members to deposit their money only with such banks as gave positive assurance that none of their funds were invested in securities of the allied powers?

Mr. VON BOSSE. I do not know.

Senator KING. Did you not state a moment ago that the Alliance did oppose the Anglo-French loan?

Mr. VON BOSSE. The Alliance as such did, with all its officers. We do not know what all the branches do. But I think I am almost through, and I will come to the State branches, as I promised to before.

Senator KING. The Fatherland was, as I recall, a paper that was indorsed by the Alliance, and this history here, as well as others, was indorsed by your committee on publication or on propaganda, and the members of the Alliance were recommended to purchase the books to which I have referred—that is, I have mentioned only two, but there were some others, the names of which I do not recall.

Mr. VON BOSSE. This propaganda or publicity committee I never heard of until I heard of it in the testimony. That is how wonderfully active it was. They may have suggested it. I do not know that the Alliance itself, however, ever recommended any publication. I do not think it did.

Senator KING. You do not mean to assert that there was no such committee provided for in your organization?

Mr. VON BOSSE. I say I never heard of it until I read of it in the testimony here. I never heard of it before.

Senator KING. Have you read of your organization and the history of your organization so that you are able to testify as to whether or not such a committee existed?

Mr. VON BOSSE. Pretty thoroughly. That is why I was surprised to hear of this committee. I knew of a committee called the committee of ways and means, and I knew of a committee, I think, called the committee for the defensive, or to that effect.

Senator WOLCOTT. Do you assert now that there was no propaganda committee?

Mr. VON BOSSE. No; I do not assert that.

Senator WOLCOTT. You just do not know?

Mr. VON BOSSE. I did not know of it before; yes. That is how tight asleep that committee was.

Senator KING. Probably it is because you did not actively participate in the meetings of the National German-American Alliance?

Mr. VON BOSSE. I was very much interested in the Alliance as long as I can remember.

Senator KING. You took part in its conventions?

Mr. VON BOSSE. No; I did not take part in its conventions.

Senator KING. Were you a member of the State organization?

Mr. VON BOSSE. I was a member of the State organization since I lived there.

Senator KING. What position did you hold there?

Mr. VON BOSSE. At the end I was president, I think, for three or four months. I was secretary before that for possibly six or eight months—something like that.

Senator WOLCOTT. Incidentally, may I ask a question there before it gets off my mind?

Senator KING. Certainly.

Senator WOLCOTT. As secretary of the Delaware organization, did you write the German-American news in that column in the Wilmington Sunday Star?

Mr. VON BOSSE. As secretary of it?

Senator WOLCOTT. Yes.

Mr. VON BOSSE. No, sir.

Senator WOLCOTT. Well, as a contributor did you write it?

Mr. VON BOSSE. I am paid by the Star, as an employee or a reporter, to write that material, and I did that before I was secretary.

Senator WOLCOTT. What appears in there is from your pen?

Mr. VON BOSSE. What appears in the German-American column is from my pen, as a rule. There are others who contribute articles to it sometimes that I do not see, but I am held responsible, I believe, for what goes in there.

Senator WOLCOTT. I merely wanted to get the information, because before you get through I want to ask you about one or two little things that appeared in that column.

Senator KING. Just one further question: What position did you hold in any of the alliances before you were identified with the Delaware organization?

Mr. VON BOSSE. That was the first branch I belonged to.

Senator KING. And when did you join that branch?

Mr. VON BOSSE. In 1913.

Senator KING. And what position did you hold in the National Alliance until you became president or before you became president?

Mr. VON BOSSE. None.

Senator KING. By virtue of being president of the Delaware Alliance, did that give you ex officio any position in the National Alliance?

Mr. VON BOSSE. Yes; as president of the alliance it would entitle me to the so-called conference of presidents; but otherwise it did not give me any higher position.

Senator KING. The presidents of the State alliances were not ex officio members of the executive committee or of any committee of the National Alliance?

Mr. VON BOSSE. Not according to our constitution.

Senator STERLING. May I ask, was there a provision in your constitution for this conference of the presidents of the various alliances? Does your constitution provide for it?

Mr. VON BOSSE. Yes; I believe there was a provision made that in the years in which there was no national convention the executive committee should meet and the presidents of the State branches also; although I know at the last meeting we held in Chicago, the executive committee meeting, the question was brought up that the State branch presidents had no votes in the executive session, that those men were the vice-presidents, the committee members, and one so-called "beisitzer" from each State, the executive officer elected for that purpose.

Senator STERLING. But aside from the executive committee a provision was made for a conference of presidents of the alliances?

Mr. VON BOSSE. Yes; there was a provision made for it.

Senator KING. You stated a moment ago that the Alliance opposed the Anglo-French loans. In what way did they manifest that opposition; sending out word to the local organizations?

Mr. VON BOSSE. Through the Bulletin.

Senator KING. They published an address, did they not, or something of that nature?

Mr. VON BOSSE. Published opposition to it.

Senator KING. And they had the authority to do that—the executive committee—I suppose, from the president?

Mr. VON BOSSE. They had that authority; yes. The executive committee can speak for the Alliance.

Senator KING. And did you follow it up to determine what the State alliances did pursuant to the action of the National Alliance?

Mr. VON BOSSE. No, sir. You mean I personally?

Senator KING. Yes.

Mr. VON BOSSE. No, sir.

Senator KING. What did you do as president of the Delaware Alliance?

Mr. VON BOSSE. I was not president at that time, Senator. I was president only shortly before I was elected national president.

Senator KING. What did you do as secretary of the Delaware Alliance.

Mr. VON BOSSE. I was not even secretary at that time. But I can speak for the Delaware branch that the Delaware Alliance, to the best of my information, did nothing in that matter.

Senator KING. Did they not put out a propaganda at all?

Mr. VON BOSSE. No; we never put out any propaganda, because we had no money for it.

Senator KING. Did they not put out a propaganda at all?

Mr. VON BOSSE. No; we never put out any propaganda, because we had no money for it.

Senator WOLCOTT. You individually, though, wrote, as correspondent of the newspaper, against that loan?

Mr. VON BOSSE. Yes; I probably did.

Senator WOLCOTT. I think you made one point in connection with it, at one time, when $250,000,000 was sought to be borrowed by the allied governments, Great Britain and France, that they predicted, heralded, a great big drive so as to make people in this country think that the loan was all right and subscribe, which you ridiculed.

Mr. VON BOSSE. It may be.

Senator KING. Do you recall that the Fatherland was one of the papers which was recommended by your organization, the national organization?

Mr. VON BOSSE. I could not answer that in that way. I have no doubt that a number of these publications were recommended for reading and subscription, but I am not certain of it.

Senator KING. Do you recall that the Fatherland attempted to obtain the names of the New York depositors in banks and in insurance companies and trust companies?

Mr. VON BOSSE. Do I recall that?

Senator KING. Yes; and reference was made to it in the Bulletin.

Mr. VON BOSSE. No; I do not recall that.

Senator KING. And that an effort was made to organize them, under a committee of 100, to serve notice on the banks that deposits would be withdrawn if investments were made that were disapproved by this committee representing the German-Americans who were depositors in the banks, trust companies, and insurance companies?

Mr. VON BOSSE. I do not recall that.

Senator KING. Is it not a fact that the Alliance recommended the German war loan to its members as an investment and that the Fatherland carried pages of advertising urging the German-Americans, as a patriotic duty, to buy the securities of the central powers?

Mr. VON BOSSE. The Fatherland may have done that. I do not know about the Alliance. I do not think so. That is what you asked, is it not?

Senator KING. Yes.

Mr. VON BOSSE. Whether the alliance did that?

Senator KING. Yes.

Mr. VON BOSSE. I do not recollect anything of that kind.

Senator KING. You would not say?

Mr. VON BOSSE. No, sir.

Senator KING. Proceed.

Mr. VON BOSSE (reading):

"That the Alliance sympathized with Germany in its defense against her foes was neither unnatural nor wrong at the time.

"That the Alliance has done aught since the declaration of war by Congress that might in any wise be construed as disloyal we must positively deny.

"We have been accused of favoring German culture or civilization (Kultur) as if this were a heinous crime."

Mr. SCHOLTZ. Mr. Chairman, you asked for a definition of "Kultur". I have here Part II of the second half of the Muret-Sanders Dictionary of German and English, and I find here the word "Kultur" given, first, the meaning of "cultivation," second, "culture, civilization," and, as applied to history, "kultur-geschichte". And we have it here as "problem of civilization," "historical picture of civilization," "period of civilization," etc. There is an interchangeable significance of "culture" and "civilization" throughout. That is the dictionary that Mr. Ohlinger referred to and used when he was here.

Excuse me for interrupting you, Mr. von Bosse.

Mr. VON BOSSE (reading):

"If so it has been only recently discovered and the amazing part of it all is that so learned a man as President Eliot should have praised it as being worthy of imitation. So if he could be deceived why should we be culpable?"

I have here what President Charles W. Eliot had to say on German kultur in 1913. This is head "The Debt of America to Germany," and I shall file that, with your consent.

(The matter referred to is here printed in the record in full, as follows:)

THE DEBT OF AMERICA TO GERMANY.

The educational obligations of America to Germany are indeed wide and deep. They relate to literature, science, art, education, and religion. The German gifts were first communicated through a few young pioneers from America, who, after having received a partial education here, went over to Germany to study more deeply and intensively. The universities to which these young American students resorted in the early part of the nineteenth century were in part reconstructions on old foundations; but how rich they were, how free, and how strong! The American pioneers brought back various knowledges, various skills, and many pregnant doctrines. The variety of knowledge and skill which could be procured at the German universities at that early day was something astounding to these American youths, something indescribably rich and various. With their own personal experiences and gains they brought back, also, to America the structure of the modern German university, then young in Germany and in America not yet conceived of. They had, moreover, absorbed that noble German policy of academic freedom, freedom for the student and the teacher alike. This academic freedom meant emancipation from tradition and prejudice, and from authority, whether governmental or ecclesiastical. They saw, also, how two great doctrines which had sprung from the German Protestant Reformation had been developed by Germans from seed then planted in Germany. The first was the doctrine of universal education, developed from the Protestant conception of individual responsibility; and the second was the great doctrine of civil liberty—liberty in industries, in society, in government—liberty with order under law. These two principles took their rise in Protestant Germany; and America has been the greatest beneficiary of that noble teaching.

The pioneers from New England in the first half of the nineteenth century have been followed by a stream of American youth, going over to enlarge their experiences, to make new observations, to put in practice the inductive method of arriving at the truth, and to learn to think profoundly and accurately in the German universities. That stream has flowed backward all over this country, fertilizing it with German thought and German methods. These thousands of American students have absorbed in Germany that splendid spirit of scientific research now developed in all fields of knowledge on the same method and in the same spirit. Scientific research has been learned through practice in Germany by thousands of American students and teachers. It is impossible to describe or even imagine what an immense intellectual gift this has been from Germany to America. For this perfected spirit and method of research America is more indebted to Germany than to any other nation, because the range of German research has been wider and deeper than has been seen in any other nation.

There is another bond of union between Germany and America. The Teutonic peoples set a higher value on truth in speech, thought, and action than any other peoples. They all love truth; they seek it; they woo it. They respect the man who speaks and acts the truth even to his own injury. The English Bacon said of truth: "It is the sovereign good of human nature." That is what all the Teutonic peoples believe. They want to found their action on facts, not fancy; on truth, the demonstrated truth, not on imagination. I say that here is a fine bond of union, a real likeness of spirit, a community in devotion and worship among the Teutonic peoples. Let us hope that at no distant day this common worship, this common devotion, will result in common beneficent action.

Mr. VON BOSSE (reading):

"The witness Ohlinger has depicted the National German American Alliance as bad, very bad, because of its advocacy of uniting the German Americans for the preservation of the German language and ideas.

"Well and good, he may be right and we be wrong, and because we are so much interested, our word may be subject to some exception, therefore let us summon as a witness one who had the knowledge and whose position justifies you gentlemen in giving fair consideration to his words. For remember he spoke when the world was yet wise and reasonable, and not as now aflame and unreasonable.

"His letter, which we give here, was in response to an invitation to attend a German Day Celebration in Syracuse, N. Y."

This letter I shall also file in connection with this.

(The letter referred to is here printed in the record in full, as follows:)

A. VON LANDSBERG, Esq., *Syracuse.*

DEAR SIR: It is with deep regret that I find it necessary to recall my acceptance of your kindly invitation to the German celebration on the 22d of October. Participation in your rejoicings at that time would be to me not merely a pleasure but a duty, had not an unforeseen occurrence rendered it absolutely necessary for me to remain in Ithaca on the day above named.

The event which you and your associates commemorate is not merely of historical interest; it has deep moral and social significance. That great stream of immigration which began to flow from Germany upon our shores 200 years ago has brought elements to American civilization vast in their importance and widespread in their action.

It is natural at a time like this to recall these elements to mind.

First of them I would name that love and longing for *liberty*, civil and religious, which had ever been one of the most characteristic marks of German immigrants. From that early day those first settlers protested against human slavery, to these latter days when a host of German Americans fought against slavery, this love of liberty has continued to be their marked characteristic.

Next I would name the love and longing for *national unity*. Here German influence upon our country has been just as strongly marked. As the experience of Germans in the old world had taught them to hate despotism and love liberty, so it had taught them to see the folly of dividing a nation into petty sover-

eighties, each jealous of every other, all together incapable of any real national influence upon the world. This German passion for national unity in its highest sense has borne rich fruit within the last 20 years, not only within our own Republic, but in the German fatherland; and I congratulate all who may be present with you at the approaching celebration on the results which this noble passion has produced, both in the old world and in the new.

Still further I name the instinctive distrust of the great majority of the German Americans for political quackery. In the days succeeding our Civil War, when charlatanism of various sorts appeared likely to sweep the country, when certain dreamers and schemers sought to make financial cunning take the place of straightforward financial honesty, sturdy German common sense was found to be arrayed against all such effort, and was of vast benefit in checking such wild theories of financial administration, which could only have ended in our national bankruptcy and dishonor.

But besides these and other *political* benefits received from Germany there have been certain marked *social* benefits. As the first of these I mention the example of steady labor and thrift which has been given by our German fellow citizens, and which is bringing into their hands a full share of the business and wealth of the country.

Next I name that power of relaxing effort, that ability to enjoy life, that *Gemüthlichkeit*, which thinking Americans acknowledge to be one of the wants of American life; and closely connected with this is the German ability to enjoy the pleasures of life without abusing them.

But there is a higher range of social service which the German element has rendered to this country, and in this I name first their devotion to *science*, and to search for truth in science, feeling that, no matter what the timid may fear or say, truth alone in the long run is safe.

And next I name that devotion to *literature and art*, which always appears where Germans congregate, no matter how much the great mass of them may be devoted to the pursuits of material prosperity. In Germany these great fields of the highest human effort have been made not to contribute to mere luxury, not to enable rich voluptuaries to kill time, but they have borne fruit in the every-day life of the people, and the result has been not to weaken national character but to strengthen it. Literature has produced in its more recent bloom such incentives to patriotism as the poems of Arndt and Freiligrath and Die Wacht am Rhein. Art has produced such embodiments of national feeling as the Hermann monument and the great memorial just erected in the Niederwald.

And here allow me, as an American and in the interest of the American Republic, to utter a word of earnest advice to our German fellow citizens. It is the result of long observation on both sides of the Atlantic, and is prompted not merely by feelings of kindness toward Germany, but, above all, by my deep interest in the future of America. We often hear it said that it is the first duty of a German, on arriving in this country, to make himself a thorough American. This is true, but unfortunately there is frequently coupled with this statement another which is not true, and that is that the German should forget his past, should cut himself away from all relations to Germany and German ideas, and bring up his household in entire disregard and forgetfulness of the German fatherland.

It is this mistaken advice which we often hear coupled with the statement that the teaching of the German language should be excluded from our higher schools. Against all this I protest. Of course, first of all, I would say to those who came from other lands and cast in their lot with this Republic, be good Americans; you can not be a citizen to two countries; but, while you make the study of your duties here your first care, do not cease to cherish the literature, the science, and the art of the old country. It is neither in your interest, nor in the interest of your children, nor in the interest of this country that you give up these. Bring up your children, indeed, to be American patriots, to be imbued with the literature of English-speaking nations; but do not cut them off from the influence of the German language, with its treasures of art, science, and literature. Lessing, Goethe, and Schiller are a priceless legacy, and when it is so easy to keep up a knowledge of the German tongue in your families, you have no right to allow this knowledge of the German language, which is the key to so precious a literature and so priceless a body of thought, to die out among your children. When the wealthier class of born Americans are willing to expend great sums in enabling their children to learn the German language, it seems folly that the German born should not take the little pains required to keep their own children trained in this knowledge, which opens up not only the

treasures of a great literature and of every department of human thought, but which does so much to promote healthy commercial and general relations between the greatest nation of the European Continent, on the one side, and the greatest nation of the American Continent on the other.

Feeling that German science, literature, and art in their highest ranges aid to strengthen this Republic in those elements which are most needed to combat the materialistic tendencies of a new country, I trust that the influence of all Germans of all parties and all creeds will be steadily thrown against the exclusion of German instruction from our higher public schools, academies, and colleges. Whatever outlay is required for such instruction is repaid a thousandfold by its promotion of the great commercial interests constantly growing and extending between the two nations, and by its tendency to acquaint thoughtful men in America with that great healthy literature which has done so much to make Germany the reverent and thoughtful leader of European civilization. The German-American who has these two great tongues, the English and the German, has a vast advantage as regards commercial enterprise; and he who can read, on the one hand, the works of Shakespeare and Milton, and on the other, those of Lessing, Goethe, and Schiller, has an advantage not less in his higher intellectual, moral, and religious development.

In closing this letter, allow me to present through you my most hearty congratulations and good wishes to those who are engaging throughout the country in these anniversary exercises, and to renew my thanks for the honor you have done me by your invitation to join you in them.

I remain, very respectfully and truly yours,

ANDREW D. WHITE.

Mr. VON BOSSE (reading):

"That the perpetuation of their 'Deutschtum' has not harmed them in their usefulness as American citizens is brought out strikingly in the 'Reminiscences of Carl Schurz', Volume III, pages 257–262," which I shall also file.

(The matter referred to is here printed in the record in full, as follows:)

It may be proper to here say a word about a prejudice entertained by some well-meaning Americans, that the publication of newspapers, and perhaps even the making of political speeches in this Republic in any other language than the English, is undesirable, if not positively dangerous practice. It is said that it prevents immigrants from learning the language of the country; that it fosters the cultivation of un-American principles, notions, and habits, and that it thus stands in the way of the development of a sound American patriotism in those coming from foreign lands to make their home among us, and to take part in the working of our free institutions. I think I may say without undue assumption that from personal contact and large opportunities of observation, I have as much personal experience of the German-born population of the United States, its character, its aspirations, and its American patriotism, as any person now living; and this experience enables me to affirm that the prejudice against the German-American is groundless. On the contrary, that press does the country a necessary and very important service. In the first place, it fills a real and very urgent want. That want will exist so long as there is a large number of German-born citizens in this Republic. There will always be many among them, especially persons of mature years who arrived on American soil without any knowledge of the English language, who may be able to acquire enough of it to serve them in their daily walk, but not enough of it to understand newspaper articles on political or similar subjects. Such persons must receive the necessary information about current events, questions to be considered, and duties to be performed, from the journals in the language they understand or they will not have it at all. The suppression of the German-American press would, therefore, be equivalent to the cultivation of political ignorance among a large and highly estimable class of citizens.

It is argued that the existence of the German newspaper is apt to render the German immigrant less sensible of the necessity of learning English. This is the case only to a very limited extent. A large majority of the German immigrants of mature age, being farmers or industrial laborers, do not acquire their knowledge of English in this country through regular linguistic instruction, or by reading books or newspapers, but from conversation or attempts at

conversation with their neighbors who do not speak German, and that knowledge will of necessity remain very imperfect. Their acquaintance with the English language will always be, to a limited extent, of course, a speaking acquaintance, but not a reading acquaintance. It is not the existence of German newspapers that will keep them from reading English newspapers, but it is their inability to read English. German immigrants of education will read English newspapers, but many of them will read German newspapers, too, because they find in them things of interest which the English papers do not give them. The young people, as a rule, learn English very quickly and in many instances turn to English journals for their daily reading. On the whole it may be said that the German newspapers rank with the English papers of the same class, according to their environments and their financial resources. Their tone is throughout clean and wholesome. The sensational "yellow" class is almost wholly unknown among them. The charge that the existence of the German-American press promotes the use of the German language in this country and thus impedes the development of a healthy American patriotism among the population concerned, can be entertained only by those who do not know the German-Americans. I speak from a large personal experience when I say that their love of their new home and their devotion to this Republic does not at all depend upon their knowledge of the English language. When not long after my first arrival on American soil I spent some time in the interior of Pennsylvania, I became acquainted there with farmers and inhabitants of little country towns belonging to the class called "Pennsylvania Dutch," who, although their ancestors had come to this country generations ago, did not speak English but conversed only in their Pennsylvania Dutch dialect and read only newspapers published partly in German, partly in "Pennsylvania Dutch." They made upon me the impression of honest, law-abidding, thrifty, cheerful, and eminently good-natured folk, appearing, as to the understanding of public affairs, perhaps a trifle more sluggish than their English-speaking neighbors—which may have been owing to their unfamiliarity with the language of the country—but intelligent and alert in the exercise of local self-government, and brimful of that sort of patriotism which swears by one's country and is ready to fight and die for it. In this respect their ignorance of the English language had not, within my experience, caused them to be inferior to any class of Americans who know only English, and whose patriotism is uncontaminated by the knowledge of any other language.

The same may be said of the inhabitants of German settlements of more recent date who have come with the bona fide intention to make this country their permanent home. Among them German may long remain the language of social and business intercourse; they may be slow in acquiring easy familiarity with the English tongue; but even if they have come here for the mere purpose of bettering their fortunes, they are as a rule not slow in appreciating the benefits conferred upon them by American conditions and in conceiving an attachment to this Republic which before long ripens into genuine devotion. Striking evidence of this was presented by the zeal and promptness with which in all parts of the North by the tens of thousands young men of German birth flocked around the Union flag at the beginning of the Civil War and by the patriotic ardor with which, even in the South, especially in Texas, German-born citizens at the peril, and not seldom the sacrifice of their fortunes and even of their lives, stood by the national cause in defiance of the terrorism which at that period was exercised by the secession fanaticism in that region. I have known German regiments in the Union Army in the ranks of which hardly an English word was heard, and these regiments did not consist of mere adventurers fond of fighting or serving merely for pay, but in the main of German-American citizens eager to serve their adopted country in its hour of need, whether they could read and speak English or not.

I have already mentioned that there are many foreign-born citizens among us whose American patriotism is in one respect finer than that of many a native. This Republic being the land of their choice, they want to be and to remain proud of that choice and to have that pride recognized as just. A man of that class is as sensitive of any reason for casting a slur upon the character of the Republic as a bridegroom would feel and resent a shadow cast upon the fair fame of his bride. More than once I have heard one of my countrymen, when anything discreditable to the American Nation had happened, exclaim with a pathetic accent of sincerest grief: "Ah, what will they think of this in

the old country! I hope they will never hear of it." And such truly patriotic sighs were uttered, and perhaps felt, not in English but in German.

That the existence of the German press tells for the preservation in this country of the German language as a language of social and business intercourse is to a limited extent true. But what harm is there in this? While it is of great use to the older immigrants, it does not keep their children from learning English, even in settlements which are preponderatingly German, for such settlements are no longer isolated as the original German settlements in Pennsylvania were. But it does give the younger generation the advantage of knowing two languages. That kind of American patriotism which takes umbrage at an American citizen's knowledge of a foreign tongue besides the English—a sort of patriotism I have here and there met with—is certainly too narrow-minded, not to say too silly, to be seriously considered. No educated, nay, no sound-minded person, will deny that the knowledge of more than one language tends to widen our mental horizon, to facilitate the acquisition of useful intelligence, and thus to broaden education.

But the preservation of the German language among us has done and is still doing this country a peculiar and very valuable service. It is said of the Englishman that he takes his pleasures and amusements seriously, even gravely. The native American also is somewhat inclined that way. He possesses little of the faculty of finding great enjoyment in small things and of thus making his daily life sunny and cheerful. The German possesses that faculty in a high degree. It manifests itself preeminently in the German love of music and especially in the cultivation of song. It may almost be said that one of the happiest and most amiable features of the German character is the German "Lied."

It constitutes one of the great charms of German social life. Its invasion of American soil, stimulating the love and cultivation of music and thus softening the rigors of American social life by popularizing a harmless and refining enjoyment, has been one of the special blessings the German immigration has brought with it. It seems to me very probable, if not certain, that the blessing of this influence would have been greatly curtailed had the German immigrants upon their arrival upon these shores permitted the German language to disappear from among them, for without the preservation of that language the German glee club and the German musical society would hardly have become soundly rooted in American soil.

Senator KING. Briefly, Carl Schurz refers more particularly, does he not, in those reminiscences, to the Germans who came here after the revolution of 1848 and their descendants?

Mr. VON BOSSE. Yes.

Senator KING. Is it not a fact that there is a marked difference between the Germans and their descendants who fled to this country because of the failure of the revolution of 1848 and its tyrannous bloody overthrow and the Germans, many of them, especially those from Prussia, who have come here since?

Mr. VON BOSSE. You say a marked difference?

Senator KING. Yes.

Mr. VON BOSSE. Between them as a class—do you mean as a class?

Senator KING. Yes; I mean as a class, with reference to their appreciation of Germany and what Germany—or Prussian Germany—stands for. To make myself clear and to be fair to you, Is it not a fact that those who came here after the revolution of 1848, such as Franz Siegel and Carl Schurz and Dr. Jacobi, those splendid men, had an entirely different idea of Germany, and what it means and what it stands for, from the idea of some of the Germans, especially those from Prussia, who have come to this country since the Franco-Prussian War?

Mr. VON BOSSE. Yes; I will agree to that. There has been a marked difference between some that came then and the men that came in 1848.

Senator KING. Carl Schurz and Franz Siegel and men of that character spoke for democracy, did they not, and condemned with the utmost strength and bitterness the tyranny, the autocracy, the Prussian military system, of Germany?

Mr. VON BOSSE. Yes; but I do not cite Carl Schurz in that connection. I cite him to show that the perpetuation of the German language, and so forth, did not mar the patriotism and the loyalty of the Germans of America; and he wrote these reminiscences in later life and undoubtedly overlooked the whole field. I agree to what you say on the other subject. [Continuing reading:]

"HOW GERMAN-AMERICANS FEEL AND ACT.

"An article in volume 5, No. 24, of 'Every Week' shows how under the present conditions Carl Schurz's statements are verified."

This is a very brief article, which I would like also to file, headed "From a German-American." That expresses what the war means to me. I have it marked on this page, and I want that put in the record.

Senator KING. You have it marked?

Mr. VON BOSSE. I have that part indicated here.

Senator KING. It will be received.

(The article referred to is here printed in the record in full, as follows:)

FROM A GERMAN-AMERICAN.

I am a German-American so far as national classification goes, but my religion is internationalism. I am equally proud of both sides of the hyphen,—I can not help it,—but I am prouder of my religion. Some pretend to see an element of disloyalty in the hyphen, but to me it merely indicates my German birth and parentage and my American citizenship. I have no more reason for concealing the former than the latter.

We are at war with Germany now, but that does not keep me from remembering the gentlest of German mothers, through whom I inherited a warm feeling for the fatherland. Every time my loyalty to America struggles to express itself at the expense of the people she loved, I feel as if I were giving her a stab right through the heart. I know how a child must feel whose parents, equally dear to him, are at enmity with each other. When courts decide against the one, does he commit a crime if he still continues to love that one? There is much talk these days of how one *ought* to feel toward the "land of one's adoption." I have learned anew that human feelings can not be made to order, and do not change at the behest of the will.

There has been much talk of Pan-German propaganda, but I must say that I know nothing about it. Not a whisper of its workings has ever reached my ears. It may exist, but *I* don't know where. I heard a high-school teacher say recently that the teaching of German in the public schools was a part of the nefarious system. She may be right, but I can not prove it.

In my school days it was firmly impressed upon me that world-dominion was England's mission, and since my tenth year I have been informed now and then that English would be the universal language. I like English; still, I protest, for I don't want pan-anything. Nature likes variety, so does human nature. There is no nation so excellent that it should presume to fashion the rest of the world after its pattern—no nation so poor but that it has qualities which the world can not afford to lose.

We weep because the Alsatians must learn German, and then heap insults upon the Germans in our midst who do not at once speak English. If we were better linguists, we would know it is impossible to feel "at home" in a language acquired after childhood. People want to speak the language that is natural to them; it is not done in a spirit of defiance. Human beings have a right to be themselves, and their language is a part of themselves. Political freedom is not worth the sacrifice of every other kind of freedom,

and we have no right to enslave a person, mentally and spiritually, because we hand him a ballot.

Some war prophets have declared that unless Germany be crushed she will conquer Europe, then cross the Atlantic and attack the United States and South America. This is a very flattering tribute to Germany's power, and if I could believe it my pride of blood would know no bounds. But I can not believe it, so I am condemned to regard myself as a bit of ordinary humanity. I can not believe it, in spite of the fact that Gerard says the Kaiser told him so. But, in either case, I wouldn't fear: for the German-Americans alone would defend the United States against invasion.

America and Germany—I am a part of both, and no amount of talk or no set of laws can change that. To love both is a vital part of me, and of several millions like me. We can not help it. We German-Americans—during these three years we have often felt like "the man without a country." Yet I can not help thinking that enough of German blood and toil, of German hope and aspiration, have gone into the development of this country as might earn for us—just as we are—a place of our own here.

We have been loyal to America, loyal through a severe test. It is not less to our credit that we have maintained that loyalty with hearts torn between two vital forces—natural bonds and the sense of duty. That sense of duty! Even while America is at war with Germany, it sometimes seems to me that she owes her a vote of thanks for that sense of duty. What I have of it I feel to be a distinct inheritance from my German parents. Believe me, our hearts have ached past all expression. I hope America will consider the full meaning of that, the story of which is yet to be written. She has asked for our loyalty at a heavy price, and, although we have protested, we pay and pay that price.

J. M.

Mr. VON BOSSE (reading):

"(2) Might I add to that what has already been said in regard to the Bulletin that it has less than 3,000 circulation and that its importance is exaggerated? Might I also add that a relative comparison of things as they stood when we were still neutral was permissible, even in the Bulletin?"

Senator WOLCOTT. Its importance as a paying circulating sheet, in the matter of getting subscriptions, perhaps might be a little exaggerated.

Mr. VON BOSSE. Mr. Ohlinger, I think, said something like 20,000 or 30,000 circulation, and I wanted to bring out the fact that this Bulletin was more of a paper sending out reports and things of that kind—notices to the societies, rather than broadcast.

Senator WOLCOTT. While it might have been comparatively an unimportant publication so far as circulation went, yet would it not be perfectly legitimate to view it as a publication of considerable consequence to those who were seeking to explain the state of mind of those men in control of the German-American Alliance?

Mr. VON BOSSE. Yes; it might be looked upon in that way. But I wanted to bring out the fact that 20,000 or 30,000 circulation was not in conformity with the real size of it. Naturally, a circulation of 30,000 would indicate a body much stronger than 3,000.

Senator KING. Is not this a fact, and would not this account for the limited circulation of the Bulletin, that there were a large number of State and local organizations and there were between 500 and 834 German newspapers in the United States—it got down perhaps as low as 550 since the organization of the Alliance and got up as high as 834, or thereabouts—and that the German-American Alliance regarded the German newspapers as the organs, in part at least, of the National German-American Alliance and stated in the Bulletin that the German papers of the United States were the organs of the National German-American Alliance; that the Bulletin was the voice

of the parent organization; that it went to the officers of the State alliances and the local officers, but was not generally circulated among the great mass of the members of the Alliance, and the officers of the State and local alliances would then communicate to the people of the various organizations the views of the organ, and the other German newspapers would take the Bulletin of the National German-American Alliance as the authoritative expression of the views of that organization and publish in their newspapers what was said in the columns of the Bulletin?

Mr. VON BOSSE. That might have been the case in the beginning, that that thought was uppermost in the minds of the publishers; but it never worked out that way, because if we wanted the German newspapers to print things that we wanted, we, as a rule, had to send it to them as extra copy; and we tried everything in the world to get individual subscribers but failed in most instances. It did not work out as you clearly picture what was in the minds of those who published it.

Senator KING. The Bulletin was only a monthly publication?

Mr. VON BOSSE. It was a monthly publication.

Senator KING. And of course could not serve the purpose of a newspaper in the broad sense.

Mr. VON BOSSE. No.

Senator KING. But nevertheless it could be an organ——

Mr. VON BOSSE. Oh, yes.

Senator KING (continuing). To express the views of the organization—the authoritative views of the organization—and the people generally did not subscribe to it as a newspaper, because it was published only monthly, but the officers of the State and local organizations subscribed for it, and they then received through its columns the statements of the organization and communicated them to the local members?

Mr. VON BOSSE. That is the way it usually was done; yes.

Senator KING. Proceed.

Mr. VON BOSSE (reading):

"STATE BRANCHES.

"(3) Although the actions of the state branches oftentimes vexed the national officers and they attempted upon several occasions to stop the branches from engaging in politics, yet the branches were independent and are not within the jurisdiction of the national body. The latter therefore is only responsible for what has been ordered by it.

"The Chicago conference which has been mentioned here so often, was of this nature. The National Body had nothing whatever to do with it. In further proof of the belief on the part of our members, that the Alliance was not engaged in politics, as politics go, I wish to present an extract from the official minutes of that conference."

* * * In his address of welcome to the delegates, Mr. Mayer (chairman) said that the basic thought of the proceedings of the Conference must be one of fealty and loyalty towards America.

* * * The Chairman, Mr. John B. Mayer, declared, that it should not be the purpose of the Conference to nominate a candidate for the office of President or to endorse one, but to enlighten the political leaders when the German

Americans could *not* support in the coming election. * * * It was further mentioned, that the German American Alliance had nothing official to do with this conference. * * *

* * * During the debate the work of the National Alliance was acknowledged by several speakers, and especially so by Senator Fellinger in a convincing way, and regretted that it cannot actively engage in politics. * * *

I have the official minutes of that conference here, if you wish to see them. They are in German, unfortunately.

Senator KING. What do you desire, if anything, to be done with the minutes of the Chicago convention?

Mr. von BOSSE. Nothing especial, except that they were asked for here before; and I have these extracts, and if you wish to have them, you may do so.

Senator KING. Just file that with the committee.

Senator WOLCOTT. What was the date of that Chicago conference?

Senator KING. It was May 28 and 29, 1916.

Mr. von BOSSE (reading):

"MONEY FROM BREWERS.

"(4) It may seem incriminating to some, and you may possibly base your verdict on this circumstance, that the Alliance received moneys from brewers. At that the Alliance did no more, than the churches do or the Young Men's Christian Associations or the Young Women's Christian Associations or any other agency, which goes out to get its slice from the brewer."

Senator STERLING. Do you think that is at all a statement of a fair parallel?

Mr. von BOSSE. Yes; that is why I use it.

Senator STERLING. Are you aware of any churches or Y. M. C. A.'s or—ladies' societies?

Senator WOLCOTT. Ladies' societies.

Mr. von BOSSE. No; I did not say that. I said Young Women's Christian Associations.

Senator STERLING (continuing). Or Young Women's Christian Associations who receive money from the brewers for the purpose of fighting prohibition?

Mr. von BOSSE. No; I do not know that I do; but the brewers have only one purpose in giving money.

Senator WOLCOTT. I am talking now about the motives of those who receive the money. The Alliance received money to fight prohibition, did it not? Now, that is all there is to that, is it not?

Mr. von BOSSE. I will not enter the argument on that, because I would have to—I would want to—give you my standpoint on that, why the brewers give money to any purpose.

Senator WOLCOTT. I am addressing my inquiry to the motives of those who receive the money from these brewers. Now, I am only attacking the parallel you have drawn. You say that to criticize the Alliance for receiving money from the brewers is as unfair as it would be to criticize churches and Y. M. C. A.'s and several other organizations you mentioned.

Mr. von BOSSE. Yes.

Senator WOLCOTT. Do you consider those two kinds of contributions at all analogous?

Mr. VON BOSSE. I do not say that. I say that the Alliance was no more wrong in receiving contributions from brewers than others were in receiving them, no matter what the motive is.

Senator STERLING. And no matter what the cause to be served is, it is all the same?

Mr. VON BOSSE. No; I am saying no matter what the motive.

Senator WOLCOTT. Well, it does not matter much, it seems to me, what you try to make of that point; so far as I am concerned, it is ridiculous.

Mr. VON BOSSE. I shall explain in a moment from now what I have to say on the sums. I readily agree with you if you mean, possibly, the sums that came to the Alliance were inordinate in comparison to what went to others.

Senator WOLCOTT. No; I mean that the sums that went to the organization from the brewers were to induce them directly to engage in the brewers' fight against prohibition.

Mr. VON BOSSE. I am not speaking of the Percy Andreae funds; I am speaking of the other contributions that came into the Alliance treasury.

Senator WOLCOTT. Oh, then you would except these Percy Andreae funds from the general scope of your statement?

Mr. VON BOSSE. The Alliance never received, so far as I know, the Percy Andreae money. I am speaking of other contributions that came from brewers to the Alliance.

Senator WOLCOTT. The only criticism of the Alliance in connection with its receipt of money from the brewers has been in connection with the prohibition campaign, the Percy Andreae money. That is the only criticism that has been made.

Mr. VON BOSSE. Yes; I am not referring to that.

Senator WOLCOTT. That is what I am referring to.

Mr. VON BOSSE. Then we are fighting on two different lines.

Senator WOLCOTT. Yes.

Senator KING. I would not quite agree with Senator Wolcott that that is the only criticism; and I do not use the word "criticism" there in any offensive way. I think that there would be perhaps as much criticism if money was received from the brewers directly as in regard to that fund that came from Mr. Andreae, and I am not saying that either is proper or improper; I express no opinion. But I do not mean to assent quite so broadly as Senator Wolcott to the proposition that there was no criticism of money being paid by the brewers to the organization.

Senator WOLCOTT. What I said was this, that so far as the testimony is concerned there is no evidence of any money being paid by the brewers to the Alliance, except this Andreae money. That is all the evidence there is.

Senator KING. I think there is other evidence.

Senator WOLCOTT. If so, it has slipped my mind.

Senator KING. Proceed, Dr. von Bosse.

Mr. VON BOSSE (reading):

"Mr. Ohlinger dwelt on a tour of Dr. Hexamer through Wisconsin, on which the latter collected $25,000 or more. That was for the Pastorius monument. 'Tis true, that Mr. Busch gave $5,000 for that purpose. Well and good, he was in the best of company, for our

United States Government contributed five times as much for the same purpose. The gifts of the brewers to the Alliance were only incidentals among gifts from others. That their sums should have been large is quite readily understood, when one considers that the wealthiest German Americans have usually been in the brewing industry.

"A REVALUATION OF VALUES.

"Like all men looking backwards the members of the National German American Alliance see things clearer to-day than yesterday. They realize that much they did had better been left undone, much that they might have done was not done. That matters which at the time appeared to them white now look grey. They realize that it was high time to take stock of themselves and to revalue their work.

"What they did they did in good faith and in honesty of purpose. They have fought prohibition and organized to make their opposition politically effective. This caused them to be tied up with the brewing industry much more than they liked. But had it not been for the prohibition question and the activity of the Anti-Saloon League (which far exceeded anything the Alliance ever did) there never could have been an Alliance of Germans in a political sense. Temperamentally the German-American is not a partisan in politics and he can not be controlled or voted as a bloc. The leaders of the Alliance knew this and know also that united action by them could only be brought about through some all-impelling common interest.

"Such a common interest but rarely presents itself. Instances that might be cited were, the opposition to slavery and the opposition to the sixteen to one policy of Mr. Bryan. Hence when suggestion for the Chicago Conference was made Dr. Hexamer realizing its futility, would have nothing to do with it, though personally keenly resenting Mr. Wilson's alleged slurring of the German-Americans, and therefore opposed to him.

"Had not these proceedings for the revoking of the charter been instituted the membership of the Alliance would themselves have soon taken steps to make radical changes in organization and methods.

"Under the circumstances the losing of the charter means little.

"What we regret is that the manner of revoking it has been made the vehicle of furthering the bitterness of feeling already existing between the racial integers in our country—something we have sought since our entry into the war to lighten and lessen.

"We are at war with Germany and no matter how much we may have differed in opinion before the war; no matter where our sympathies then lay; we have as Americans now but one duty and that to bring the war to a speedy and successful conclusion. To this end we German-Americans have loyally dedicated ourselves."

Senator KING. Dr. von Bosse, if there is anything else you want to present to the committee, we shall be very glad to receive it.

Mr. VON BOSSE. Well, now, all that I intend presenting otherwise is what you asked for on the German loan.

Senator KING. You have concluded your statement?

Mr. VON BOSSE. This concludes my statement, as far as I am concerned.

Senator KING. Does your attorney want to ask a few questions, because I think that the committee will want to ask a few?

Mr. SCHOLTZ. No, Mr. Chairman; I do not want to ask any questions, but I would like, as I suggested to-day, to submit some things on behalf of the Maryland organization, in answer to Senator Sterling's question.

Senator KING. After we have concluded with Mr. von Bosse you will have full opportunity to present whatever you desire.

Senator WOLCOTT. I just noticed this newspaper lying on the table. It is the New York Sun of March 20. I have been reading this newspaper's accounts of the hearing held here on March 19. I find a quotation in this paper from your testimony, and I do not recall having heard you testify as the news account gives it, and I want to ask you if this was your testimony. You are quoted as follows:

> While I condemn Imperial Germany for the beginning and conduct of the war, I have only the most hearty sympathy and brotherly affection for our fellow citizens of German extraction.

Mr. VON BOSSE. That is a quotation taken from Mr. Estabrook's address at Chicago before the Associated Advertising Clubs. I do not know whether they have that in there in that fashion.

Senator WOLCOTT. No.

Mr. VON BOSSE. I noticed in a number of newspaper accounts they did not use the citation as I gave it.

Senator WOLCOTT. So that this language is not your language?

Mr. VON BOSSE. That is a citation that I used—a quotation from his language.

Senator WOLCOTT. I do not recall in what connection you quoted it.

Mr. VON BOSSE. I filed that, Senator. That was from the article that I had published in Issues and Events, where I filed the first part and read what was especially relevant to the Alliance matter.

Senator WOLCOTT. In quoting that language you were not expressing your own personal view, were you? I refer particularly to the first clause, which reads as follows:

> While I condemn Imperial Germany for the beginning and conduct of the war.

Mr. VON BOSSE. You know what I wrote before the war and what I believed at that time.

Senator WOLCOTT. That is what I wanted to ask you about. I know that you did not condemn Germany for starting the war; in fact, you contended all the time that the war had been thrust upon her.

Mr. VON BOSSE. Yes; I believed that, so that you can readily compare my former statements with this quotation.

Senator WOLCOTT. That is what I am doing now.

Mr. VON BOSSE. I wanted that quotation so that it would not appear that I was leaving out anything for some ulterior motive, so I gave the entire quotation.

Senator WOLCOTT. Yes; but your own individual view as to the propriety of Germany's conduct immediately prior to the breaking out of the European war has not changed from what it was as expressed in these various epistles to the newspapers?

Mr. VON BOSSE. You know that we must to-day, if we are loyal to this country and have expressed our loyalty, agree with what our country declares.

Senator WOLCOTT. Oh, well, it is perfectly conceivable to me that a man can be a perfectly good American and think that Germany—although I think he is entirely in error, nevertheless he can honestly think that Germany—had the European war thrust upon her and at the same time believe that Germany forced us into war. I do not see any inconsistency between those two views.

Mr. VON BOSSE. You are not connecting up, then, my views on the American war with Germany and my views on the early outbreak of the war.

Senator WOLCOTT. Oh, no; I am not trying to get you into a trap of any kind.

Mr. VON BOSSE. I know; but this will probably be in the papers to-morrow morning.

Senator WOLCOTT. All I wanted to get at was whether this is correctly reported in this newspaper as being your own statement.

Mr. VON BOSSE. No; I gave that as a citation, a quotation.

Senator WOLCOTT. That is all that I wanted to clear up. No; it is entirely immaterial, or in a sense immaterial now, as to what your view was as to how the war between Germany and the allied governments came about. I am not concerned with that now.

There are just one or two little matters I want to ask about, if I may. Dr. von Bosse, you stated that you were responsible for this German-American column in the Wilmington Sunday Star?

Mr. VON BOSSE. I wrote it.

Senator WOLCOTT. On January 23, 1916, there was in that column an account of a meeting of German-Americans of that locality, and I want to call your attention to this item in the account of that meeting in this column which you say you wrote:

> It was also decided to work for the passage of the Gore bill demanding that Americans remain distant to ships of the belligerent nations when traveling, and it was decided to request of the Representatives of Delaware that they demand the resumption of the parcel-post service. A letter from Wisconsin asking for instructed delegates to the Democratic convention was tabled.

Do you recall that?

Mr. VON BOSSE. I recall something like that; yes.

Senator WOLCOTT. The Gore bill was what?

Mr. VON BOSSE. I do not recollect at present.

Senator WOLCOTT. It had to do with——

Mr. VON BOSSE. With the warning of Americans, I think.

Senator WOLCOTT. From traveling on belligerent ships?

Mr. VON BOSSE. Yes; I think that was it.

Senator WOLCOTT. Now, what does this reference mean, "it was decided to request of the Representatives of Delaware that they demand the resumption of the parcel-post service"? What parcel post was it? Was that the parcel post that was traveling from this country to Germany, and which was interrupted by the British fleet?

Mr. VON BOSSE. I do not recollect at present what that meant. I could not tell you, unless I looked up the minutes of that time and found the literature on the subject.

Senator WOLCOTT. As I recall, although I may be wrong, it was the thought in this country that some Germans here were using the parcel-post service between this country and Germany to get contraband stuff into Germany, using the United States mails; and, as we know, of course, our mail communications with Germany were inter-

fered with by Great Britain, so that I wondered if it was that parcel-post service that you German-Americans here in this meeting were complaining about as having been interrupted and that you wanted resumed.

Mr. VON BOSSE. I can not even say that I was at that meeting. Many of my reports that I wrote of the meetings of German societies were copied from the German newspapers of Wilmington. I do not recall about the parcel post.

Senator WOLCOTT. In that same column in the Wilmington Star, in the same issue, there was this appearing also, for which you say at least you are responsible:

At the close the following resolutions were adopted unanimously:—

I take it that was at the close of the meeting. [Continuing reading:]

Whereas a number of men representing large constituencies in Congress have during the present session opposed un-American and pro-British measures and speakers in a most efficient manner; and

Whereas the full import of the splendid work of Dr. C. J. Hexamer is even now becoming manifest as being instrumental in the preservation of peace for us: Be it

Resolved, That we, delegates to the German-American Alliance, Branch Delaware,—

You must have been there, because you say "we, delegates to the German-American Alliance, Branch Delaware,"——

Mr. VON BOSSE. I may have been there. I do not recollect.

Senator WOLCOTT (continuing reading):

representing over 2,500 American citizens of German extraction, express our gratitude to these men for their magnificent stand, assuring them of our full support in their championship of real Americanism.

The point I deduce from this procedure there is simply this, that the German-American Alliance of Delaware was politically active.

Mr. VON BOSSE. Which we never were denied the right to be. The United Societies of Delaware had no charter. They are a distinct body in themselves, like all the other State branches.

Senator WOLCOTT. You take the position, do you, that the parent organization can not be held responsible for what you people did there in your Delaware branch?

Mr. VON BOSSE. If the Senate takes our charter away from us the State branches will do as they did before, I presume.

Senator WOLCOTT. On January 30, 1916, in the German-American column in the Sunday Star, I find this little sentence, which seems to me to have some bearing upon the question of whether or not the German-Americans are endeavoring to consolidate themselves into a racial group, and I want to see if this came from your pen:

The tablernacle came in for a severe condemnation.—

I suppose that refers to the tabernacle meetings of the Evangelical Alliance, but that is not what I am after—

and an appeal was made to the German element to hold together and join hands and ranks in the German-American Alliance.

Do you recall writing that or not?

Mr. VON BOSSE. I do not recall, and I would have to see the whole article.

Senator WOLCOTT. But you would be responsible if it was in that column?

Mr. VON BOSSE. I suppose I would be held responsible in any court for writing the news or having the thing published in that column—or the paper would be held responsible.

Senator WOLCOTT. On January 4, 1917, in the German-American column of the Sunday Star I find this language, which bears, to some extent at least, on the inquiry as to whether it has been the policy of the German-American Alliance to weld the people of German extraction into one bloc:

Monday night the Delaware Branch of the German-American Alliance meets. In the Alliance the entire German-American population of our State is officially united. It has developed from small beginnings and attained the present position by dint of valued effort. If a somewhat united German-American element is a fact to-day in Wilmington, the activity of the Alliance may receive the full credit for the accomplishment—the purpose of the Alliance is to uphold and practice German kultur. To fulfill this mission it is necessary to select men for leaders who are able to lead by virtue of their training in speaking and writing and their determination to let nothing take them from the path they have chosen as the right one. Much depends upon the election of officers this year. Success of the past must be preserved. The danger must be diverted of making something of the Alliance which is at variance with its tenets.

Did you write that?

Mr. VON BOSSE. I imagine I did. Those are all news items in there.

Senator WOLCOTT. Yes; but they express—no; I beg your pardon, this is not a news item.

Mr. VON BOSSE. The German-American column is a news item pure and simple.

Senator WOLCOTT. Yes; but I call your attention to the fact that the only news item mentioned here is that on Monday night the German-American Alliance meets, and then follows a sort of editorial expression of the writer of that column, concerning the Alliance, its activities, and its purpose. That is the significance of the extract, as I see it.

Now, it is true, is it not, Dr. von Bosse, that you were active in the political campaign of 1916?

Mr. VON BOSSE. Yes, sir.

Senator WOLCOTT. And is it not true that throughout the country affiliated German-American societies, societies affiliated with the national organization, were quite active in the campaign?

Mr. VON BOSSE. Yes, sir. [After a pause] I was just thinking of instances.

Senator WOLCOTT. I know that in one of your letters you pointed out——

Mr. VON BOSSE. I do not deny that I was active.

Senator WOLCOTT. Well, this bears on the extent of the activity in other parts of the country. This is your language from one of your letters:

Those are the conditions as they exist to-day.

I forget just what you had described those conditions to be.

I am not giving a personal opinion in this letter. My position has been made clear and definite before. I am only pointing out what is going on about us. As a matter of fact, the German-American societies in Ohio, Illinois, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, etc., have come out unanimously and openly for the Republican nominee.

Mr. VON BOSSE. Yes, sir.

Senator KING. Now, can you name any States other than you have named as having come out openly in that campaign?

Mr. VON BOSSE. No; I can not. Did I mention Delaware?

Senator WOLCOTT. No. You mentioned Ohio, Illinois, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, etc.

Mr. VON BOSSE. The State Branch of Delaware did not come out openly.

Senator WOLCOTT. You say here "etc."

Mr. VON BOSSE. I can not recollect at present. I possibly would have known at that time. I do not know now.

Senator WOLCOTT. I think that is all.

Senator STERLING. You presented here an account rendered to Dr. Hexamer as president of the Alliance, dated November 17, 1917, showing expenditures of $31,711.70. That is in addition to and supplementary to the general statement and account produced by Mr. Tjarks, is it not?

Mr. VON BOSSE. I do not exactly recollect what Mr. Tjarks presented.

Senator STERLING. Were you not here when he testified?

Mr. VON BOSSE. No; I was not here, but I read his testimony. I do not exactly remember.

Senator STERLING. His testimony showed collections and disbursements exceeding $880,000.

Mr. VON BOSSE. That was a separate fund, the German relief fund.

Senator STERLING. That was the German relief fund?

Mr. VON BOSSE. Yes.

Senator STERLING. The money was collected through the agencies of the Alliance for the German relief fund?

Mr. VON BOSSE. Yes.

Senator STERLING. Those funds were sent to Mr. Tjarks and by him disbursed, were they not?

Mr. VON BOSSE. Yes, sir.

Senator STERLING. They were sent, for the most part, if not altogether, to Count von Bernstorff?

Mr. VON BOSSE. So he informed us, at least.

Senator STERLING. And that amount was over $880,000?

Mr. VON BOSSE. Yes.

Senator STERLING. And that account embraced that sum expended down to October 15, 1917?

Mr. VON BOSSE. The accounts went that far.

Senator STERLING. Yes. Senator Wolcott, in the course of the examination of Mr. Tjarks, asked this question:

> This shows total receipts up to October 15, 1917, $886,670.18. Now, that was for the relief of people who were suffering in one way or another, directly or indirectly, in connection with the war?
>
> Mr. TJARKS. Yes.

Mr. SCHOLTZ. Senator, may I just enlighten you?

Senator STERLING. Certainly.

Mr. SCHOLTZ. That date that you have there was the date of the audit that was submitted here and that is in print, and that has no relation to any fund except the relief fund. It has no connection with what you have here.

Senator STERLING. It has no connection with these funds, I understand. It was a general relief fund.

Mr. SCHOLTZ. No; the general relief fund had no connection with this.

Senator STERLING. That is what I say. The one I am speaking about, and that Mr. Tjarks testified about, was the relief fund.

Mr. SCHOLTZ. Yes, sir.

Mr. VON BOSSE. Certainly.

Senator STERLING. I understand; but this account is the general account showing receipts and disbursements?

Mr. VON BOSSE. Yes.

Senator STERLING. I recall, now, that the special relief account rendered by Mr. Tjarks shows receipts for those funds down to some time in March, 1917.

Assuming that that account closed and there were no receipts of those funds after March, 1917, let me ask you if the German-American Alliance as an organization did anything thereafter in the collection of funds for the American Red Cross?

Mr. VON BOSSE. Not the national organization as such, but the State branches did.

Senator STERLING. The State branches did; yes. They were left to collect such funds, if they chose?

Mr. VON BOSSE. I spoke with the Doctor on that, and he stated that wherever he was asked he advised them to go in with all the Red Cross movements in their city, not to have distinct groups.

Senator STERLING. You spoke to Dr. Hexamer about it, you say?

Mr. VON BOSSE. I asked him for information on what he did at that time.

Senator STERLING. But the National Alliance itself did nothing toward the collecting or handling of those funds?

Mr. VON BOSSE. If you want to consider the actions of Mr. Tjarks, as he testified here for the Alliance, you may do so.

Senator STERLING. I am asking you the question, if the National Alliance as such, as a national organization, did anything toward collecting funds for the American Red Cross?

Mr. VON BOSSE. Not that I know of.

Senator STERLING. Dr. von Bosse, you recall the date of the sinking of the *Lusitania*, do you not?

Mr. VON BOSSE. No, sir.

Senator STERLING. You recall that it was on the 7th day of May, 1915?

Mr. VON BOSSE. Yes; if you mention it, I recall it.

Senator STERLING. But you did not remember. Did you remember the year that it occurred?

Mr. VON BOSSE. Yes: I remember the year; but I am very poor on dates.

Senator STERLING. Do you remember the date of the sinking of the *Sussex* in the English Channel?

Mr. VON BOSSE. No, sir. If you ask me for dates, I am lost.

Senator STERLING. I will give you the date exactly. It was March 24, 1916. Do you recall the fact that the President, after the sinking of the *Sussex*, appeared before the two Houses and read a message relative to the sinking of the *Sussex* and the aggressions of the Imperial German Government?

Mr. VON BOSSE. Yes, sir; I think I remember that.

Senator STERLING. Do you recall the occasion when the diplomatic relations were severed between this country and Germany?

Mr. VON BOSSE. Yes.

Senator STERLING. A long time prior to March, 1917, when these German relief-fund subscriptions ceased, a break between this country and Germany was more or less imminent, was it not?

Mr. VON BOSSE. Yes; it was, before that.

Senator STERLING. Yes. Did the National German-American Alliance take any action whatever either to condemn or remonstrate against any of the acts of the Imperial German Government which were a breach of our neutrality and which were in violation of the rules of international law?

Mr. VON BOSSE. Officially, do you mean?

Senator STERLING. Officially.

Mr. VON BOSSE. Not that I know of.

Senator STERLING. There was no meeting of the Alliance held to consider these matters?

Mr. VON BOSSE. No, sir.

Senator STERLING. There was no meeting of any executive committee, was there, to consider these matters?

Mr. VON BOSSE. No, sir.

Senator STERLING. There was no conference of the Germans in the different State alliances to consider these matters?

Mr. VON BOSSE. No, sir.

Senator STERLING. And there was no protest of any kind or no warning given to the Imperial German Government by the National German-American Alliance of what might result if these aggressions against our neutrality and against the rules of international law continued?

Mr. VON BOSSE. Not that I know of.

Senator STERLING. In fact, the sympathies of members of your order were with the Imperial German Government, were they not, in, for example, first, the sinking of the *Lusitania?*

Mr. VON BOSSE. I can not speak for the members.

Senator STERLING. Do you not know, as a matter of fact, now, Dr. von Bosse, that there was more or less sympathy expressed, or more or less sympathy for Germany expressed, in the sinking of the *Lusitania?*

Mr. SCHOLTZ. Excuse me, Senator, might I interject just this, that Dr. von Bosse has been assailed in the public press as if he had himself indorsed the sinking of the *Lusitania*, etc., and your questions, so far as I can see, can in no way affect the question of whether the corporation has violated its charter, and you are simply trying to put him in the press pillory, and I am going to ask you as a matter of fairness not to press a question of that kind, because it has no relevance.

Senator STERLING. It has relevance, I think, Mr. Chairman, to the question here of the members.

Mr. VON BOSSE. I am willing to answer.

Senator STERLING. It is admitted that there was no action taken in the executive committee of the National Alliance or by the chairmen of the State alliances in regard to these things.

Senator KING. Let me suggest this to the attorney for the Alliance, if he does not see some materiality of this examination upon the following ground: Mr. von Bosse is elected president of an organization that stands for certain aims and policies. It is presumed that he would not be selected for this high position unless his attitude with respect to these questions was known. It would seem that any utterances of his immediately prior to his selection, or so near to the time of his selection as to warrant the belief that he still entertained the same views, would be material as showing the attitude of the members. In selecting a person they would select a person who reflected their views. That is presumable. It is merely a presumption, but a deduction that might be drawn. Of course, it is a rebuttable one.

Mr. SCHOLTZ. But, as I understood the question, it is not what his views were, but what were the opinions of the members of the Alliance.

Senator STERLING. No; not just the opinions but, if I remember the question correctly, the expression of an opinion; not simply his judgment as to what the opinion was. At least, I did not mean to put it that way.

Senator KING. I should think he would be entitled to testify as to the action of the Alliance, whether it was negative or positive.

Mr. SCHOLTZ. Yes.

Senator KING. Either of the State alliances or of the National Alliance.

Mr. SCHOLTZ. Yes.

Senator KING. And it would be legitimate examination to inquire as to the views of the membership, so far as he knew their views. You could not question every member.

Mr. SCHOLTZ. I just wanted to make the thing clear, that he is not testifying to something that is an abstract proposition.

Senator STERLING. Certainly; I do not want him to testify as to his opinion of their views. If I put it that way, I admit that is not proper.

Senator WOLCOTT. While Mr. Scholtz is here as attorney for the German-American Alliance, of course any Senator can ask any questions he wants to.

Senator STERLING. Well, I want to keep within the rules of what would be proper evidence.

Mr. SCHOLTZ. I just want to say this, that as a matter of might Senator Wolcott's proposition is right, but as a matter of right I think it is wrong.

Senator WOLCOTT. That is a mater of custom in committees from time immemorial.

Senator STERLING. I want to concede that, if it is not already in the question that I asked, I should have asked him whether he had heard expressions of opinion in that regard.

Senator KING. Let me say, as to these observations of counsel for the Alliance, that the chancellor frequently in a case receives evidence that under the strict rules of evidence would be inadmissible, and the presumption is that in making up his conclusion he bases that conclusion or judgment only upon material, relevant, and proper testimony.

Mr. SCHOLTZ. Yes.

Senator KING. And I think you can credit this committee with the desire to pursue that course.

Mr. SCHOLTZ. It was not the committee that I referred to. I know that you have a legal mind and can tell the difference between evidence that is relevant and evidence that is irrelevant. But we are tried, not in this committee room, but in the public press. I have papers right here the headlines of which are grossly inaccurate, and they tend to create a friction between the races that make up our American population and which we want to avoid, not only because we are hurt but because it does damage to the National Government.

Senator STERLING. Can I proceed, Mr. Chairman?

Senator KING. Yes; proceed.

Mr. SCHOLTZ. Excuse me for interrupting.

Senator STERLING. Have you heard, Dr. von Bosse, any expressions of opinion on the part of members of the National German-American Alliance relative to the conduct of the Imperial German Government in regard to these aggressions, the sinking of the *Lusitania* and of the *Sussex* and other acts of which complaint was made by our Government?

Mr. VON BOSSE. Yes, sir.

Senator STERLING. Have you heard an expression to the effect that these acts were condemned?

Mr. VON BOSSE. Yes, sir; I heard it from individuals.

Senator STERLING. And have you also heard expressions of approval of these acts?

Mr. VON BOSSE. Also?

Senator STERLING. Yes; from members of the National German-American Alliance?

Mr. VON BOSSE. Yes; I understand you are speaking of members.

Senator STERLING. Notwithstanding the severance of diplomatic relations on February 3, 1917, these contributions to these various relief funds went on until the latter part of March, 1917, did they not?

Mr. VON BOSSE. I do not know. I presume there were funds in the various treasuries that were put together and sent in there, just to finish up the business.

Senator STERLING. You would be governed by what Mr. Tjarks testified on that?

Mr. VON BOSSE. I would be governed absolutely by what he testified.

Senator STERLING. Very well; that is in evidence.

Just one further question. Referring to the statement of Mr. Humes, the United States district attorney who testified as a witness, as to what was said by Dr. Hexamer relative to the German government, that it was superior to our own Government and institutions, he was at the time president of the National German-American Alliance, was he not?

Mr. VON BOSSE. Yes.

Senator STERLING. Do you think language such as Mr. Humes attributes to Dr. Hexamer comports very well with that provision in your charter relative to the teaching of American institutions?

Mr. VON BOSSE. Not if he said it officially as president of the Alliance.

Senator STERLING. In order that he might represent the sentiment of the Alliance, he would have had to say it as president of the Alliance?

Mr. VON BOSSE. He would have had to say it officially; yes, sir.

Senator STERLING. What do you think, Dr. von Bosse, of the policy of having a man for the president of this great Alliance who entertains a view like that; the president of an Alliance one of whose purposes, as defined by its charter, is the study of American history and the study of American institutions and the conservation of the principles of representative government? What do you think about the policy of having a man like that for president?

Mr. VON BOSSE. I have nothing to say in regard to private matters of a president of that kind; only in regard to his official proclamations as president of the body.

Senator STERLING. Yes. Then, as a private citizen and aside from his official capacity he may say anything he pleases derogatory to the American Government and American institutions, may he?

Mr. VON BOSSE. No, sir.

Senator STERLING. And because he does not utter the words as president of the organization and in an official capacity it makes no difference, according to your notion?

Mr. VON BOSSE. No, sir.

Senator STERLING. Well, the words themselves as related by Mr. Humes repudiate in themselves the very purposes of the charter as defined here, or a part of the purposes of the charter, namely, the conservation of the principles of American government and the study of American institutions?

Mr. VON BOSSE. If the Doctor had said that as president of the Alliance, officially, they would.

Senator STERLING. He represented the Alliance, did he not, and was representing it then?

Mr. VON BOSSE. I do not know if he was representing it at that time in any official capacity.

Senator STERLING. Had anybody wanted to see the president of the German-American Alliance they would have gone to see Dr. Hexamer?

Mr. VON BOSSE. At his office, possibly.

Senator STERLING. They might have had business with him as president, say, away from his office.

Mr. VON BOSSE. That would depend on the Doctor. I am not president of the National German-American Alliance all over, to everyone.

Senator KING. But he traveled throughout the country, visited Germans and German alliances, State and local as well as the national, and made addresses, did he not?

Mr. VON BOSSE. Yes; he went on official trips.

Senator KING. Most of the State alliances would have their annual meetings, which he attended?

Mr. VON BOSSE. I do not think he attended; no, sir.

Senator KING. He attended some?

Mr. VON BOSSE. Possibly he did.

Senator KING. You know he did, do you not, as a matter of fact?

Mr. VON BOSSE. If you would mention some to me, possibly I would know.

Senator KING. From the Bulletin and from your knowledge about matters?

Mr. VON BOSSE. He must have, because he did attend the Pennsylvania convention, I am sure.

Senator KING. Mr. von Bosse, immediately after your election you put out an address, did you not, under date of December 20, 1917, "Message of the newly elected president of the Federation German American Alliance," under your own signature?

Mr. VON BOSSE. Yes.

Senator KING. It is signed "S. G. von Bosse, president Federation German American Alliance."

Mr. VON BOSSE. Of the National German-American Alliance.

Senator KING. How did you happen to use the word "Federation" there?

Mr. VON BOSSE. I did not use the word "Federation". This went out in German.

Senator KING. You addressed it "To the members of the executive, the associate counselors, and State organization presidents".

Mr. VON BOSSE. Yes.

Senator KING. In that address you stated:

Having been elected successor to our honored federation president, Dr. C. J. Hexamer, on the 29th of November, this year, I have immediately assumed charge of affairs and made myself acquainted with the manifold duties to perform. With every day since, I have become more conscious of the gigantic work done by Dr. Hexamer and his coworkers during the 17 years of the Alliance's history.

What was the gigantic work to which you referred that had been performed by Dr. Hexamer?

Mr. VON BOSSE. Correspondence, partly; compilation of work done in the branches. What I mean by "gigantic work" is under the conditions under which they labored; that it was gigantic, considering them.

Senator KING. Did you have in mind the fact of the unification of the Germans?

Mr. VON BOSSE. Partly.

Senator KING. You said:

I can but promise to do my utmost that the fruit of his work be made a lasting and secure one.

You were familiar with this work, were you not?

Mr. VON BOSSE. The work that he did in building up the German-American Alliance; yes, sir.

Senator KING. You further said:

In spite of the enmity the Alliance had to contend with, and the prejudice evidenced against the organization, the most bitter antagonist is forced to admit that the Alliance offers the only medium to unify American citizens of German ancestry.

What did you mean by "the enmity the Alliance had to contend with"?

Mr. VON BOSSE. Attacks have been launched against the Alliance time and again, as I mentioned; for instance, from Maj. Gen. McArthur, that it was un-American and that it was Pan-German also. And up to the time I was elected the newspapers attacked the Alliance continually.

Senator KING. The proceedings and the action of the State alliances and the proceedings at conventions in which they advocated political unity on the part of the Germans had provoked those criticisms to which you referred, had they not, or had been the basis of the criticisms?

Mr. VON BOSSE. Not in all cases.

Senator KING. In part?

Mr. VON BOSSE. Perhaps they were, in part.

Senator KING. Can you find in any statement of Dr. Hexamer, in any statement of any of the officers of any of the organizations, or in the Bulletin, any disavowal of the truthfulness of the charge that the National German-American Alliance was an ally of the Pan Germanic thought? Or, upon the contrary, do you not find in the addresses of Dr. Hexamer, in the utterances of the leaders of your organization, and in the statements in the Bulletin expressions which clearly lead to the view that the action of this organization was to maintain a sort of a racial spirit upon the part of the Germans here and to unite them with the Germans everywhere and thus maintain the spirit of Deutschtum as that was interpreted by the German people?

Mr. VON BOSSE. No, sir; not in that sense.

Senator KING. State whether or not the enmity to which you referred was in part a result of the statement of Dr. Hexamer in which he said that the German-Americans refused to be assimilated.

Mr. VON BOSSE. I read his address to you in translation. The explanation that I could give for that was that they refused to be assimilated if they had to give up everything that they had to what he considered an inferior culture.

Senator KING. Do you recognize the fact that in this country, as in many other countries in which there are Germans, there has been a persistent effort to maintain a separatist movement, or, rather, an attempt to keep the Germans en bloc, and to use them politically?

Mr. VON BOSSE. No, sir.

Senator KING. You do not recognize that as a fact?

Mr. VON BOSSE. I do not recognize the separatist——

Senator KING. No; but do you not recognize that that effort has been made?

Mr. VON BOSSE. It was made, yes, by the society which we had nothing to do with, the Deutscher Schulverein, that I mentioned previously.

Senator KING. What do you mean by this, "the most bitter antagonist is forced to admit that the Alliance offers the only medium to unify American citizens of German ancestry"?

Mr. VON BOSSE. What I meant by that, so far as I can recollect now, is that among the many German-American circles that have been put forth the Alliance is the best medium, through its constitution, to bring together German-Americans, to keep up and maintain the ideals which we held. That was more in answer to the German-Americans who criticized us than in answer to those outside of our circles.

Senator KING. You meant by this, did you not, that it was the purpose of your organization to secure a unification of the German-Americans?

Mr. VON BOSSE. Only in so far as they could be more influential or powerful in maintaining their ideals.

Senator KING. Do I understand, then, that you think that it is consistent with your duty as an American citizen, a man born in this country, to unite the German-Americans for the purpose of maintaining what you denominate the ideals of the German-Americans?

Mr. VON BOSSE. In many instances it is the only possible way to safeguard those things that we held dear and high, as, for instance, the study of German, and so forth.

Senator KING. Suppose that the Irish should organize and be held en bloc, and the Greeks should do the same, and the Poles in this country should do the same, and the Hungarians should do the same, and the English, and the Scotch, or the nationals of any other country, so that when you would go into every community you would have the Germans united under the National German-American Alliance, and the Irish united under the Ancient Order of Hibernians, and the Scotch united under some organization, and the various other nationalities each united under some name, do you not think you would have a polyglot population here, the end of which would mean the disruption of this Republic? Do you not think that, instead of pursuing a policy of that kind, it is the duty of every man who comes to this country to seek to merge himself at the earliest possible moment into the great mass of the American people, and to present as soon as possible a homogeneity that makes for strength and the development to the highest degree of the ideals of this Republic?

Mr. VON BOSSE. Absolutely, Senator. I believe that everyone should go through the crucible of this country as soon as possible. But you will find—and I venture to state it as my belief—that the Irish are more solidified in this country than the Germans. All that we want, as they want it, is that certain parts should be embodied in that fabric which, I describe later on, would be free from any foreign tincture.

Senator KING. Without expressing any opinion as to the correctness of your view, if the Irish are seeking unification, as your answer would indicate, I would condemn that with all the power that I can command. I am half Irish—my mother was Irish—and I belong to the revolutionary class of Irishmen; but it would be a frightful thing if people who come from other lands should maintain their racial distinctions in this country and try to preserve unification of the races. It would destroy this Republic and make it impossible to maintain it under that view.

Senator STERLING. I would just like to ask this question, Mr. Chairman.

Senator KING. Proceed, Senator.

Senator STERLING. Dr. von Bosse, do you not think that Dr. Hexamer's teachings, as shown in his speeches made from time to time, and his writings, and some of your own, teach an exclusiveness which is the very opposite of assimilation and has a tendency to prevent assimilation with the American people?

Mr. VON BOSSE. No; I do not think so; and the very fact that the German people are known to assimilate themselves quicker than any others, even under this leadership, proves that that is not understood in that way in our circles.

I will admit this—and I have often stated it—that there are views which sometimes are impossible to look upon by two different people in the same light—irreconcilable views—and that is the opinion that I have of just these beliefs, in the same way, that we want the right thing and think we are doing the right thing; and the bulk of the German-Americans assimilating themselves proves it; and yet it is not understood on the other side, among the other peoples.

Senator KING. I find in this same address this expression:

In spite of all incitement against us and our race, we know that we, as dutiful, sober, and patriotic citizens, must be counted among the best of Americans, and because of that it will be possible for us after the conclusion of this war to fulfill our noble mission by helping to close the gaping wounds and bring about a bridging over of misunderstandings existing between our peoples here and abroad.

Do you not think that that sentence conveys the idea, and keeps it stressed, that the German-Americans are different from the other people in this country, that the German-Americans as such are persecuted, that the German-Americans as such are separated from the rest of the people under the Flag?

Mr. VON BOSSE. Well, just as I say, it may convey that meaning to you. I do not think it would convey that to those to whom it was addressed.

Senator KING. And the words "and bring about a bridging over of misunderstandings existing between our peoples here and abroad." Now, by that, of course, you mean the German people here?

Mr. VON BOSSE. No, no; the American people here and the German people abroad. We know that there has been a misunderstanding between here and abroad; they have not understood us over there. And that has always been my hope, that at some time we would be able to understand each other better.

Senator KING. Why did you not say something about the mission of the German-American Alliance, of which you were the president, serving the noble purpose when the war was over of building up this country? Why did you not say something here about the war, the holy war in which we are engaged to save the civilization and the liberties of the American people as well as the civilization of the world? Not a word in that address devoted to that! It is an address which seems to emphasize the fact that the German-Americans are a race separate and apart from the other Americans; that the duty of the German-Americans is to maintain that racial distinction, and to be a sort of a savior, a sort of a bridge, to heal the wounds between this country and the Germans of other countries.

Mr. VON BOSSE. The wounds of the war after the war is what is meant.

Senator KING. You say here:

While this war goes on we have enough on hand to save the Alliance.

You do not say a word, while the war is on, about saving the Republic, or fighting for the Republic, or defending the Republic, or fighting for the ideals and the culture of this Nation, or saving the civilization of the world. But you say:

While this war goes on we have enough on hand to save the Alliance.

Now, do you think, Dr. von Bosse, that that address, and that that sentence in your short address, is calculated to impress the American

people and the members of the Alliance with the fact that you and the Alliance are patriotic; that it is your duty to cast yourselves, your souls, your lives, all you have, into this great struggle?

Mr. VON BOSSE. I have expressed elsewhere, since I am president, that we have but one duty to perform, and that is to support the Government.

Senator KING. Still, this was your first address to the people of the organization over which you were called to preside, on December 20, 1917, long after we had entered upon the war. That is true, is it not?

Mr. VON BOSSE. Yes.

Senator KING. You further say:

We will very likely have to brave still more difficulties and hard times.

You refer to the Alliance there?

Mr. VON BOSSE. Yes; the German-American Alliance.

Senator KING. Now, there is not a word in that address, is there, Dr. von Bosse, about our country, about the duty that the German-Americans who belong to the Alliance owe to this Nation, the patriotism which they should manifest and the sacrifices which they should make, sorrowfully, it is true, but gladly and cheerfully, in defense of this Government and the ideals for which it stands? Not a single word?

Mr. VON BOSSE. Not in that address.

Senator KING. Now, I call your attention to another address which you made.

Mr. VON BOSSE. Those were articles which were written.

Senator KING. I find on January 1, 1918, in the Volksblatt and Freiheitsfreund: "New Year's greetings of the newly elected president of the German-American Alliance." You sent that out as an official, as the president, of the organization?

Mr. VON BOSSE. That was put in the Bulletin.

Senator KING. In the official organ?

Mr. VON BOSSE. Yes.

Senator KING. And it was addressed to the members of the organization?

Mr. VON BOSSE. I do not recollect.

Senator KING. You said in that:

1917 THE TURNING POINT IN THE GERMAN-AMERICAN HISTORY.

WILMINGTON, DEL., *December 31.*

What a year ago, the eye looking forward into the veiled future, believing to be impossible, has since become a material fact—we are in war. The 1917 rests under the title-page "Historia."

Then you said:

It has ended, and it remains for coming generations to judge what it has brought upon us. It has inscribed itself indelibly and can never be rewritten again, and if you should attempt to scratch it out the scratch will remain.

Then the next sentence reads:

For the National German-American Alliance the year 1917 will prove itself a test brick. And with that a turning point in the history of German-Americanism has been reached, one of the greatest importance.

What did you mean by it being a "test brick" for the German-American Alliance?

Mr. VON BOSSE. That it was able to exist at all and that it did not break up by itself, through antagonism from within and without.

Senator KING. You said further:

We have learned a lesson in 1917 as never before. Our schooling, however, has not found as yet its ending, and what this teacher has still more in store for us the future only can uncover.

If we have learned but one thing, namely, that for us American citizens of German ancestry in the organization, in the rigid organization, lies the one possibility for us to realize our idealistic aims.

Do you not there state that in a rigid organization lies the only, the one, possibility for the German-Americans to realize their idealistic aims? You do not speak of American aims; you do not speak of using the organization for American ideals, for the prosecution of the war, or as an instrumentality to teach devotion to country. There is not a word in that address, is there, of that character?

Mr. VON BOSSE. I do not know.

Senator KING. I will hand the address to you and you see if you can discover a word of that character. You said:

No other citizens will enter into the new year with more and greater moral earnestness and with more and greater determination than the American of German ancestry does. May the new year bring whatever it may have in store: it will bring to no other citizens what it has brought already and will continue to bring to us also in the new year, namely, the crucible test of Americanism, wrought upon us by this world's war.

You do not state there what the determination of the American of German ancestry is, do you?

Mr. VON BOSSE. Well, to my mind, as I recollect it, the determination was to bear everything cheerfully that we were called upon to bear.

Senator KING. You said further:

The desire for a powerful organization has opened many a man's eyes to see the purpose and the aims of the Alliance.

Were you not there praising the Alliance as a powerful organization and stating that many a man's eyes had been opened because it was a powerful organization?

Mr. VON BOSSE. Yes, sir.

Senator KING. You stated further that it has passed through the crucial test in 1917. You said:

I believe that she went through the crucial test in 1917, when she had to pass through critical internal battles, not to say revolution.

What internal battles and revolutions did it pass through in 1917?

Mr. VON BOSSE. I do not think I used the word "revolution" in the original.

Senator KING. You put out this address in the German language, did you?

Mr. VON BOSSE. Yes; that was in German.

Senator KING. Do you recall the word you used there for which the translator has used the word "revolution"?

Mr. VON BOSSE. No, sir; I do not. That is why I say I did not use the word "revolution".

Senator KING. You then said, further:

And may be that she will have still to fight for existence in 1918 as never before. Presently we must not lose sight of the fact that we are in war. The National Alliance has passed the barrage fire, and the attacks hurled upon them were met with dignity and self-preserving strength.

The new year, 1918, may bring us the looked-for peace, and—it may not. Even worse conditions may prevail. Who can know?

There is not a word in either of those addresses, is there, Dr. von Bosse, in favor of our country, evincing any devotion to our country; but, on the contrary, there are studied and veiled efforts to aggrandize the National German-American Alliance, to represent it as a powerful organization, and to indicate that there are barriers between the German-Americans and other American citizens, and that those barriers ought to be and will be preserved?

Mr. VON BOSSE. Not barriers as a separatistic movement; merely in so far as the things I have described, the love of the social customs—that has always been the chief thing in the Alliance—should in that way possibly be preserved.

Senator KING. Dr. von Bosse, you could not, as an educated man, speak of a social custom as the ideal of a race, could you?

Mr. VON BOSSE. No, sir; not that, but I do say that that has in many instances been made the chief thing in the Alliance circles.

Senator KING. When the German people, both here and elsewhere, speak of "Deutschtum" or Germanism, of the aims of Germany or Germanism, they certainly have before them, have they not, a larger vision than mere social custom or a mere habit?

Mr. VON BOSSE. To thousands and thousands there is no larger vision than that. Added to it among the educated men is the study of German and the study of art, literature, and the sciences of Germany.

Senator KING. I notice the Emperor of Germany in his telegram a few days ago, after the betrayal of Russia and after the German troops without meeting any opposition at all had entered Russia, said that German kultur had been carried to Russia by the sword. Do you not think that he used the word "kultur" attributing to it the signification implied by Dr. Hexamer and given to that word by Germans, whether in this country or elsewhere, wherever they may be.

Mr. VON BOSSE. Why, I do not know how he used that "kultur."

Senator KING. Have you examined those addresses of yours, now?

Mr. VON BOSSE. No; but you have looked them over, and if you say—I do not think you will find it in there.

Senator KING. Yes.

Mr. VON BOSSE. Because I recollect, myself, under what conditions those articles were written.

Senator KING. Then I have interpreted them correctly?

Mr. VON BOSSE. Well——

Senator KING. Of course I mean that there is nothing in there of that character?

Mr. VON BOSSE. No; there is not, that I know of.

Senator KING. And, knowing that this country was at war with Germany, knowing that there was a feeling, to use your own expression, of hostility against the organization in this country, because it was supposed to be connected with a pan-Germanic movement and because it was supposed that there was a spirit for a greater Germany

entertained by some of the members of your organization, you did not feel called upon in your address to the members of your organization to say anything to stimulate their enthusiasm for the war, their zeal and devotion to their country—I mean this country—and to lead them to that mental attitude toward our Nation that should be assumed by every man who is patriotic?

Mr. VON BOSSE. My only purpose in writing that article was to speak of the Alliance as such; but what you tell me was done in other articles in the Bulletin, and it was taken absolutely as self-evident by me that those things are being done all over by German-Americans.

Senator KING. Dr. von Bosse, you have stated that it was being done, that there was something being said in the Bulletin in favor of the war and urging devotion to our country and patriotism. I shall be very glad if you will furnish to the committee references to that.

Mr. VON BOSSE. The editorial column is headed—I have not any of the Bulletins with me. I think they have been submitted; have they not, Mr. Scholtz?

Mr. SCHOLTZ. The Bulletins have been submitted to the committee for such use as they may make of them.

Mr. VON BOSSE. The Government's requests were printed to buy Liberty Bonds and to buy War Stamps, and so forth.

Senator KING. Will you leave with the committee for a few days copies of the Bulletin? We will see that they are returned to you.

Mr. VON BOSSE. Yes. I think that we have all the copies here.

Mr. SCHOLTZ. They are here for your consideration.

Senator KING. Will you just leave them with the clerk to the committee, so that we may have access to them?

Mr. SCHOLTZ. Yes, sir.

Senator KING. On October 17, 1916, you wrote a letter to Mr. Charles Schmelzer, of Wilmington, Del.?

Mr. VON BOSSE. Yes; I recall that letter.

Senator KING. In which you referred to the Neutrality League?

Mr. VON BOSSE. Yes.

Senator KING. That league was promoted by the Alliance, was it not?

Mr. VON BOSSE. Not in Wilmington.

Senator KING. Well, in the country?

Mr. VON BOSSE. No, sir; the Alliance had nothing to do with the Neutrality League. The Alliance, as such, had nothing to do with it. Members of the Alliance, and I presume officers, were in it.

Senator KING. And were there editorials in your paper devoted to the league, the Neutrality League?

Mr. VON BOSSE. In the Bulletin?

Senator KING. Yes.

Mr. VON BOSSE. I do not remember.

Senator KING. My recollection is that there were.

Mr. VON BOSSE. Possibly so; I do not remember, though. I remember the letter.

Senator KING. You said in that letter:

> We are not fighting a party but an individual. And the German-Americans are in this fight to a finish—remember this.

Mr. VON BOSSE. Yes; I remember that letter.

Senator KING. You conveyed the idea there, did you not, that the German-Americans en bloc could be used in mass in political activity?

Mr. VON BOSSE. As far as that could be said by an individual.

Senator KING. Did you believe what you said?

Mr. VON BOSSE. I know I wrote that letter at that time, and I know just as much as anyone else that the German-Americans can never be used en bloc politically; but that I knew exactly that, according to everything we could see, the German-Americans were at that time spontaneously of that opinion.

Senator KING. Do you not think that statements of this character are calculated to strengthen the view, which you say existed in this country, that there was a separatist movement upon the part of the German-American Alliance and a purpose to keep German-Americans in a bloc and to use them politically.

Mr. VON BOSSE. Yes; I do, and I was always sorry, afterwards, that I had written that letter.

Senator KING. Do you not know that statements are found in the Bulletin which are attributed to Dr. Richard Bartholdt, in which he said:

> We must now forget our party and, without consideration for our previous inclinations and wishes vote only for those who are the friends of Germanism.

And do you not think that those statements would be calculated to strengthen the view that the purpose of your organization would be to keep the Germans in a solid bloc?

Mr. VON BOSSE. Senator, I admit that many of those things were included that, when viewed in that light——

Senator KING. Dr. Bartholdt was the man who secured the charter for your organization?

Mr. VON BOSSE. Yes; I know that from the proceedings.

Senator KING. And he has frequently addressed your organization?

Mr. VON BOSSE. Yes.

Senator KING. He has been an honored guest?

Mr. VON BOSSE. Yes; and always has.

Senator KING. As he is an honored citizen of this Republic.

Do you know what the fact is as to whether or not the president of the American Independence Union and the president of the New York Federation of German Societies were the most active members of the executive committee of the Friends of Peace, an organization which was formed for the purpose, among other things, of preventing the shipment of munitions, and so on?

Mr. VON BOSSE. I know of the president of the New York Federation, but I could not answer for the other men.

Senator KING. What is the fact as to the activity of your organization in securing the formation of the Neutrality League and the organization of the American Embargo Conference?

Mr. VON BOSSE. You mean what did the Alliance have to do with it?

Senator KING. Yes.

Mr. VON BOSSE. So far as I know, nothing.

Senator KING. Did the Bulletin advocate the formation of those associations, and did the leaders of your national organization participate in the formation of those associations?

Mr. VON BOSSE. I do not know.

Senator KING. What is the Teutonic Sons of America?

Mr. VON BOSSE. As far as I know it is a little society with a few hundred members that made a big splurge for a while.

Senator KING. That was affiliated with your organization, was it not?

Mr. VON BOSSE. I do not know. I do not think so, because the members of our association in Chicago spoke not very highly of the Teutonic Sons of America.

Senator KING. What action did your organization take in supporting the Fatherland and the Gaelic-American after they were excluded from the public library?

Mr. VON BOSSE. May I ask when they were excluded from the public library?

Senator KING. Within the past two years, as I recollect.

Mr. VON BOSSE. I do not know of any action that our association took.

Senator KING. Did not the State alliances of New York and New Jersey take up the fight in the courts?

Mr. VON BOSSE. They may have done it, but I do not know if they did or not.

Senator KING. Do you recall what attitude the Bulletin took upon that matter?

Mr. VON BOSSE. No, sir.

Senator KING. In 1910 was not the scope of the agreement entered into between the National German-American Alliance and the Ancient Order of Hibernians enlarged?

Mr. VON BOSSE. I do not know of that, either.

Senator KING (continuing). And a closer union—political union, a union for political purposes—effectuated?

Mr. VON BOSSE. I do not know of that.

Senator KING. Is there any way that you could ascertain?

Mr. VON BOSSE. The only way I can ascertain is by asking Dr. Hexamer about it or any of the leaders of the Hibernians. They would know.

Senator KING. Have you the original minutes of the actions of the executive committee and the president?

Mr. VON BOSSE. On that matter?

Senator KING. Yes; on that matter.

Mr. VON BOSSE. The secretary would be the man to have it.

Senator KING. You have not got it?

Mr. VON BOSSE. I have not got it; no.

Senator KING. Is it not a fact that, pursuant to an arrangement that was entered into between the two associations in 1910—that is, pursuant to an arrangement by which the union between the two organizations was closer and more powerful—they defeated or attempted to defeat the ratification of the arbitration treaty between England and the United States?

Mr. VON BOSSE. I have heard of that.

Senator KING. Was not that currently understood in your organization?

Mr. VON BOSSE. I understood so.

Senator KING. It is a fact, then, is it not, that the National German-American Alliance and the Hibernian society entered actively into a political campaign, when Mr. Taft was President of the United States, to defeat the arbitration treaty between Great Britain and the United States?

Mr. VON BOSSE. I know they were opposed to it. I do not know to what extent they fought it.

Senator KING. And is it not a fact that the organs of each of those organizations, of those societies, spoke in a gratulatory way of their success in defeating the treaty?

Mr. VON BOSSE. I do not know.

(Thereupon, after informal discussion, at 6.20 o'clock p. m., the subcommittee adjourned until to-morrow, Friday, March 22, 1918, at 10.30 o'clock a. m.)

NATIONAL GERMAN-AMERICAN ALLIANCE.

FRIDAY, MARCH 22, 1918.

UNITED STATES SENATE,
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY,
Washington, D. C.

The subcommittee met at 10.30 o'clock a. m. in the room of the Committee on the Judiciary in the Capitol.

Present: Senators King (chairman), Wolcott, and Sterling.

TESTIMONY OF MR. VON BOSSE—Resumed.

Senator STERLING. Mr. Chairman, since I shall have to be absent later in the morning, I beg leave to ask Dr. von Bosse a question or two now.

Senator KING. All right; go ahead, sir.

Senator STERLING. Dr. von Bosse, you on yesterday read an extract from an article in the Outlook for February 27, 1918, entitled "Information about the French," did you not?

Mr. VON BOSSE. Yes, sir.

Senator STERLING. You did not read the entire article?

Mr. VON BOSSE. No; I just read a part of it.

Senator STERLING. Mr. Chairman, I think that this entire article from the Outlook, from which Dr. von Bosse quoted on yesterday, ought to go into the record, because the first part of it, anyhow, is rather an inducement, leading up to the part that he read.

(The article referred to is here printed in the record in full, as follows:)

[From The Outlook, February 27, 1918, Volume 118, No. 9, pages 318–319.]

INFORMATION ABOUT THE FRENCH.

We have received from a lady living in one of the most progressive, prosperous, and well-informed cities of New York State—a university town—the following interesting and suggestive letter:

"Has it occurred to you that, in spite of the fact that we are allies of the French and that there is a general acceptance of the fact of their bravery as a nation and people, yet many good Americans harbor a certain prejudice against the French as individuals, as a social entity, associate with them vice and fashions, absinthe drinking, grisettes, and Latin Quarters? Would not a series of articles and stories bringing out the domestic side of the people as it really has existed and as it exists now—the modesty and purity of the girls, the devotion of fathers and husbands, the helpfulness and cleverness of the women as they normally have been—would not such articles help to a better appreciation of the French people?

"When the war was only six weeks old, in 1914, the minister of a large church here in ———, in a sermon ridiculed the *degenerate* French nation. Of course, he had been imbibing at a German fountain of truth. In our high schools, at least at ——— high school, the French Department is still under the German Department, with a strong pro-German, an American of German an-

cestry, at its head. It will take some effort on the part of parents and taxpayers to change to a French head, although there is a stampede of pupils from the German classes into the French.

"Now, if in a patriotic, devoted city such as ours such prejudice exists, why not elsewhere? This feeling toward the French reminds me faintly of the feeling of the abolitionists for the slaves and that of many northern people to-day for the negro: 'Let him be free and have civil rights, but, for Heaven's sake, keep him down South!'"

In response to this letter we make one or two practical suggestions to our correspondent. First, establish a *Groupe* of the Alliance Française, if one does not already exist in your community. The Alliance Française is an American association whose purpose is to do exactly what you want to have done in your community. Through lectures and literature it extends a knowledge among Americans of the French character, the French people, and the fine and noble achievements of the French in literature, science, and art. Full information about the Alliance Française may be obtained by writing to its secretary, Prof. Louis Delamarre, 200 Fifth Avenue, New York.

Second, ask all your friends who really want to know the truth, but who fail to understand the French people because they are not in the possession of the facts, if they have read any of the following books: First, "Round My House," by Philip Gilbert Hammerton. Hammerton was an English artist and art critic of a very fine nature, who married a French woman and lived much of his time in the French countryside. "Round My House" is a delightful interpretation and portrayal of French family life outside of Paris. It is most agreeable reading and full of anecdotes and touches of humor. Second, "French Traits," by W. C. Brownell. Mr. Brownell is perhaps the foremost living American critic of literature, customs, and manners. He had a New England education and lives in New York, but is a master of French literature. His book was published 20 years ago, after he had lived in France for some time, but it is as true to-day as it was at the time it was published. It is full of keen insight and brilliant wit, and it is brief. Third, "The France of To-Day," by Prof. Barrett Wendell, of Harvard University. Mr. Wendell was a lecturer at the Sorbonne in Paris and other French universities in 1904–5. The purpose of his book is to give the American reader some understanding of the substantial and estimable qualities of the French nature.

The American who will read these three volumes will have a very different idea of France, the French family, and the French individual from that which is current in the ordinary Broadway play and the yellow-backed novel.

Senator STERLING. Dr. von Bosse, on yesterday I understood you to say, in answer to the chairman, that the love of German social customs and the perpetuation of the love of such social customs was one of the chief things, or one of the chief objects, of the German-American Alliance. You stated that in your testimony yesterday?

Mr. VON BOSSE. Substantially that.

Senator STERLING. Now, Dr. von Bosse, do you think that the perpetuation of the love of the social customs of any nationality or race would justify the granting of a Federal charter to such association, that being one of its chief objects?

Mr. VON BOSSE. No; not that alone.

Senator STERLING. There has been no active participation by the Alliance in the work of conserving the principles of representative government?

Mr. VON BOSSE. I just can not recall at the moment.

Senator STERLING. There has been no particular literature issued by or under the auspices of the German-American Alliance teaching the principles of representative government?

Mr. VON BOSSE. Not by the national body.

Senator STERLING. Well, we are talking about the national body. In many instances, and in answer to many questions here, you have excused the acts of the local alliances on the ground that they were not the acts of the National Alliance; or, rather, you have excused the

National Alliance on the ground that these acts were acts of the local alliances.

Mr. VON BOSSE. Yes; I see your point, Senator. Only in so far as the State branches were admonished to teach these principles to the immigrants that were within their circles.

Senator STERLING. In what way has the National Alliance admonished the local alliances or State alliances to teach these principles through any literature sent out to them?

Mr. VON BOSSE. I can not recollect any special literature, at the time, but I do recollect some speeches that were made in connection with that.

Senator STERLING. So far as literature is concerned, do you recall any other literature than that little booklet presented here the other day by Mr. Timm himself, consisting of questions and answers which were meant for the purpose of aiding Germans in becoming naturalized?

Mr. VON BOSSE. I do recollect circulars that were received by me in which it was pointed out that under the general heading of the aims, and so forth, this work should be carried on; but not otherwise.

Senator STERLING. You have none of those circulars here?

Mr. VON BOSSE. No; I have not; I have none of them on hand.

Senator STERLING. No literature has been put out by the National German-American Alliance teaching the nature of our free institutions as contradistinguished from monarchical or autocratic institutions?

Mr. VON BOSSE. I could not answer that question now; I do not know.

Senator STERLING. And yet that was one of the purposes of your organization, was it not?

Mr. VON BOSSE. Yes.

Senator STERLING. As declared in the charter, to teach the nature of free institutions?

Mr. VON BOSSE. Yes.

Senator STERLING. And the study of American history?

Mr. VON BOSSE. Yes.

Senator STERLING. Have you put out any books or any literature of any kind concerning American history, except such as has related to the deeds of individual Germans and their connection with that history?

Mr. VON BOSSE. Not that I know of.

Senator STERLING. And, as a matter of fact, you have not put out much literature of that kind?

Mr. VON BOSSE. No.

Senator STERLING. You have not?

Mr. VON BOSSE. I do not recollect it.

Senator STERLING. I think that is all, Mr. Chairman, that I care to ask now.

Senator KING. Have you any other questions, Senator Wolcott?

Senator WOLCOTT. No.

Senator KING. Does the parent organization admit State or local organizations to membership?

Mr. VON BOSSE. Does it do that?

Senator KING. Yes.

Mr. VON BOSSE. Yes; that is, State organizations.

Senator KING. In admitting them does it require any profession of faith, any subscribing to the purposes and aims of your organization?

Mr. VON BOSSE. Now, I could not say that, because since I am connected with this I do not recollect any having been received; but I presume there would be required a testimony as to the aims laid down in the constitution.

Senator KING. Does it claim the right to exercise any supervision or control over State or local organizations?

Mr. VON BOSSE. No.

Senator KING. Might a State or local organization carry on a propaganda hurtful to this country or hostile to the purposes (as you contend these purposes to be) of the parent organization without the parent organization having any authority or control over it?

Mr. VON BOSSE. The parent organization would undoubtedly step in; but I do not know how much it could do or what authority it would have.

Senator KING. Has it ever stepped in?

Mr. VON BOSSE. Yes.

Senator KING. To rebuke any State organization?

Mr. VON BOSSE. Yes; I have letters here which will show that. Mr. Timm, will you please get those New York and New Jersey letters? It was in 1906.

Senator KING. In 1906?

Mr. VON BOSSE. Yes.

Senator KING. Is that the only occasion, so far as you know?

Mr. VON BOSSE. That is the only occasion I know of, with the exception of that warning which I read here, which might be looked upon as that.

Senator KING. Did it do anything with respect to the activities of the Wisconsin State Alliance when they urged political activity?

Mr. VON BOSSE. I do not know.

Senator KING. Or in Nebraska, when they urged political union?

Mr. VON BOSSE. I do not know.

Senator KING. Or in any other of the States?

Mr. VON BOSSE. I do not know about it.

Senator KING. What was the occasion in 1906 of any interference by the parent organization with the State organizations?

Mr. VON BOSSE. Political activity.

Senator KING. What was the political activity with reference to which it was made?

Mr. VON BOSSE. The secretary will have the letters presently, if you will wait a minute. These letters [indicating file] are in German. Shall I read them, Senator?

The occasion was, in the letter to New York, where the executive committee of the State branch of New York indorsed Mr. Hughes, the Republican candidate for governor in the State of New York, and the reasons are asked for by Dr. C. J. Hexamer, and the closing of the letter stated that the Doctor feels himself bound or obligated to watch over the strictest following—I will say the strictest accordance with—the platform in regard to mixing in partisan politics, and said he was forced to interfere "only a week ago in the State of New Jersey". That is the substance of that letter.

Senator WOLCOTT. How extensive is that correspondence between Dr. Hexamer and the New York State Alliance?

Mr. VON BOSSE. I could not say. The secretary wrote in the name of the president.

Senator WOLCOTT. Let me ask this: Did not the position of Dr. Hexamer in that matter result in keeping the New York State Alliance from following up that indorsement of Gov. Hughes? That is, did he accomplish the result of keeping the State Alliance out of politics at that particular time?

Mr. VON BOSSE. At that particular time, I could not say.

Senator WOLCOTT. You could not say?

Mr. VON BOSSE. No; I did not just know the incidents at that time.

Senator KING. Dr. Hexamer asked a question? He wished to know the reasons?

Mr. VON BOSSE. Yes; he wished to know the reasons why they indorsed him.

Senator KING. Is the reply there?

Mr. VON BOSSE. Yes; the reply is here.

Senator KING. From the chairman of the State organization?

Mr. VON BOSSE. From the member of the executive committee. He was president at that time—Mr. Lohrmann.

Senator KING. What reason does he assign?

Mr. VON BOSSE. I would have to read the whole letter to you, because I did not read this letter myself. I only knew of the incident, and saw them before.

Senator KING. Read it to yourself, and then give us a fair résumé.

Mr. VON BOSSE (after examining letter). The first I see here is that Mr. Hughes is a man of strong character and would probably be more willing to listen to the German element of New York State in its wishes and desires than his opponent. It also mentions that it is not politics or "making loving eyes" or "favoritism" for the Republican Party, because it has always almost exclusively been Democratic, but the fact that Mr. Hughes would have more consideration for the wishes of the German element. Then he goes on—I can not read this gentleman's writing very well; it is a little hard to read. I do not know who his opponent was.

Senator WOLCOTT. Was the opponent Dix?

Mr. VON BOSSE. No; it is not Dix that is mentioned here. At any rate, that is the reason assigned.

Senator KING. What was the action of the State alliance in urging the support of Gov. Hughes? What form did it take?

Mr. VON BOSSE. What form did it take?

Senator KING. Have you any memorandum there?

Mr. VON BOSSE. I could not say.

Senator KING. Was there an order sent out from the State Alliance?

Mr. VON BOSSE. I do not know what the action was. Maybe I will find it here. [Further examining file.] The secretary would be much better qualified to answer that than I would.

Senator KING. You have the files there in your hands, and I did not know but what they might reveal it.

Mr. VON BOSSE. Yes; I did not read these. I only read the first letter in connection with the preparation for defense.

Senator KING. Did the matter end with that letter of Dr. Hexamer and the reply?

Mr. VON BOSSE. There are some other letters here.

Senator KING. What reply was then made by Dr. Hexamer to that letter you have just called attention to?

Mr. VON BOSSE. I do not know.

Senator KING. Are the letters there?

Mr. VON BOSSE. Yes; the letters are here. If you will give me time, I will look this file over. [After further examination.] No; I find no other letter of Dr. Hexamer here. No; in fact, the other letter that I mentioned here was written by Mr. Timm.

Senator KING. There is no letter by Dr. Hexamer, then, at all?

Mr. VON BOSSE. No; I do not find any letter from Dr. Hexamer, but it is mentioned in that first letter that Mr. Timm writes.

TESTIMONY OF MR. TIMM—Resumed.

Senator KING. Mr. Timm is sitting at your left hand there. I will just ask him a question.

Mr. TIMM. Yes, sir.

Senator KING. Is that all that occurred with reference to that New York matter?

Mr. TIMM. Yes, sir. The executive committee of the State Branch of New York held a meeting and refused to obey the warning of the national officers, scolding them in a four-page letter in very strong terms.

Senator KING. Was the only warning of the national officers the one that Dr. von Bosse has just read?

Mr. TIMM. No, sir. There is one against the indorsing of the whole Democratic State ticket of New Jersey.

Senator KING. But I mean in the New York matter?

Mr. TIMM. Yes; in the New York matter.

Senator KING. The only warning, then, is that which is in that letter to which Dr. von Bosse has just called our attention?

Mr. TIMM. Yes.

Senator KING. So that the transaction in New York, or the matter in New York, ended with a reply to your letter, in which—to use your expression—you were scolded for having written?

Mr. TIMM. Yes.

Senator KING. Did the parent organization take any steps then?

Mr. TIMM. No, sir.

Senator KING. While I am questioning you, Mr. Timm, I will ask, Are those two the only times that the parent organization has said anything to the State organizations or local organizations because of their activities in politics?

Mr. TIMM. As far as I remember; yes.

Senator KING. What did the New Jersey organization do which provoked or caused any correspondence?

Mr. TIMM. They promised to take back the action indorsing the whole Democratic State ticket, but claimed the right to indorse the candidates individually—each candidate individually. They claimed that indorsing single candidates was not party politics; they admitted in indorsing the whole State ticket they went into party politics.

Senator KING. But the indorsement of individuals was all right?

Mr. TIMM. That is what they claimed.

Senator KING. What, if anything, did you say to the State organization?

Mr. TIMM. I will have to look this up, Senator. [After examining papers.] In a letter to Mr. George Grimme, of Newark, the secretary pro tempore of the committee on agitation of the State Branch of New Jersey, it was stated that the indorsing of the Democratic State ticket was not in line with paragraph 2 of the principles of the Alliance to keep out of party politics.

Senator KING. Did you write that letter?

Mr. TIMM. Yes.

Senator KING. Is that all that was said?

Mr. TIMM. I think I was in error in stating that the letter was directed to Mr. Grimme. It was directed to Mr. Adolph Lankering.

Senator KING. Your letter was?

Mr. TIMM. Yes.

Senator KING. Who was he?

Mr. TIMM. He was the chairman of the committee on legislation. He is from Hoboken—ex-mayor of Hoboken. And it was stated in the letter that it was a great mistake to indorse the whole State ticket.

Senator KING. That is, you stated that?

Mr. TIMM. Yes, sir. It was stated, "This is the first case in which this has been done to the knowledge of the national officers"; and it is stated further that "The matter is of such importance that a special meeting of the whole State Alliance should be called, and they are further requested to inform us of all steps they are taking in the matter."

Senator KING. Was that all that was done?

Mr. TIMM. In his letter Mr. Lankering says that he called the attention of Mr. Guter and Col. Stahl, of Trenton, N. J., and he says that in behalf of the committee on legislation of the State Branch of New Jersey he denied the charge that they went into party politics; that they only indorsed Congressman Parker, he says. It is a very lengthy letter, Senator.

Senator KING. You may read it through, and, if there is anything that you want to put in to supplement what you have said, you may do so later.

Mr. TIMM. Yes, sir.

Senator KING. Was anything done by your organization other than writing the letter, or causing to be written the letter that you have mentioned?

Mr. TIMM. Nothing that I remember.

Senator KING. Did you write that letter or were you directed by Dr. Hexamer to do it?

Mr. TIMM. I was directed by Dr. Hexamer.

Senator KING. The State organizations or the national organization did nothing further in the matter?

Mr. TIMM. No, sir; because the State branches claimed the right of home rule in their States.

Senator KING. That is, the State branches claimed the right to indorse whom they pleased and claimed that the parent organization had no control over them?

Mr. TIMM. Yes; and we have to admit that they have that right.

Senator KING. The State organizations did, then, from time to time indorse individuals and sometimes whole tickets?

Mr. TIMM. Probably they did.

Senator KING. To your knowledge they did that, did they?

Mr. TIMM. In New Jersey they did.

Senator KING. In other States?

Mr. TIMM. Yes; they may have done it.

Senator KING. There was no disciplining of any of those organizations in any other States for their indorsement of tickets or candidates of parties?

Mr. TIMM. No, sir.

TESTIMONY OF MR. VON BOSSE—Resumed.

Senator KING. Dr. von Bosse, here [indicating] is a little leaflet put out by the Iowa organization.

Mr. VON BOSSE. Yes; I see [examining paper].

Senator KING. In what year was that?

Mr. VON BOSSE. "Hughes and Fairbanks for President and Vice President." I do not know.

Senator KING. Just read that, please.

Mr. VON BOSSE (translating):

H. Miller, president; F. J. Grant, vice president; Edward L. Durand, honorary president; R. Lorenz, recording secretary; H. C. Claussen, financial secretary; J. Schnack, treasurer. Iowa Branch National German-American Alliance.
Dear friends:——

Senator KING. Is it not "To the voters of German and Austro-Hungarian descent"?

Mr. VON BOSSE. It says here, "Dear friends". That is all it says here.

Senator KING. What is this [indicating on paper]?

Mr. VON BOSSE. That is "Iowa State Branch of the National German-American Alliance." Then, "Honored friends"; that is the literal translation. Do you want me to translate it?

Senator KING. Yes.

Mr. VON BOSSE (translating):

We, members of the committee, advise [or, recommend] unanimously the following candidates:
Hughes and Fairbanks for President and Vice President, because we are really Americans who guard [or, maintain] the honor and the respect of the United States, not only as opposed to Germany but as opposed to England; and, further, we recommend W. L. Harding as governor, since Mr. Meredith praises the foreign policy of Wilson most highly—

That is a German technical expression which means "most highly"; it is literally "to the seventh skies"—

and thereby makes himself guilty also of friendship for England.
Finally, we recommend William Theophilus for supreme judge, whose——

Senator KING. "High standing"?

Mr. VON BOSSE. Yes; that would be good. [Continuing translation:]

whose high standing in his home city guarantees that he will be a just judge.

Senator KING. I hand you the English leaflet which was put out at the same time.

Mr. VON BOSSE. This begins, "To the voters of German and Austro-Hungarian descent".

Senator KING. That relates to the same matter, does it not?

Mr. VON BOSSE. Yes. It is expressed differently.

Senator KING. That is put out by the officers of the organization?

Mr. VON BOSSE. I do not know. This is a committee. I do not know if they were officers. This will bear it out [examining paper]. Durand is honorary president, and Schnack—yes; they were officers.

Senator KING. Do you know where that printed material emanated from?

Mr. VON BOSSE (examining paper). No, sir; this is the first time I have seen it. Will you let me read it?

Senator KING. Yes; I want you to read it.

Mr. VON BOSSE (after examination of paper). No; I never saw that before.

Senator KING. Do you know whether that emanated from one of your State alliances or from the National Alliance?

Mr. VON BOSSE. No; I never saw it before. That is the first time I have seen it.

Senator KING. Examine this, Mr. Timm [handing paper to Mr. Timm]. I will call you later.

(The papers referred to were here taken and examined by Mr. Timm.)

Senator KING. Dr. von Bosse, do you know what action the Michigan organization took in 1913 on the amendment to the State constitution?

Mr. VON BOSSE. No; I do not know.

Senator KING. Do you recall what action was taken by the Nebraska Alliance on woman suffrage?

Mr. VON BOSSE. No, sir.

Senator KING. And on local matters?

Mr. VON BOSSE. No, sir; I do not.

Senator KING. I show you a copy of what purports to be an address sent out by the organization [handing paper to the witness].

Mr. VON BOSSE (after examination). Is this Columbus, Ohio?

Senator KING. No; Nebraska.

Mr. VON BOSSE. Nebraska?

Senator KING. Yes.

Mr. VON BOSSE. I never saw that before. This is the first time I have seen it.

Senator KING. That may go in the record.

(The paper last referred to is here printed in the record in full, as follows:)

LOCAL ALLIANCE, COLUMBUS.

APPEAL TO THE MEMBERS OF THE LOCAL ALLIANCE OF COLUMBUS AND SURROUNDINGS.

DEAR SIR: The officers of the Local Alliance deem it their duty to direct the attention of their countrymen to certain questions which will be decided at the coming election.

We consider the proposed amendment to the Constitution granting the right of suffrage to women as the most important of these. Our State Alliance took a most decided stand against woman suffrage at its annual convention held in Columbus on August 25 last. Our German women do not want the right to vote, and since our opponents desire the right of suffrage mainly for the

purpose of saddling the yoke of prohibition on our necks we should oppose it with all our might.

In these times when on account of the European war the English-American press has stirred up popular sentiment against Germany and Germanism, it behooves us to stand together and to demonstrate to our many envious enemies our political power by giving to those candidates who are of German descent our full support in so far as they are capable of filling the offices to which they aspire.

[Here follows an appeal for the election of the following German-American candidates for Platte County offices: John Ratterman, Henry Lachnit, Otto F. Walter.]

From among the candidates for State offices we especially recommend Hon. John Morehead. He is our present Governor. He has always proven himself a friend of the Germans, and therefore deserves our ardent support and re-election.

For member of the State Senate we recommend Hon. Charles Krumbach.

For member of the State House of Representatives Hon. R. Reagan.

In conclusion, we most earnestly urge our friends of German speech and German descent not to permit business or other considerations to prevent them from going to the polls and cast their ballots as above directed.

With true German greeting,

THE COMMITTEE OF THE LOCAL ALLIANCE.

Senator KING. Do you have any knowledge or information as to the activities of the organizations in either of those States upon woman suffrage?

Mr. VON BOSSE. I know of one case. I can not just recall where it is written. I think that the Pennsylvania State Branch decided, if I am not mistaken, in the convention at Johnstown, Pa., to be absolutely neutral on the woman-suffrage question.

Senator KING. Do you recall in any other State action being taken one way or the other?

Mr. VON BOSSE. No; I do not.

Senator KING. Are there not references in your Bulletin to action in the States?

Mr. VON BOSSE. There may be.

Senator KING. I find in the Bulletin this statement:

Mr. Wilson will again be a candidate for the Presidency. All friends of true neutrality would be guilty of a capital folly if they again intrusted the fate of the United States to him. The only answer which they should give to the munition-peddling firm of Wilson & Bryan will be given at the ballot box. This writing on the wall should be apparent to President Wilson himself.

Do you remember a publication of that kind in the Bulletin urging the German-Americans to vote against Mr. Wilson?

Mr. VON BOSSE. It seems to me I remember some speeches that were given as State branch reports.

Senator KING. Are there editorials bearing upon that question?

Mr. VON BOSSE. I do not know.

Senator KING. In your Official Bulletin, on page 449, this occurs:

Only through the preservation of the German language can our race in this land be preserved from entire disappearance.

The principal matter would be the foundation of independent German schools, society and congregational schools, in which the language of instruction would be the German, and with English as the foreign language.

Do you recall such publications in your paper?

Mr. VON BOSSE. I do not recollect that.

Senator KING. In your Official Bulletin for May, 1916, on page 15 this occurs:

Certainly the most important convention which the New Jersey State Alliance has had since it existed was the one which took place in the Turn Halle of the

Vorwaerts Club in Elizabeth, N. J., on April 2. The climax was reached through the adoption by an overwhelming majority of the resolution of the Central Alliance of Essex County. This reads as follows:

"Against Wilson, Roosevelt, and Root. The Central Alliance of Essex County recommends the following resolution:

"'The German-American State Alliance of New Jersey decides in this its annual meeting to direct the attention of its members as well as of German-Americans in general to the approaching elections, and therein to take action against the nomination or election of such candidates, with all the resources that are at their command; that is, against candidates who are against the interests and the ideals of our National Alliance, and who also do not represent the true interests of the United States according to our views, but, rather, represent the interests of foreign governments who are at the present time at war against our old fatherland.'"

Are you familiar with that statement?

Mr. VON BOSSE. No; I am not.

Senator KING. Nothing was done by your national organization against that?

Mr. VON BOSSE. I do not know.

Senator KING. But that resolution is published in the Bulletin approvingly, is it not?

Mr. VON BOSSE. I do not know.

Senator KING. Do you know that the alliances of Ohio and Pennsylvania adopted similar resolutions?

Mr. VON BOSSE. I remember Ohio, but I do not remember Pennsylvania.

Senator KING. Is it not a fact that nearly all of the States in which there are German organizations adopted similar resolutions?

Mr. VON BOSSE. I do not know which of them did, or how many.

Senator KING. What is the fact as to whether or not the Bulletin records the action of a large number of States upon this matter?

Mr. VON BOSSE. I really could not say, as far as the Bulletin goes.

Senator WOLCOTT. In regard to what?

Senator KING. Against Wilson, Roosevelt, and Root.

Have you the Official Bulletin for May, 1916, here?

Senator WOLCOTT. While you are looking for that, would it interrupt the line of your questions if I asked a question not exactly related to it?

Senator KING. No; go ahead.

Senator WOLCOTT. Dr. von Bosse, I want to ask you concerning a sentence that I find in a letter of yours to the Sunday Star of April 30, 1916; it may perhaps have been 1915, although I think it was 1916. In it you explain why the German-Americans of this country are pro-German—sympathetic with Germany in her conflict with the allies. There is this paragraph:

> The German-Americans have come to the realization of the powers of evil which denunciation, calumny, and plain lies have thrown against Germany and they revolt; their conscience is seared to the quick; they awaken to the inborn racial instinct that those factors which they prize so highly are at stake and threatened with extinction if they do not insist on their maintenance.

To what did you refer by the phrase "those factors"?

Mr. VON BOSSE. I do not recollect, Senator, what I thought of at that time when I wrote that. I do not want to bother you by asking you to read it again, but I wish you would read it again.

(Senator Wolcott read the quotation again, in full.)

Mr. VON BOSSE. I could not state positively what was in my mind when I wrote that; but as I view it from this distance I would say that the factors I meant were the truth in reporting conditions as we thought they were abroad and the very things that were factors in our life that had come from Germany. That is the way I view it from this distance. I would not be positive.

Senator WOLCOTT. The thought that occurred to me was that what you meant by "those factors" was those phases of German civilization which the Germans prize.

Mr. VON BOSSE. Yes; I might. I do not know now.

Senator WOLCOTT. Going on now to the next two sentences, that is more particularly what I wanted to direct your attention to. That paragraph continues:

For the German-Americans this war means a great deal.

Now, of course, that is the war between Germany——

Mr. VON BOSSE. And the allies.

Senator WOLCOTT. And the allies; before we were in it?

Mr. VON BOSSE. Yes.

Senator WOLCOTT (continuing reading):

It means the destruction or the preservation of their ideals, of their history, of their entire viewpoint. It means the preservation or destruction of what they truly and without malice or a despising attitude to others consider the best in the human family.

Now, if that was true the day you wrote it, it is true to-day.

Mr. VON BOSSE. I do not know if it is.

Senator WOLCOTT. You do not assume to express your individual view in this. I want you to note that. You assume to appraise, so to speak, the mental attitude of German-Americans in this country toward the war; and you say that the German-Americans were of the opinion that that war directed against Germany meant "the preservation or destruction of what they"—that is, the German-Americans—"truly and without malice or a despising attitude to others consider the best in the human family."

Mr. VON BOSSE. The entrance of the United States into the war changes the entire aspect, so far as I am concerned. I stated that immediately. I do not want to-day to be held responsible for things I wrote while I still had a right to write them.

Senator WOLCOTT. To-day, then, you would say that it is not true that the German-Americans would consider the success or defeat of Germany, as the case might be, to be "the preservation or destruction of what they truly and without malice or a despising attitude to others consider the best in the human family"?

Mr. VON BOSSE. I would not attempt to gauge what the German-Americans think to-day as I did then in those days. It was not hard then to find out what German-Americans thought—I mean through public utterances—if they spoke what was in them, and I think they did. That would be virtually impossible, for me to do that to-day—to speak for them in that way.

Senator WOLCOTT. The light in which I viewed this statement, as I read it, was that you were stating that the German-Americans were of the belief that if Germany were defeated the best in the human family was lost, that that is what was your opinion as expressed in this letter.

Mr. VON BOSSE. Yes.

Senator WOLCOTT. But you would not reiterate that to-day?

Mr. VON BOSSE. No; I would not reiterate it now.

Senator KING. Would you believe that Germany has the best in the human family?

Mr. VON BOSSE. Do I believe that to-day?

Senator KING. Yes.

Mr. VON BOSSE. With some qualifications—I think my father, to me, is the best in the human family—in that light.

Senator WOLCOTT. I suppose that the real fact of the matter is, Dr. von Bosse, that when you wrote that you were then indulging in this amateur propaganda that you spoke of?

Mr. VON BOSSE. Well, now, that propaganda work all emanated from me, you understand.

Senator WOLCOTT. I know, but——

Mr. VON BOSSE. I know how propaganda is looked upon.

Senator WOLCOTT (continuing). It was your own individual propaganda?

Mr. VON BOSSE. My personal feelings in the matter. Of course, that is pretty hard to prove that, naturally; but my talks with Mr. Martin, the editor of the Star, would, I think, bear that out to some extent. But those things are hard to prove, naturally.

Senator WOLCOTT. The significance of this sort of thing is that it does not purport to express your individual views but expresses what you conceived to have been the attitude of all German-Americans?

Mr. VON BOSSE. That is the point; and I think that all of us, under stress of excitement, or when we take up for a cause, say a lot of things that we would never say later or if we thought they were going to be taken up.

Senator WOLCOTT. That is undoubtedly true.

Mr. VON BOSSE. I admit that, as to many of the things that I wrote and said, if I had ever thought of any possibility of these things coming up, I know I would have studied the Bulletin a little differently, to be posted on some of these things.

Senator WOLCOTT. You were not mindful at that particular time of Job's saying, that he wished his adversary had written a book?

Mr. VON BOSSE. You know that part of sacred history better than I do.

Senator WOLCOTT. I really asked you that question not so much to try to make a point as to give you the opportunity to disclaim it as any present view of yours.

Mr. VON BOSSE. Yes.

Senator KING. Is that all, Senator?

Senator WOLCOTT. Yes.

Senator KING. Dr. von Bosse, I find in 1915, in volume 7 of the Official Bulletin, No. 9, page 39, the following by Dr. Hexamer:

> Teach your children German. Become citizens of this land and exercise your rights at the ballot box. Take office, and support your German candidates.

Were not statements of that kind frequently published in the Bulletin for the purpose of influencing members of the German-American Alliance?

Mr. VON BOSSE. Yes; I remember some.

Senator KING. To maintain their racial solidarity and to vote only for Germans?

Mr. VON BOSSE. To vote only for Germans?

Senator KING. Yes.

Mr. VON BOSSE. I do not recollect.

Senator KING. Were not statements of that character contained in the Bulletin calculated to keep the German people en bloc and cause them to act together in political and all other matters?

Mr. VON BOSSE. Yes; they might.

Senator KING. In the Official Bulletin, volume 8, No. 4, page 18, I find the following:

A meeting of the State executive committee took place recently in Chicago. It devoted itself to political questions and passed out the watchword, "Everybody against Roosevelt and Wilson." There was a thorough discussion of the political situation, and the following motion was adopted:

"That the executive committee of the State Alliance of Illinois gives all subsidiary alliances the watchword 'Everybody against Roosevelt and Wilson' in order to prevent the nomination of these men as candidates for the Presidency; that all local alliances and societies are ordered to take all necessary steps in their localities to accomplish this result; that the alliances are to be notified by the executive committee of this their problem as quickly as possible, and that copies of the report adopted by the Chicago Alliance, which was approved by the officials of the National Alliance as well as of the executive committee of the State Alliance, be sent to all branch alliances."

You are aware of that publication, are you not?

Mr. VON BOSSE. I have heard of it before; yes.

Senator KING. And it avers there that this was approved by the National Alliance?

Mr. VON BOSSE. I understand that it does, but it had absolutely no right to do that.

Senator KING. Did the National Alliance ever disavow it?

Mr. VON BOSSE. No; but they had no right to do that.

Senator KING. It is published in the Official Bulletin.

Mr. VON BOSSE. I do not know whether it was.

Senator KING. I am reading from the Bulletin.

Mr. VON BOSSE. Are you quoting from the Bulletin?

Senator KING. Yes.

Mr. VON BOSSE. I take your word for it.

Senator KING. I was reading that quotation from the Official Bulletin, volume 8, No. 4, page 18.

Mr. SCHOLTZ (after making search). We do not seem to have that volume of the Bulletin here.

Senator KING. All right. I find also in volume 8, No. 5, page 21, of the Bulletin, the following:

OREGON.

IMPORTANT SESSION OF THE STATE ALLIANCE OF GERMAN-SPEAKING SOCIETIES—INTERESTING INCITEMENT WITH REFERENCE TO RELIEF WORK AND THE PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN WAS GIVEN.

The regular meeting of the State Alliance of German-speaking societies of Oregon, held on April 1 in the German House, in Portland, was marked not only by the large attendance but also by active participation in the debates. President F. H. Dammasch [this man was the seventh vice president of the National German-American Alliance] opened the meeting and Secretary Edgar Winter took the minutes. * * *

ADVICE IN REGARD TO THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION.

Mr. Ernst Kroner, president of the American Neutrality League, gave a speech in which he gave advice as to how the German-speaking population could overthrow the present pro-British administration in the coming presidential election. Although he belonged himself to the Democratic Party, Mr. Kroner declared under no circumstances should a Democratic President be elected, since among the Democratic presidential candidates only Woodrow Wilson was being considered, and since Mr. Wilson was intent upon the annihilation of Germanism in the United States, and in addition to that was an opponent hard to beat, there was left but one weapon, and that was, without reference to previous party affiliation, to register as Republicans and to vote for a Republican presidential candidate.

The German-speaking population, and with that the speaker meant the Germans, Austrians, and Swiss, must in this exceptional case take the view that it is necessary to stand together unanimously in order to prevent the election of Wilson or Roosevelt. In order to achieve this result there is only one means at hand, and that is to acknowledge themselves as Republicans in the coming election. Afterwards everyone could be free to return to his previous party. That the speaker was not preaching to deaf ears was apparent from the enthusiastic applause which followed his assertions. President Dammasch supplemented Mr. Kroner's assertions with the statement that those persons who had already registered as Democrats could still before April 18 change their party affiliation. He also warned them not to register themselves as independents, which a great many women were doing, since in that manner many votes were lost for the purpose in view. It was understood, of course, that every German and every German woman would make use of the ballot box and would register. Delegates Arnold Keller, Frenz Kraxberger, and Gerhard Gotz also pointed out in a few words how necessary it was for everyone to whom the administration hostile to Germany was hateful to ignore his personal interest and this time register as Republican.

You are familiar with that publication?

Mr. VON BOSSE. No; I am not familiar with most of those, but I do not doubt that they were in there.

Senator KING. No action was taken by the organization to repudiate this State action?

Mr. VON BOSSE. Not that I know of.

Senator KING. But, upon the contrary, publicity and currency were given to the declarations by their publication in the official organ?

Mr. VON BOSSE. If it was there; yes.

Senator KING. I find in the Official Bulletin, volume 7, No. 7, page 18 the following from the report of the Wisconsin State Alliance:

> It is well known that Germanism in the State of Wisconsin does not by a long ways play the rôle which is owing to it from its numerical importance and its great participation in upbuilding the State. Since in this respect a change can be brought about only through the legislature, the executive committee obtained information as to all legislative candidates with reference to their position in regard to the principles of the National Alliance. The lists so prepared were sent to the alliances throughout the State with the result that the present law-giving body is more favorable to the efforts of the Alliance than ever before.

No repudiation by the State or national organization or disavowal of that ever occurred?

Mr. VON BOSSE. Not that I ever heard.

Senator KING. In the Official Bulletin, volume 8, No. 4, page 20, I find the following:

MASSACHUSETTS.

THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE STATE ALLIANCE CALLS ATTENTION TO THE IMPORTANCE OF THE ELECTION OF DELEGATES FOR THE NATIONAL CONVENTION.

The State Alliance of Massachusetts has sent the following circular out and therein has summoned the citizens of German descent to do their duty at the ballot box:—

Now, this is what was sent out—

"All citizens of German descent are notified that on April 25 there will take place the election of delegates for the national conventions which nominate presidential candidates. * * *

"All citizens of German descent should take part in the primaries and use their influence to this end so that so far as possible such delegates are elected in all parts who will vote only for such presidential candidates as represent true neutrality and the best interests of the American people."

No action was ever taken by your national organization in regard to that?

Mr. VON BOSSE. Not that I know of.

Senator KING. In the Official Bulletin, volume 8, No. 4, page 27, I find the following report from the Spokane (Wash.) Alliance:

The political committee of the Central Alliance which will have the duty of managing the approaching election consists so far of Messrs. Munter, Suksdorf, etc.

You understood that they appointed a committee there to manage the election?

Mr. VON BOSSE. That is what I understand from those words.

Senator KING. No repudiation of that from your national organization?

Mr. VON BOSSE. Yes.

Senator KING. The Official Bulletin, in volume 8, No. 5, page 15, contains the following report from California:

On April 6 there was a meeting in the Turnhalle of Sacramento. This meeting was called by the city alliance in order to bring German-speaking American citizens into closer touch, especially to produce a closer feeling between the German churches of all confessions and the German societies and to unite the Germanism into a solid phalanx, in order that it might enter the lists in the approaching elections for the preservation of the rights of German-American citizens.

This object was completely accomplished, for the meeting could justly be described as a fraternizing of the German-speaking element. Among the numerous gifted speakers there were clergymen both of the Protestant and Catholic churches who gave expression to their patriotic feelings in eloquent words.

Dr. C. A. Nahl, the president of the city alliance, acted as chairman.

There was no disavowal of that action, was there?

Mr. VON BOSSE. I consider the warning that Dr. Hexamer sent out as sufficient safeguard against those things. I think that warning amounts to a disavowal. I just happened to think of it at present.

Senator KING. Dr. Hexamer, however, made statements at various times urging them to stand together, to be united, and to vote for those entertaining views the ideals of Germanism?

Mr. VON BOSSE. For that purpose; yes.

Senator WOLCOTT. You were aware, were you not, of a movement afoot, to use a slang expression, to "corral" the German-American vote for the election of 1916?

Mr. VON BOSSE. What do you mean by that word?

Senator WOLCOTT. To get that vote to vote one way in that election.

Mr. VON BOSSE. To vote one way?

Senator WOLCOTT. Yes.

Mr. VON BOSSE. No, sir. What I was aware of was a movement to express whom we would not vote for, but not whom we would vote for.

Senator WOLCOTT. Yes; I think you——

Mr. VON BOSSE. I think the minutes of the Chicago conference will bear that out.

Senator KING. Do not the minutes, in effect, and did not the movement, in effect, say that Mr. Wilson would be nominated by the Democrats and therefore they must vote for the Republicans?

Mr. VON BOSSE. The minutes did not mention Mr. Wilson's name.

Senator WOLCOTT. I was referring more particularly to the final vote, in November. You were aware of a rather large movement, were you not, to get the German-Americans not only to vote against Wilson but to vote for Mr. Hughes?

Mr. VON BOSSE. There was a spontaneous movement that I was aware of—I will correct myself: Yes; there was a movement.

Senator WOLCOTT. In the German-American circles?

Mr. VON BOSSE. In favor of Mr. Hughes.

Senator WOLCOTT. Is it not true that the German-American Alliance officials, National and State, participated in that movement?

Mr. VON BOSSE. Partly. Dr. Hexamer, whose letter I filed, I believe, the first time I was here, sent out letters as an individual, on his private stationery, announcing the fact that he was sending these letters out as an individual, paying for them out of his own pocket.

Senator WOLCOTT. Did not the Bulletin give publicity to that fact?

Mr. VON BOSSE. As bringing news reports from various parts of the country, I recollect that it did.

Senator WOLCOTT. Might it not, therefore, be said that the national organization, through its official organ, at least countenanced the movement by giving publicity to what was going on in connection with the movement?

Mr. VON BOSSE. I will not deny that the national officers countenanced the movement in that way, but I know that Dr. Hexamer always said that it would have to be a policy of "hands off" for the national body.

Senator WOLCOTT. Oh, yes. Well, of course, we recognize that there is a very clear distinction between the words "countenancing"——

Mr. VON BOSSE. I understand that countenancing a thing means favoring it; it does not mean aiding it.

Senator WOLCOTT. Yes.

Mr. VON BOSSE. If that is what you mean by "countenancing," I will answer "no."

Senator WOLCOTT. I understood you to say that the national organization did countenance the movement by giving it publicity through its official organ.

Mr. VON BOSSE. I understood you to use the word "countenancing"—I do not want to quibble, but I understood you to mean looking with favor upon a thing.

Senator WOLCOTT. Yes.

Mr. VON BOSSE. And if you mean that, I will say "yes."

Senator WOLCOTT. And that favorable attitude was accompanied with the giving of publicity through the Bulletin?

Mr. VON BOSSE. If a news report is considered that, then undoubtedly that is true.

Senator KING. The State organizations took the matter up, did they not?

Mr. VON BOSSE. Some of them did. I know that our Delaware State organization did not indorse anyone.

Senator KING. But most of the State organizations, and most of the local organizations, following the instructions from the State organizations, took the matter up?

Mr. VON BOSSE. So far as I recollect, yes; a large part of them.

Senator KING. And they have done that from time to time in political matters such as school matters and prohibition?

Mr. VON BOSSE. Yes.

Senator KING. And other matters arising within the States?

Mr. VON BOSSE. Yes.

Senator KING. And subdivisions of the States?

Mr. VON BOSSE. Yes.

Senator WOLCOTT. You say that the Delaware organization did not take any stand?

Mr. VON BOSSE. No, sir.

Senator KING. You were present at the Delaware State Alliance meetings during the year 1916 as secretary, were you not?

Mr. VON BOSSE. I do not know whether I was secretary or not at that time. I was a member of the alliance.

Senator WOLCOTT. Were you not an official of it?

Mr. VON BOSSE. I do not remember. In 1916? Let me think, please. I may have been and I may not have been. Possibly I was. No; pardon me, I do not think I was secretary at that time. But it does not matter. It is just a case of not remembering, that is all.

Senator WOLCOTT. It would matter to me, because if you were only an individual I would not ask you a question about it. I wanted to ask you about your own activities in working against certain candidates and about some threats that I understood you made against one man.

Mr. VON BOSSE. I admit the letter was here yesterday. I think I read the letter or Senator King read the letter.

Senator WOLCOTT. Was that letter read?

Senator KING. Yes.

Senator WOLCOTT. I was not here when it was read.

Mr. VON BOSSE. I said I felt sorry that that letter was ever written, and I felt sorry after I had posted it.

Senator WOLCOTT. I was not here when that was gone into. I had not seen the letter, but I had heard of the circumstance.

Senator KING. It is true that your organization, National and State, attempted to get the ministers and churches—the German churches and the Lutheran churches and the Catholic churches of German membership—into this German movement in the United States?

Mr. VON BOSSE. The German churches have always been invited into this work; yes.

Senator KING. And it is true that they tried to get the ministers to participate actively in the activities of the National German-American Alliance and the State alliances?

Mr. VON BOSSE. Tried to get them in?

Senator KING. Yes; to participate actively.

Mr. VON BOSSE. There was not much trouble in getting them, because in most cases our ministers were actively engaged from the start with us.

Senator KING. Your father, a minister, was actively engaged in work for the National Alliance and State alliances?

Mr. VON BOSSE. Not very long.

Senator KING. I find in the Official Bulletin, volume 8, No. 5, page 16, the following:

GERMAN-AMERICANS TO THE FRONT.

The Chicago branch alliance of the National Alliance has sent out the following summons through its standing committee:

"German-Americans have stood too long in the background, in the background so far as concerns public political life. Only in commercial life and when it was necessary to defend the country with life and limb have the Germans been in the foreground. Others, however, reaped the profit and we reaped ingratitude. Shall we remain so? Never! But how is the condition to be altered?

"Unity gives power. Only the strong man can assert his right against others while the weak one is trodden underfoot. Let us therefore be strong by locking ourselves together unitedly in one great alliance, the National German-American Alliance.

"This war time has shown us German-Americans how miserably weak we are; how we are hated and persecuted by the Anglo-Saxons; how we have had to suffer supinely all their attacks. That must be changed if we are still to be considered worthy of the German blood which is in our veins.

"Our Alliance numbers, according to the lists, two and a half million members, but with the greatness of our Germanism in this land the lists should show at least 10,000,000 names.

"Every German-American can subscribe to the objects of the National German-American Alliance. Truth and freedom, righteousness and justice for all without distinction is our object. Preservation of the German language and of German customs is our watchword. In this every German-American should be our trusted comrade in arms. Battle hypocrisy and immorality in public as in private life! Clean shone the shield of Columbia, whom we wooed in the freedom of the woods, just like the shield of Germania, who bore us, was brilliant in purity—can there be any German-American who would not help us in this noble work?

"Therefore come you of the German race! Fulfill your double duty as son of Germania in true devotion to Columbia. Let us be a united race of brothers! Let us stand faithfully together! Then our new home will derive the richest blessings from this work.

"With German greetings,

"THE PROPAGANDA COMMITTEE."

That was published approvingly by your organization, was it not?

Mr. VON BOSSE. I do not know. I did not read it.

Senator KING. I find in the Official Bulletin, volume 8, No. 5, page 18, the following:

MISSOURI.

THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE STATE ALLIANCE RECOMMENDS VIGOROUS ACTION TO SECURE COMPETENT MEN AS CANDIDATES.

ABOVE ALL THINGS, MEN SHOULD BE NOMINATED WHO WOULD MAKE PROTEST AGAINST THE SHAMEFUL DELIVERY OF WEAPONS TO THE ALLIES.

In the St. Louis Turnhalle there was held on April 7 a meeting of the executive committee of the State Alliance of Missouri of the National German-American Alliance. Delegates of the following branch alliances were present: Kansas City, Joplin, Sedalia, Springfield, Herman, Washington, Jackson, and St. Joseph.

The president of the State Alliance, Dr. Charles H. Weinsberg, acted as president and Secretary Fred Lorenz, from St. Joseph, acted as secretary.

Dr. Weinsberg gave all a hearty welcome. He called attention to the fact that the alliance in this year, in which not only a National but also a State election was to be held, was confronted by grave problems. It was therefore absolutely necessary that all members of the alliance exert their entire energies and forget all party controversions if the desired object was to be reached. In the coming legislature the question of prohibition would come up, and the alliance must make a determined effort against this threatening danger.

Before the meeting entered upon the business to be disposed of, Mr. Gottfried Kirn, the delegate from Kansas City, declared that it was necessary for every city in which there was a branch alliance to form a committee of three men, who would report concerning the delegates, to give the names of those members whom they wanted on the legislative committee; they should, however, in this selection proceed with great care, as the work of this committee was exceptionally important.

In the progress of the discussion concerning the approaching election, Secretary Lorenz proposed that the recommendation of candidates be left to the officers of the National Alliance.

That refers to your national organization?

Mr. VON BOSSE. Yes.

Senator KING (continuing reading):

It was then decided that the president of the State Alliance be empowered to communicate to the delegates to the national conventions of both parties the position of the State Alliance of Missouri with reference to presidential candidates. The selection of all National and State candidates was left to the legislative committee. They were to inform themselves as to the names and character of candidates presented and to give a report thereof before the primaries, in order that the members could learn from that report what action to take.

There was no disavowal of that by the national organization, was there?

Mr. VON BOSSE. Not that I know of; no.

Senator KING. As a matter of fact, the leaders of the national organization did confer with respect to the matters referred to in that meeting, did they not?

Mr. VON BOSSE. The national leaders?

Senator KING. Yes.

Mr. VON BOSSE. Of the Alliance?

Senator KING. Yes.

Mr. VON BOSSE. I understood that to be simply the Missouri State Branch.

Senator KING. It says:

In the progress of the discussion concerning the approaching election, Secretary Lorenz proposed that the recommendation of candidates be left to the officers of the National Alliance.

Mr. VON BOSSE. Lorenz made a mistake there, Senator, because Lorenz should have known better because he was at the Chicago conference, and that is purely a mistake.

Senator KING. That was published, however, in the Bulletin.

Mr. VON BOSSE. I understand it was.

Senator KING. You have just spoken of the Chicago conference. You participated in that, did you not?

Mr. VON BOSSE. Yes, sir.

Senator KING. And you stated there in the resolutions:

We, the authorized representatives of millions of voters in the United States, in conference assembled at Chicago, Ill., this 29th day of May, A. D. 1916.

You published a part of that in German, did you not?

Mr. VON BOSSE. The minutes are in German and the platform of principles was in English.

Senator KING. Who authorized you people to do that? You say there, "We, the authorized representatives of millions of voters".

Mr. VON BOSSE. The societies of various kinds, church bodies, and so forth. At the beginning of the minutes it states in German who authorized us.

Senator KING. Then you say in these resolutions:

Resolved, That this conference committee enter into advisory relations with our fellow citizens of other ancestry—

And so forth. This conference consisted of Germans?

This conference consisted of Germans?

Mr. VON BOSSE. Yes; of those of German descent.

Senator KING. Of German descent?

Mr. VON BOSSE. Yes.

Senator KING. You authorized communication "with our fellow citizens of other ancestry, in sympathy with our aims and ideals, with a view to united action", the rest of that sentence being in German?

Mr. VON BOSSE. That reads [translating] "for the support of that platform" or "principles".

Senator KING. These German-Americans who were participating in that convention——

Mr. VON BOSSE (translating). "For the support of the platform".

Can we enter the platform in the record?

Senator KING. I understood that you offered this the other day.

Mr. VON BOSSE. Did I? Well and good.

Senator KING. The reason I called attention to it was that you had produced this tract yourself.

Mr. VON BOSSE. Yes. It was asked for the first time I was here.

Senator KING. I find in the Official Bulletin, volume 7, No. 8, page 15, under the head of "Neutrality," a resolution of the State Alliance of New York, as follows:

In view of the fact that President Wilson in his last note has expressed toward Germany the threat that in case of the death of any American brought about by any future attack upon unarmed ships, such act would be regarded as a purposely unfriendly act; and in view of the fact that he has thereby taken toward Germany a position which is equivalent to an ultimatum, the German government having declared and having insisted that its submarine blockade against England could not be abandoned from considerations of self-preservation;

And in consideration further of the fact that this position of our Government makes impossible every further compromise or even a settlement of our differences by arbitration and is against the humane and peace-loving policy of our Government, and brings about such a situation that in the event that Congress is assembled Congress can take only one course and that is the declaration of war against our old fatherland;

In consideration further that Germany made concessions to our Government in the present controversy which guaranteed safety to American passengers so long as we refrained from shipping munitions on passenger ships, thereby pointing out a way for the peaceful settlement of present as well as future difficulties between two friendly countries which was in the spirit of our arbitration policy: Be it

Resolved by the German-American Alliance of the State of New York in convention at Utica on July 25, That we damn [condemn(?)] this arbitrary proceeding of the President without the previous consent of Congress as a dangerous usurpation of power and a danger to our peace; further, that we ap-

prove with all our energy the position taken by the friends of peace of this land as it was manifested in the tremendous meeting of citizens held in Madison Square Garden, New York; further, that we call upon the peace-loving people of our country, and especially on the Americans of German descent, who would be affected most seriously by a conflict with the mother country, that they organize mass demonstrations and protests and take part en masse in the peace congress which has been called for September 5 and 6 in Chicago; and that we thereby offer to the President the proof that except for an attack and invasion of our own land the American people is resolved not to allow itself to be entangled in war with any nation.

That was published approvingly by the organization, was it not?

Mr. VON BOSSE. Not that I know of.

Senator KING. It was not condemned or disavowed?

Mr. VON BOSSE. Not that I know of; it was not.

Senator KING. The Official Bulletin, volume 7, No. 12, page 5, contains the following resolution, purporting to be a resolution adopted by 136 German and 61 Irish societies at the American Neutrality and Peace Convention in San Francisco, on November 18, 1915:

England has answered our notes with contempt and further attacks. Further notes and protests would be laughable and humiliating. Our people has provided an army and fleet in order that they might be used in the present situation to protect our commerce, our citizens, and our rights as a neutral nation. The assertion of our rights will bring peace; if we submit to England we make ourselves an ally of England and prolong the war. The people demand action.

The National German-American Alliance promoted, so far as it could, the meetings of this organization, did it not?

Mr. VON BOSSE. The Neutrality League?

Senator KING. Yes.

Mr. VON BOSSE. I do not think so.

Senator KING. And of the peace convention?

Mr. VON BOSSE. I do not think the Alliance had anything to do with it.

Senator KING. Did not the leaders of the Alliance take part in all those meetings?

Mr. VON BOSSE. The leaders of the Alliance undoubtedly did.

Senator KING. And the German-American State alliances sent delegates to those?

Mr. VON BOSSE. The State branches did; yes.

Senator KING. And the State organizations as well as the national organization encouraged and aided in the organization, did they not, of the American Truth Society and the Friends of Peace?

Mr. VON BOSSE. I do not believe so.

Senator KING. And the Neutrality League?

Mr. VON BOSSE. You mean the national organization, Senator, or the State branches?

Senator KING. I will segregate the question; that is fair. The State organizations?

Mr. VON BOSSE. To some extent they did—pardon me; I do not know of a single instance where they supported the American Truth Society.

Senator KING. And the Neutrality League?

Mr. VON BOSSE. Yes.

Senator KING. You participated in that, did you not?

Mr. VON BOSSE. Yes; I was engaged in it.

Senator KING. And the leaders of the national organization favored those and aided in the formation of those organizations?

Mr. VON BOSSE. Yes.

Senator KING. And the Bulletin gave currency to the actions and resolutions of those organizations?

Mr. VON BOSSE. I do not recollect.

Senator KING. Mr. Scholtz, I wish you would kindly produce your Bulletin for 1916.

Mr. SCHOLTZ. That was the year we stopped publishing the Bulletin for a while?

Mr. TIMM. A couple of months—from May to October.

Senator KING. In the Official Bulletin for May, 1916, page 6, I find an appeal for the formation of a national German-American conference committee, and it is addressed to the executive committee of the State alliances of the National German-American Alliance and to various other organizations of the Germans, for a conference to be held Monday, May 29, 1916, at the Kaiserhof Hotel, for the purpose of securing unity and "in order that they may understand that they had to deal with the united German-American vote"—that is, the people will—"who will not permit its true political affiliations [or differences] to be divided in the various States". That is signed by J. B. Mayer and Adolph Timm. You are familiar with that, are you?

Mr. VON BOSSE. Yes, sir.

Senator KING. And pursuant to that notice or publication in the Bulletin a conference was held in Chicago, was it not?

Mr. VON BOSSE. Do I understand you correctly to mean that it was held as a result of that notice in the Bulletin?

Senator KING. Yes.

Mr. VON BOSSE. No, sir; not through the Bulletin notice.

Senator KING. This call, at any rate——

Mr. VON BOSSE. That was merely a copy of the Pennsylvania call that went out by mail. The conference was held as a result of the letters that went out.

Senator KING. The Bulletin, though, contained those calls?

Mr. VON BOSSE. I presume it did.

Senator KING. Just look and see if it did not, there.

Mr. VON BOSSE (after examination). As news matter, undoubtedly, from the Pennsylvania State Branch.

Senator KING. It is on page 6 of that Bulletin.

Mr. VON BOSSE (after further examination). Yes; it contained it.

Senator KING. There is no disapproval, but it gives publicity to it?

Mr. VON BOSSE. Yes.

Senator KING. And a convention was held at the time and place mentioned in that call?

Mr. VON BOSSE. A conference was held.

Senator KING. And action was taken there looking to political union of the German-Americans?

Mr. VON BOSSE. Yes.

Senator KING. I find in the Bulletin for May, 1916, on page 16, the following:

OUR DUTIES IN THIS ELECTION YEAR.

The State Alliance of Illinois has under the above title sent out the following summons:

"*To the branch alliances and vereins of the city alliances of the State Alliance of Illinois!*

* * * * * * *

"The State Alliance of Illinois belonging to the National German-American Alliance resolved at its annual convention in Peru to take part in the future in national politics. But the chief and most important part of this political activity consists above all else in this, that under all circumstances, with the exertion of all our strength, we shall aim to prevent the nomination at the national convention in June of the candidates mentioned. Our slogan must be:

"'Against Wilson and Roosevelt!'"

Then, further on:

"The task to-day, as in the past, is to free America from the English yoke! And so the cry resounds again, "Germans to the front."

* * * * * * *

"We must act. As is well known, the German vote is divided almost equally between the two great parties. It forms in a sense the tongue of the wagon. If the German vote swings to one side, the other is lost beyond hope, as has been proved in earlier elections.

* * * * * * *

"The fatherland above party!

* * * * * * *

"The important question now is, How can this work be successfully accomplished?"

That was all published in your organ?

Mr. VON BOSSE. I take it for granted it was, as a news item.

Senator KING. No condemnation of the statement "The fatherland above party"?

Mr. VON BOSSE. That does not mean anything else but the land—the country here.

Senator KING. Do you find in any of the German publications or upon the part of any of the German speakers "the fatherland" as meaning the United States?

Mr. VON BOSSE. I have used it that way frequently; yes. We have only that one term in our country.

Senator KING. Do not the German-Americans use the word "fatherland" always as meaning Germany?

Mr. VON BOSSE. No; not always; just as I say, I have used it frequently for America. We even use it for other things. We use it as an expression for Heaven, in some of our hymns in church.

Senator KING. This further statement is also found in the same number of the Bulletin:

The important question now is, How can this work be successfully accomplished?

"1. Should a new verein or league be founded for this purpose? (No; we have the National Alliance.

"2. Can the German-American vote be controlled? (Lists should be made and workers in every district selected.)

"3. How shall we inform the national convention of the sentiment among the German-Americans? (By mass meetings, by working on the local party leaders, by summoning all German-American leagues and alliances to cooperate.)"

You were familiar with that action, were you not?

Mr. VON BOSSE. No; I was just going to ask you what that came from or what was the introduction to that.

Senator KING. It was part of this same action——

Mr. VON BOSSE. Oh, in the State branch?

Senator KING. Of the State alliance of Illinois.

Mr. VON BOSSE. No; I am not familiar with it.

Senator KING. Published in the Bulletin, in the number and on the page of the Bulletin named.

Did you know that New Jersey took similar action, as shown in the Official Bulletin for May, 1916, on page 15?

Mr. VON BOSSE. I understood it did.

Senator KING. And Iowa, as well as other States?

Do you recall that the Bulletin, especially in the number for December, 1915, refers to the American Embargo Conference and the fact that alliances are called upon to contribute to the funds of the American Embargo Conference?

Mr. VON BOSSE. Do I recall that?

Senator KING. Yes.

Mr. VON BOSSE. No; I do not.

Senator KING. Do you know that the Official Bulletin for December, 1915, on page 32, contained this notice?

The united German societies of the State of New York have sent to the societies of the Alliance two circulars. In the first, they are urgently begged to support the American Truth Society, president, Jeremiah O'Leary, 1133 Broadway, with contributions on account of the activity of the same, which has been so full of blessing and has been so courageous against the pro-British Ananias press, and against their shameless persecution of Germans.

The German Kriegerbund has also set a good example by contributing $25.

Mr. VON BOSSE. Do I recall that?

Senator KING. Yes; do you recall that?

Mr. VON BOSSE. Yes.

Senator KING. Do you remember an appropriation of $25,000 toward a monument?

Mr. VON BOSSE. That must be the Pastorius Monument.

Senator KING. A monument some years ago to the early German settlers?

Mr. VON BOSSE. I think that must be the Pastorius Monument in Germantown. I mentioned that yesterday.

Senator KING. Was that collected, or did it come out of the propaganda fund?

Mr. VON BOSSE. I believe that was collected.

Senator KING. When German papers used the words "Use the ballot for your Deutschtum," what would that mean?

Mr. VON BOSSE. According to my opinion it would mean simply in the interest of guarding the things that I explained as "Deutschtum" yesterday.

Senator KING. When these expressions are used, "We shall rewrite the word 'American,' to the extent of our power, in terms of our own ethnic complexion," what would that mean?

Mr. VON BOSSE. I do not agree with that.

Senator KING. Dr. von Bosse, what did you have to do with the organization of the American Embargo Conference?

Mr. VON BOSSE. I personally or the Alliance?

Senator KING. You personally.

Mr. VON BOSSE. Nothing.

Senator KING. What did the local alliances have to do with it, or the officers of the National Alliance?

Mr. VON BOSSE. I do not remember much about the American Embargo Conference. I knew more about the Neutrality League.

Senator KING. Do you not remember, in April, 1916, Mr. Franz von Rintelen taking some part in that embargo conference?

Mr. VON BOSSE. I do not remember that.

Senator KING. Did you have anything to do with Labor's National Peace Council?

Mr. VON BOSSE. No, sir.

Senator KING. Do you remember a number of branches being formed—local branches—under the name of Bismarck and Moltke to aid the embargo conference or to promote it?

Mr. VON BOSSE. Under the name of Bismarck and Moltke?

Senator KING. Yes.

Mr. VON BOSSE. That is the first time I have heard of it.

Senator KING. Did not the Bulletin urge members to activity in circulating the literature of that conference?

Mr. VON BOSSE. I do not know.

Senator KING. And in obtaining signatures for petitions and letters proposed to be sent to Senators and Congressmen?

Mr. VON BOSSE. I could not answer that positively.

Senator KING. You knew of the organization in Germany called the Educational Alliance for the Preservation of German Culture in Foreign Lands?

Mr. VON BOSSE. Is that the Verein für das Deutschtum im Ausland?

Senator KING. No; it is the Allgemeiner deutscher Schulverein zur Erhaltung des Deutschtum im Ausland.

Mr. VON BOSSE. I have heard of that.

Senator KING. Has your organization had any dealings with that organization?

Mr. VON BOSSE. No, sir; I can answer for that.

Senator KING. That organization tries to preserve the solidarity of the German people and declares that the "German people is a race of rulers".

Mr. VON BOSSE. Well, they may do that.

Senator KING. Senator Wolcott, is there anything else you care to ask?

Senator WOLCOTT. No.

Senator KING. I find here a receipt that was issued from Baltimore in 1914 by the German-American Relief Fund, containing this in German [indicating]. Just read that, please [handing paper to the witness].

Mr. VON BOSSE (translating). "Yes; we are of one heart, of one blood. We are one people and want to act in concord." That is a quotation from somewhere.

Mr. SCHOLTZ. Yes; it is a quotation from Schiller's "Wilhelm Tell."

Senator KING. I call your attention to an article by Dr. Hexamer found in Singer's Yearbook for 1918. You find there, do you not, that Dr. Hexamer states that one of the committees is a committee for——

Mr. VON BOSSE (examining book). A special committee. Is this the name [indicating]?

Senator KING. Yes.

Mr. VON BOSSE (translating). "A special committee for furthering or beginning friendly relations to other national organizations."

Senator KING. And the words "national organizations" used there mean racial rather than Democratic organizations or Republican organizations, do they not?

Mr. VON BOSSE. Yes.

Senator KING. A racial organization?

Mr. VON BOSSE. Racial and not political.

Senator KING. I call your attention to the sentence here on this page [indicating]. Just translate that.

Mr. VON BOSSE. It speaks of the German-American element—oh, the German-American Alliance. [Translating:]

The German-American Alliance, as a strong, large institution, is able to cope with the problems which show themselves at the present time. It can also solve those problems in a satisfactory manner which the future lays upon our German-Americanism [or Americans].

Senator KING. It uses the word "Deutschtum" there?

Mr. VON BOSSE. The term is "Deutschamerikanertum". It is an expression that means German-Americans as such.

After the Bund is founded——

Senator KING. That is the Alliance, that means?

Mr. VON BOSSE. Yes; the Alliance.

After the Alliance is founded upon a firm foundation as an incorporated, patriotic American organization—

That means the same, "is founded".

it stands upon the American Constitution and all that the Constitution includes in itself.

Senator KING. Translate the last paragraph, please [indicating].

Mr. VON BOSSE (translating):

Unmentionable miseries in psychic and spiritual ways have not been spared us German-Americans in this land, especially through the unbridled press service, friendly to England. The experiences which we have met have universally given the certainty that the German-American Alliance is the institution of all Americans of German birth and descent, as a medium of presentation, and represents an absolute necessity. I believe that in this the best guaranty is given for the permanent existence of the German-American Alliance of the United States. Its future lies inseparable from the future of the United States, with all its mighty problems inwardly and outwardly bound together with promises before us.

Senator KING. I think that is all, Dr. von Bosse.

Mr. VON BOSSE. Is that all you want, Senator?

Senator KING. Yes. Senator Wolcott, is there anything else you want of Mr. Timm or of Dr. von Bosse?

Senator WOLCOTT. No.

Senator KING. You have concluded all you desire to say to the committee?

Mr. VON BOSSE. Yes, sir.

Senator KING. And you, Mr. Timm?

Mr. TIMM. I can give you information in regard to these letters now, Senator. I have been examining them.

Senator KING. Then you may state it.

TESTIMONY OF MR. TIMM—Concluded.

Mr. TIMM. In answer to my letter directed by Dr. Hexamer, dated October 30, 1906, to Richard Lohrmann, the president of the State Branch of New York, and Mr. Schneider, the secretary of the State Branch of New York, inquiring for the reason of the indorsement of Charles E. Hughes for governor, a letter was mailed us under date of November, 1916, by Mr. Carl Lenz, the chairman of the committee on legislation, stating the reasons for the indorsement of Mr. Hughes. Among minor reasons, which include that he is for prohibition, the main reason is mentioned that the election of Mr. Hughes for governor of New York would make him the logical candidate for President of the United States; and in the conclusion of this report very strong language is used criticizing Dr. Hexamer and myself, styling our action as unconstitutional, dictatorial, and insulting, and stating that this letter of protest was submitted to Dr. Wilhelm Gaertner, of Buffalo, and Mr. Werner Strecker, of Troy, and they concurred in this letter I produced, and the letter was mailed to Mr. Richard Lohrmann and to Conrad Schneider. They indorsed it, and under date of November 22, 1906, mailed it to the national officers at Philadelphia.

Senator KING. Have you a copy of your letter to him?

Mr. TIMM. Yes, sir.

Senator KING. Briefly, what does that state?

Mr. TIMM. It says:

I am directed by the national president, Dr. C. J. Hexamer, to ask you by return mail for the reasons that induced the State Branch of New York to indorse Mr. Hughes as the Republican candidate for governor. You are requested in particular for a copy of the report of the legislative committee, on which Mr. Hughes was indorsed, as we notice from newspaper reports, and your attention is called to the clause in the platform of the Alliance which prohibits the indulgence in party politics.

Senator KING. Did that end it? Did that end the correspondence between you?

Mr. TIMM. That letter?

Senator KING. The national organization did nothing further?

Mr. TIMM. No, sir.

In the New Jersey matter I can say that by going through the correspondence I found that a conference between Dr. Hexamer and Mr. Adolph Lankering and myself was held and an agreement was reached to propose to the State Branch of New Jersey to withdraw the indorsing of the Democratic State ticket and to recommend the individual candidates as such. This action was approved by the executive committee of the State Branch of New Jersey, and this matter was concluded satisfactorily.

Senator KING. That is to say, after a conference with you and Dr. Hexamer?

Mr. TIMM. And Mr. Lankering.

Senator KING. Yes; after that conference it was resolved that the wholesale indorsement of the State ticket should be withdrawn, but the men on the ticket should be indorsed individually?

Mr. TIMM. Yes; and even the indorsement was to be withdrawn and they should only be recommended.

Senator KING. Yes. Dr. Hexamer was a Republican?

Mr. TIMM. Yes.

Senator KING. And this organization in New Jersey indorsed the Democratic candidates?

Mr. TIMM. Yes; and in New York they indorsed the Republicans.

Senator WOLCOTT. Did they withdraw the indorsement in New York?

Mr. TIMM. They did not.

Senator WOLCOTT. But they did in New Jersey?

Mr. TIMM. Yes.

Senator KING. But they made individual recommendations?

Mr. TIMM. Yes.

Senator WOLCOTT. Was it the view of the officers of the National Alliance that it would be political activity to indorse a ticket as a whole but not political activity to indorse each member on the ticket individually?

Mr. TIMM. Well, it seems that the matter was looked upon in this sense at the time.

Senator WOLCOTT. That is to say, in one case it would be political activity and in the other case it would not? Was that the view?

Mr. TIMM. I can not remember the details.

Senator WOLCOTT. The difference was that between tweedledum and tweedledee.

Mr. SCHOLTZ. Let me suggest that the reason for withdrawing the indorsement as a whole was that it was partisan politics. That was the difference.

Senator WOLCOTT. But still it was a political activity?

Mr. SCHOLTZ. Oh, yes.

Senator KING. Mr. Timm, I wanted to ask you if you recollect some activity in 1910 with the Irish league, the Ancient Order of Hibernians?

Mr. TIMM. I do not.

Senator KING. In regard to the proposed arbitration treaty with England?

Mr. TIMM. I do not.

Senator KING. Do you not know that your organization in that year did a great deal toward preventing the ratification of the treaty with Great Britain?

Mr. TIMM. I do not remember.

Senator KING. The arbitration treaty?

Mr. TIMM. I do not remember that at all.

Senator KING. And that you cooperated with the Ancient Order of Hibernians?

Mr. TIMM. It may have been by Dr. Hexamer, but I do not remember any official steps taken.

Senator KING. Do you remember the Irish-German-American leagues being formed?

Mr. TIMM. Oh, yes.

Senator KING. And that was for the purpose of fighting Great Britain's policies and opposing any policies——

Mr. TIMM. Not fighting.

Senator KING. Opposing any of the policies of this Nation that were regarded by the German-Americans or the Ancient Order of Hibernians as being pro-British?

Mr. TIMM. That may have been.

Senator KING. That was true, was it not?

Mr. TIMM. Yes.

Senator KING. When you were editor of the Bulletin did you ever, when you published these activities of the State alliances in politics, condemn them or disapprove them or disavow their activities?

Mr. TIMM. We mostly published the reports as we received them from the secretaries or as we found them in the newspapers.

Senator KING. You knew that the State alliances of your organization were taking part, more or less, in the politics of the various States?

Mr. TIMM. Well, in State politics; yes.

Senator KING. And that those activities extended to the support of or opposition to Senators and Congressmen?

Mr. TIMM. As far as I know, these activities were mostly along the line of members of the legislature or candidates for the legislature.

Senator KING. Did the activities extend also to the support of Members of Congress or opposition to them?

Mr. TIMM. They may in some cases; yes, sir.

Senator KING. Dr. Hexamer, in his various activities throughout the country, made collections from various sources unknown to you?

Mr. TIMM. I presume he did.

Senator KING. You know that he would receive sometimes as much as $5,000 or $10,000 from various sources?

Mr. TIMM. I can not remember that.

Senator KING. You were not the treasurer, as I understood you?

Mr. TIMM. No, sir.

Senator KING. Do you know what disposition was made by Dr. Hexamer of all the funds collected by him?

Mr. TIMM. They were turned over to Mr. Tjarks.

Senator KING. As far as you are advised?

Mr. TIMM. Yes.

Senator WOLCOTT. Did you assist Dr. Hexamer in soliciting contributions from individuals for the general funds of the National German-American Alliance?

Mr. TIMM. No, sir. He always did that himself.

Senator WOLCOTT. I think it was Mr. Tjarks who testified here the other day that contributions to the national organization from individuals who desired not to have their names disclosed were obtained by Dr. Hexamer and by you.

Mr. VON BOSSE. I mentioned that.

Senator WOLCOTT. You were the one who testified to that?

Mr. VON BOSSE. Yes.

Mr. TIMM. That is true.

Senator WOLCOTT. It was in connection with those contributions that I intended to direct my question a moment ago. You did get some of those contributions?

Mr. TIMM. Oh, yes; I did.

Senator WOLCOTT. They gave quite a good many of them in $2,500 sums?

Mr. TIMM. Yes.

Senator WOLCOTT. Do you recall from whom you received those contributions?

Mr. TIMM. I could recall, yes, some names.

Senator WOLCOTT. Will you let us have them?

Mr. TIMM. I recall of having received checks from a Mr. Huepftle, I think, but I could not remember his first name.

Senator WOLCOTT. Where was he from?

Mr. TIMM. He was either from Brooklyn or New York.

Senator WOLCOTT. He is a member of the Alliance, is he?

Mr. TIMM. Yes; a life member.

Senator WOLCOTT. A life member?

Mr. TIMM. Yes.

Senator WOLCOTT. Whom else do you recall?

Mr. TIMM. I received checks from Mr. Lippmann, in Brooklyn.

Senator WOLCOTT. He is a Brooklyn man?

Mr. TIMM. Yes.

Senator WOLCOTT. I will just ask you the general question, Mr. Timm, did you receive any contributions from anyone who was not at least a naturalized American citizen, either a native-born or a naturalized American citizen?

Mr. TIMM. No, sir; at no time.

Senator WOLCOTT. That is all.

Senator KING. You remember an address published in your Bulletin by Dr. Hexamer to the Americans of German origin, calling upon them to come to a consciousness of their unity, and stating:

> Germanism is embattled against half the world, and we German-Americans owe it to our race to stand our ground as manfully as our brothers across the sea. We must be the hammer or the anvil. We must up and strike, or receive the blow and perish.

Mr. TIMM. No; I do not remember that, because I never took much stock in Dr. Hexamer's addresses, as I said before.

Senator KING. That was in 1914.

Mr. TIMM. I do not remember it, Senator.

Senator KING. You recall the National Alliance agitating for the celebration of October 19?

Mr. TIMM. I think that was started at the San Francisco convention, if I am not mistaken, to celebrate October 19 as American Day. Is not that what you mean, Senator?

Senator KING. Yes; the capitulation of Yorktown.

Mr. TIMM. Yes.

Senator KING. And your national organization there resolved, did it not, to ask for the observation of this anniversary and that the teachers be directed to instruct the pupils in regard to that and especially the fact that it was a triumph over England?

Mr. TIMM. I do not remember the wording of the resolution, Senator.

Senator KING. At that gathering, your national convention, your national organization adopted resolutions in favor of the prohibition of the export of munitions?

Mr. TIMM. I think so.

Senator KING. Soon after the outbreak of the war your organization, largely through you, sent resolutions, did it not, to every newspaper in the United States demanding that it follow what your organization stated was a policy of strict neutrality?

Mr. TIMM. There was nothing done officially. All that was done was done by Dr. Hexamer, and nothing by me.

Senator KING. Were not resolutions prepared by Dr. Hexamer and sent to every newspaper in the United States directing that a certain course be pursued?

Mr. TIMM. Not resolutions, because they would have to be submitted to the executive committee. He may have sent out letters and telegrams, but not resolutions.

Senator KING. Are you sure that resolutions were not adopted?

Mr. TIMM. Not since the resolutions adopted at San Francisco in 1915; I am sure of that.

Senator KING. Were resolutions there adopted of the character just indicated, which were transmitted to all the newspapers of the United States?

Mr. TIMM. Yes.

Senator KING. And those resolutions demanded that the newspapers follow a policy of impartiality in the treatment of the German cause?

Mr. TIMM. I do not remember the wording of them.

Senator KING. Have you a copy of those resolutions?

Mr. TIMM. I think the minutes are here.

Senator KING. If you could furnish the committee with a translation of the same we would be much obliged.

Mr. TIMM. The translation is in the Bulletin, Senator.

Mr. SCHOLTZ. Was that a protest against the partisan attitude of the American press?

Senator KING. No; a letter that was sent out.

Mr. Timm, do you recall the Alliance indorsing the Fatherland and urging the local societies to support it?

Mr. TIMM. As I stated in my testimony heretofore, the Alliance never indorsed the publication the Fatherland.

Senator KING. Did not the committee on publicity indorse it?

Mr. TIMM. Not that I know of.

Senator KING. And publish that in the Bulletin, urging the local societies to support the Fatherland?

Mr. TIMM. Not that I know of, Senator. The Alliance never took official action on the publication of the Fatherland, because I would be opposed to recommending it.

Senator KING. That is all that I care to ask.

Senator WOLCOTT. Mr. Chairman, last week, or perhaps the week before, when Mr. Keller was testifying before the committee, I addressed a question to him which referred to the appearance in a Pittsburgh newspaper, the Volksblatt und Freiheits-Freund, of an editorial statement that the Declaration of Independence ought to be burned in effigy, made by the editor of that paper, Mr. George Seibel. Last week Mr. Seibel appeared here and desired to be heard before the committee. I told Mr. Seibel the committee would be glad to hear him at any time that it was convenient, but that we had no meeting that week or for several days—I forget just what I told him in that respect, but the net result of it was that he could not stay in Washington to attend the next session of the committee, and he wanted to know if the committee would permit him to file a statement. I told him I could not speak for the committee, but I suggested to him that he prepare his statement and send it, and he could come in person if he cared to and testify, or if he did not care to do that he could submit his statement; and then, if the

committee wanted him to testify, we would request him to come here. That seemed to meet his wishes in the matter, and he went home. He then wrote me a letter dated March 18, 1918, which I want to read.

This letter is as follows:

PITTSBURGH, PA., *March 18, 1918.*

HON. JOSIAH O. WOLCOTT,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR WOLCOTT: In accordance with our conversation last week, I am sending you a full statement of the facts relative to the "burning-the-Declaration" incident.

Perhaps you may not think it necessary to burden your colleagues and expand the record with the details of the matter. If so, it could easily be disposed of by a simple statement that "my explanation of the incident had been received, with my assurance of loyalty, and that the whole trouble seems to have been caused by an unfortunate humorous paragraph which has been literally construed." That would be the truth—it would set me right—and the whole incident would be closed.

If your subcommittee desires to have me appear, I should be glad to do so and to testify to what I know of the future plans of the Alliance.

Assuring you that I highly appreciate your courtesy in this matter, I remain,

Very sincerely, yours,

GEORGE SEIBEL.

With that letter is inclosed a statement in the form of an affidavit which Mr. Seibel makes, giving his version of this so-called burning of the Declaration of Independence.

Now, I want to lay this before the committee for whatever action the committee deems wise. For my part, I would not myself care to dispose of the whole matter by inserting this statement in the record as Mr. Seibel requests—I mean inserting this language which he has used, stating that his "explanation of the incident had been received, with his assurance of loyalty, and that the whole trouble seems to have been caused by an unfortunate humorous paragraph which has been literally construed". I would not care to have the committee say that, at the request of Mr. Seibel. Rather, I would prefer to file Mr. Seibel's affidavit and let that speak for itself.

Senator KING. I think that is a fair way. Does that meet your approval?

Mr. SCHOLTZ. Yes; I would be glad if you would permit that, Mr. Chairman.

Senator KING. That will be done.

Senator WOLCOTT. He says in this letter:

If your subcommittee desires to have me appear, I should be glad to do so and to testify to what I know of the future plans of the Alliance.

I think we ought to dispose of his tender in that respect. For my own part I do not see that what Mr. Seibel would have to say in regard to the future plans of the Alliance would be of relevance to this inquiry.

Senator KING. Does he hold any official connection with the Alliance?

Mr. VON BOSSE. He is the responsible editor of the Bulletin, and he is chairman of the committee on ways and means.

Mr. TIMM. Of the committee on ways and means; yes.

Senator KING. I will say—speaking for myself, Senator Wolcott—to you, Dr. von Bosse, and to your attorney, that if you care to have Mr. Seibel, your responsible editor of the Bulletin and the chairman

of your ways and means committee, appear, we will allow him to come and make such statement as he may desire.

Mr. VON BOSSE. We want to finish, Senator, as soon as possible; and we are satisfied to close up as soon as you are.

Senator KING. You have no desire to have Mr. Seibel appear and tell about these future plans of the Alliance to which he refers?

Mr. SCHOLTZ. He can hardly give you any succinct statement in regard to the future plans of the Alliance, because there are no future plans.

Senator KING. It does seem to me that he could not say very much that would seem pertinent.

Mr. VON BOSSE. It is simply a kind offer on his part to help out the Alliance, I think.

Senator KING. Then, if it meets your approval, the committee will advise Mr. Seibel that this committee does not desire his presence, and I suggest that your attorney write and explain the matter to him.

Senator WOLCOTT. I wish also that the clerk would tell him that his letter and affidavit are filed and will be made a part of the record.

Senator KING. Yes; they will be made a part of the record.

(The affidavit which accompanied Mr. Seibel's letter is here printed in the record in full, as follows:)

To the subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee, in re National German-American Alliance.

GENTLEMEN: At a hearing in the probe of the National German-American Alliance on March 10, 1918, Senator Wolcott asked Witness Keller a question which contained the implication that George Siebel, editor of the Pittsburgh Volksblatt und Freiheits-Freund, who also during three months past has edited the Bulletin of the Alliance, had in an editorial printed July 4, 1917, declared the Declaration of Independence should be burned in effigy.

As a native American, who has never been outside the borders of his native land, whose interests and hopes are all rooted and centered in this country which he loves, Mr. Siebel desires to place before the subcommittee of the Senate the full facts of this matter, in order to purge himself of the stigma of having seriously given expression to a sentiment which would be not only disloyal but supremely ridiculous.

On July 4, 1917, the news dispatches told of the safe arrival of the first American contingent sent to France. The Volksblatt und Freiheits-Freund based its Fourth of July editorial upon this occurrence. That editorial, faithfully translated, was as follows:

"Upon to-day's national holiday the American Government presents to the people the good news of the safe arrival of all land and sea forces so far sent to Europe; their safe arrival on the French shore after an encounter with attacking submarines, of which one was surely destroyed, while it is assumed that others were also lost. The Americans have therefore emerged unharmed from their first engagement of the world war. It will surely be a cause for joyfulness to the American people that the first official war report was not accompanied by a casualty list, and we hope that further good luck may attend our country's defenders. Though some of our compatriots may be given to gloomy thoughts and forebodings, we are all Americans, and as such we must wish our country's forces success and victory. But something still better would we ask of Providence on this national holiday, viz, that peace may soon be vouchsafed to us; that suffering mankind may cease bleeding; that the warring peoples may be reconciled; and that our great and mighty Republic may resume the wholesome pursuits designed for it by the founders of the United States in *the immortal Declaration of Independence of July 4, 1776, and by our great fundamental laws. Our country's glory is our glory. Our country's peace will be our peace. To fight for both is a matter of honor.*"

Surely this editorial, especially the closing sentences, which are underlined, could leave no doubt as to the writer's sentiments with regard to the Declaration, the Constitution, our country, and our country's cause.

We print on our editorial page, as nearly all papers do, short and pungent paragraphs referring to minor events of the day. These brief paragraphs are rarely serious, since they rarely touch serious matters. They are humorous, satirical, ironical, witty—or intended to be so. One such paragraph on that day alluded to something that had occurred in New York City and was reported by the Associated Press. The story was that a man had been arrested and sentenced to jail for 60 or 90 days for circulating copies of the Declaration of Independence, with some parts printed in heavier type, and a caption asking, "Is our Government living up to this?" The news story was apparently true, for a judge of a higher court afterwards ordered the man to be released from jail. The obvious incongruity of sending a man to jail for distributing the Declaration of Independence (or parts thereof) inspired the satirical paragraph which follows:

"Those who to-day, July Fourth, read the Declaration of Independence should have a care not to read it too loudly, for the immortal document contains a number of traitorous allusions to our dear allies. Really, the document should be publicly burnt by the hangman."

This paragraph was purely ironical—like Marc Antony's statement that "Brutus was an honorable man"—irony meaning the opposite of what is said. Taken seriously, such a sentiment would be seditious or silly, or both. Newspaper paragraphers are always making points in this style. A few days ago (March 14) the Baltimore Sun said editorially:

"The Constitution is a fine old instrument, but has frequently been held by the courts to amount to nothing as between friends. Why should it amount to more between enemies?"

It would not be fair to suppose that the Sun seriously meant that the Constitution "amounts to nothing." Nor should such a paragraph as the one relating to the Declaration be taken literally or seriously, as unfortunately it has been taken, when the incident in the news is ignored and the spirit of loyalty in our real Fourth of July editorial is not known or considered.

As an American citizen, born in this country, proud of it, I wish to explain these facts to your subcommittee, because in this crucial time I do not wish to be misunderstood or considered doubtful. For this reason, also, I have imposed upon your patience, for which I crave your indulgence.

COMMONWEALTH OF PENNSYLVANIA,
County of Allegheny, ss:

George Seibel, being first duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that the statements set forth in the foregoing statement are correct and true.

GEORGE SIEBEL.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 18th day of March, 1918.

[SEAL.] LOUIS HIRSCH, *Notary Public.*

My commission expires March 25, 1921.

Senator KING. I will say that there are probably a few more witnesses that the committee will call. We have not had a meeting to determine a program, but everything that has gone before the committee has gone on in a rather desultory way, as witnesses have volunteered or have presented themselves, and we have not met to outline any program, so we do not now know just exactly what the future action of the committee will be respecting receiving any more testimony.

Dr. Bartholdt has forwarded to me a statement, which I have not had time to read, but which, if it is deemed proper—and no doubt it will be—after I submit it to the committee, will be placed in the record.

Dr. Bartholdt was here some time ago and asked permission to come before the committee, and I told Dr. Bartholdt the committee would be glad to hear him at any time that he desired, and I arranged to call a special meeting to meet his desires and so notified

him that we would hear his testimony. Within a short time thereafter I received a letter from Dr. Bartholdt, which reads as follows:

TUESDAY NOON.

MY DEAR SENATOR: If it makes no difference to you, I should prefer, upon reflection, not to appear before the committee before the officers of the Alliance have been heard. It might be construed as undue zeal, which is not at all in accordance with my mental attitude. In fact, I have no personal interest in whatever action your committee might see fit to take.

I shall take the liberty, upon my reaching home, to prepare a brief on what I wanted to say and mail it to you, without delay.

Thanking you for your kindness to me, I remain, with best wishes,

Yours very truly,

RICHARD BARTHOLDT.

Hon. WILLIAM KING,
United States Senate.

The committee will examine Dr. Bartholdt's statement and doubtless will file it.[1]

Mr. SCHOLTZ. I do not know what the present plans are, but I offered the other day, as you know, to present some things showing the activities of the local organizations outside of politics and prohibition. I wanted to offer—because other gentlemen were here at that time—and probably would have offered, testimony in this connection, but they, being from several States distant from Washington and the sitting of the committee being postponed, went home. We had them here early, from the different States, as you will recall. I sought to make a memorandum of what the activities of the Independent Citizens' Union of Maryland had been along the line of economic and American aspirations as set forth in the national charter.

Senator KING. Speaking for myself, in view of the fact that the activities of the State alliances have been called into question, I think it would be fair to permit you to submit anything you care to that is relevant and material, abbreviating it as much as possible.

Mr. SCHOLTZ. I do not want to give you anything at length, just a synopsis. I have the minutes of the Independent Citizens' Union extending to a few months ago. I started to outline what some of the activities of the Independent Citizens' Union were; I started with 1910 and stopped in 1911. I would prefer to give it to you in writing. I do not want to burden the committee with any statement, unless you want to cross-examine me.

Senator WOLCOTT. Suppose you prepare your statement and let us have it, and if we conclude then that we would like to ask you any questions about it, we will let you know.

Mr. SCHOLTZ. That would be agreeable.

Senator KING. I want to state that I notified your associate in New York, Mr. Sutro, that the committee would give him all the time he desired in reason to prepare the brief that he said he would submit. He asked a certain number of days. Then he wrote me subsequently that it would be impossible, in view of his professional engagements, to complete his brief within the time set. I immediately replied, stating that he should take the additional time he asked in his letter. Then I received another communication from him asking

[1] NOTE BY THE CLERK.—The statement referred to was subsequently ordered inserted in the record and appears at the end of this day's hearing.

for still additional time, and I immediately replied, telling him to take such time as he wished.[1]

You may transmit what you prepare to the clerk to the committee, Mr. Scholtz, and if upon examination of it we desire to examine you, we will advise you.

Mr. SCHOLTZ. Good.

Senator KING. And if there is anything else you or Dr. von Bosse, or your organization, desires to submit, as long as it is relevant the committee will be glad to accept it.

The committee will stand adjourned.

Mr. SCHOLTZ. Before you adjourn I want to thank the committee for its kindness and fairness in the hearing you have given us.

Mr. VON BOSSE. Yes; and the same on my part.

(Thereupon, at 12.30 o'clock p. m., the subcommittee adjourned, subject to the call of the chairman.)

(The following was ordered inserted in the record:)

ST. LOUIS, *March 9, 1917.*

HON. WILLIAM H. KING,
Chairman Subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SENATOR: In volunteering this statement of my views on the bill to repeal the charter of the German-American Alliance permit me to say at the outset that I am not a member of the Alliance and speak only from such knowledge of its aims, objects, and activities as I have acquired by close observation and by being obliged, as a Member of Congress, to pass upon the application for the original charter 10 years ago.

The proposition to repeal the charter, which is now before you, raises, it seems to me, a fundamental question, namely, whether the many racial elements constituting the population of the United States should or should not have free play in the matter of their legitimate racial aspirations and enjoy the right of associating together in any manner they see fit for the purpose of living up to them. Up to the present this right has never been questioned. On the contrary, it has been specifically affirmed and sanctioned by Congress granting the incorporation in question by a practically unanimous vote. I do not believe it to be your intention to question that right even by an affirmative vote upon the pending bill, because we are fighting just now, as President Wilson has clearly stated, for this very right, namely, the free exercise, by small European nationalities, such as the Slavs in Austro-Hungary and the Poles and Danes in Germany, of their racial aspirations. We can not logically deny to our own citizens at home what we ask the central powers to grant to their subjects.

To obtain a perspective view of this question, let me cite the example of Switzerland. The dominant race in our little sister republic, or, rather, let me say the most prominent race, for in a real democracy there should be no such thing as a dominant race, is the German. Next come the French, and then the Italian. Each of these nationalities cultivates its own language, lives up to its inherited traditions, follows its own tastes as to literature, music, and art, and, in a purely spiritual and cultural sense, leans toward the greater nation whose blood flows in its veins. The German Swiss do not say to the French Swiss: "You must stop speaking the French language, associating with your like, singing French songs, admiring French literature and art, because that might detract from your allegiance to the Swiss Republic." Not at all. And why not? Because these various nationalities have confidence in each other and know that in spite of their different racial characteristics they are all equally loyal citizens of the Swiss Republic. Indeed, the world knows that when it comes to political and foreign questions all Swiss, irrespective of race, will stand by their own country and follow its flag wherever it may be carried. This is, of course, as it should be. Now, I assert that, despite the many nationalities which have found an asylum on American soil, it is equally true of our own country. History has proved it, but the most convincing proof of this fact, it seems to me, has been adduced since we have entered the present war.

[1] NOTE BY THE CLERK.—The supplemental brief referred to was received on March 25 and was inserted at the end of Mr. Sutro's reading of his original brief.

Now, Mr. Chairman, if we are willing, as we should be, to recognize legitimate racial aspirations on the part of the American Germans, Scotch, Irish, Scandinavians, and Italians, the whole case seems to hinge on the word "legitimate," i. e., aspirations which will in no wise interfere with a man's loyalty to flag and country. I believe we will never be able to reach a fair conclusion unless we divorce from the word "German," etc., all political significance and regard it merely as a racial designation, which it really is. If it is not improper or unpatriotic to speak the German language, to sing German songs, to be inspired by the music of Beethoven, Mozart, and Wagner, by the immortal works of Goethe and Schiller, and by the philosophy of Kant and Hegel, in a word, if it is permissible to cherish the achievements of intellectual Germany, which even in the midst of war have drawn warm words of admiration from President Wilson, then I claim the aspirations of the German element of this country to be entirely legitimate and strictly within the scope of loyal American citizenship. In fact, they are exactly on a level with our admiration of English literature, French art, and Italian music.

The members of the Alliance may speak of German ideals, as I did probably in the speech cited by the star witness before your committee; but what are these ideals? As we Americans of German blood understand them, they are practically identical with American ideals and probably also with the ideals of every other civilized nation. They are love of liberty, love of truth, honesty, and integrity in private as well as public life, respect for law and authority and unwavering loyalty to the country. These people, moreover, take pardonable pride in the cultural and material achievements of the German element on American soil and in just that steadfast loyalty which it has shown in every crisis of the country's history. The Irish celebrate St. Patrick's Day, the French Bastille Day (July 14). The Germans alone have selected for their annual commemoration an event in American history, the landing of the first German colonists on American soil (September, 1683). Oblivious of the old country's traditions, they emphasize their Americanism even in their racial festivals. Are we waging war against all these innocent racial manifestations? Sincerely, Mr. Chairman, I hope not. It would be tantamount to a reversal of time-honored American traditions and a repudiation of democratic ideals. In the interest of our common country and its great future, I trust, you will not lend your ears to those who have appeared before your committee and who, from racial antagonism and other un-American motives, are trying to fructify the excitement of the war for the purpose of striking down what has long been sanctioned by American custom.

What I have enumerated above is all there is of so-called Germanism, as far as I know, and there is not in the United States a public man of prominence, from Presidents down, who, in addressing American citizens of German blood, have not lauded these identical ideals and counseled adherence to them. I myself remember the speeches of six different Presidents of the United States, of hundreds—yes, of hundreds—of Senators and Representatives and other men of note, all of which addresses were laudatory of the history, the life, the characteristics, and the aspirations of that element of our citizenry, and made them feel that in living up to their racial traditions and cultural tastes they had, in the approval of the people, solid American ground under their feet. What has happened, may I ask, to change all this? German-Americans are detested by official Germany for now and ever standing by America. Will America refuse to stand by them?

Of course we have not lost the power of discrimination. We can well differentiate between purely spiritual and cultural aspirations on the one hand and political propaganda on the other. If the former had even the faintest connection with official Germany, and I go further and say, even with the interests of the German people—if, in other words, any political propaganda had been carried on for the benefit of the German Empire—I would say, stamp it out! Neither in war nor in peace could divided allegiance be tolerated for one minute. But, believe me, there is no such thing, at least I have never had the slightest inkling of it. Even if single individuals in or outside of German-American associations had attempted to pursue such unloyal purposes, I assure you they would have been discovered, and those of us who stand for 100 per cent Americanism would have denounced them and thus rendered them harmless. What proof have we to substantiate the assertion that "America first" is the motto of the element I speak of? Well, besides its loyalty in this war, I will point to only one other. Nothing could possibly benefit Germany more than free trade or a very low American tariff. Now, if the German

element were even in the remotest degree concerned in benefits to accrue to the old country, would they not have had many a fine chance to secure them by voting for such a policy? Did they do it? No; the vast majority of them have always voted for a protective tariff. And how about the present war? It is true that when we declared war against the Berlin Government our German population was sad at heart.

Was this unnatural? War on either England, Scotland, or Ireland would have caused other hearts to be equally lacerated. But was this sorrow to be attributed to any concern about political Germany and her rulers? Not in the slightest degree. The fate of German autocrats is a matter of supreme indifference to them. What they did think of, however, was the little spot on which their cradle stood and the ancestral graves and the relatives and friends near and dear to them. These are sentiments which God has implanted in every human heart. Do they detract from one's loyalty? The answer to this question, fortunately, is not speculative. We have before our very eyes the facts and proofs that in spite of all sentimental considerations these people never wavered in their allegiance to the Constitution and the flag, that emotions of the heart could not for a moment overcome the dictates of their conscience and the realization of their solemn duty as American citizens. Like all the other elements of our population they gave up their sons to the war, never hindered or embarrassed the Government in its preparation for it, never obstructed conscription or any other measure deemed necessary, most willingly bought Liberty Bonds and War-Savings Stamps, and contributed liberally to the Red Cross; in a word, did their whole patriotic duty. Whatever troubles we have had in these matters, permit me to remind you, emanated from sources other than German. So correct and exemplary, in fact, was the conduct of the German population, that administration officials were prompted to acknowledge it by official statement. Are not these facts really a complete answer to any and all allegations to the contrary which have been made to the committee? Since President Wilson has declared that we have no quarrel with the German people, and, moreover, has lifted the American cause to the high level of a struggle for international justice and enduring peace, our Nation has been welded and blended into one mighty unit of patriotic citizenry, and under these circumstances do you not think it might be advisable to let well enough alone?

When we speak of the German element of the United States we should remember that next to the Irish it is the most Americanized of all the foreign immigration. By far the largest percentage of it is native born, and the balance, with the exception of a small fraction, has been here so long as to become thoroughly identified with the country, its interests, customs, and institutions. There was a time when more than 300,000 German immigrants arrived on our shores annually. During the last 15 years, however, this great human wave dwindled down to the insignificant figure of 20,000 and less. To-day 95 per cent of them are so thoroughly assimilated as to render the term "foreigners," as applied to them, both unjust and incorrect. They constitute an integral part of our population and are blood of our blood and flesh of our flesh. America is their and their children's country and the Stars and Stripes is their only flag.

Now, a word about the German-American Alliance, which has generally been regarded as representing the sentiments of that element. I hold no brief for the Alliance, and, as I said in the beginning, am not even a member of it except indirectly; i. e., through the blanket membership of clubs to which I happen to belong. However, I am fairly familiar with its aims and objects as well as its history. I believe the revival some years ago of the old Know-nothing spirit, which manifested itself in renewed antagonism against foreigners and in the movement for prohibition and the restriction of immigration, to be the main cause of the Alliance's existence. The German element saw in those movements a drive against its social organizations and against what it considered its innocent habits and customs. Therefore, the purpose of the Alliance was, to start with, not offensive but defensive. It was to meet attacks upon racial traits which the rights of American citizenship seemed to protect.

The American German is nothing, if not altruistic. He is awkward in politics, but, as a rule, stands for principle. The measures to restrict immigration, for instance, did not really affect him, because every German immigrant can read and write. Yet he opposed the restriction because of the principle involved. He did not want to deny to others the privilege which he had himself enjoyed. So it is with personal liberty. He believes in the right of the individual to regulate his own conduct and is therefore opposed to all sumptuary

legislation. It was only in convention with these questions that the Alliance ever undertook any political activity, as far as my knowledge goes. Its officers appeared before the committees of Congress in defense of what they regarded as traditional American liberties. When the Alliance asked for incorporation Congress, through its committees, carefully considered these activities and also scrutinized the constitution of the organization. No objection was found to either. If it had been proposed to organize a new political party, I should have opposed the charter myself, for I do not believe in political divisions along racial lines. In my humble judgment the welfare of our country will be best subserved by forgetting our racial differences. In politics and war we should be Americans and nothing else. The answer to my questions bearing on this point was to the effect that the membership of the organization consisted of Republicans, Democrats, and Socialists, and the least suggestion of partisanship would result in immediate disorganization. I well remember one paragraph to the preamble of the constitution because it specially appealed to me. It reads as follows:

"Always true to the adopted country, ever ready to risk all for its welfare, sincere and unselfish in the exercise of the duties of citizenship, and respecting the law, still remains the watchword."

The idea that an organization of several million good and loyal citizens standing upon such a platform should deliberately go back upon it by treacherously dickering with official Germany, I can not help but think, is preposterous on the face of it. Nor do I believe that the officers practiced deception upon the membership. During my long acquaintance with the leading men of the organization I have never heard even a whisper about foreign policies or international relations except once when under the Taft administration it was proposed to negotiate arbitration treaties with Great Britain and France. On that occasion I remember the executive committee of the Alliance to have favored the inclusion of Germany, i. e., that the benefits of the treaty should be made applicable to the German Empire. I did not know then, and do not know now, whether the German Government even wished to join hands. My impression is that it did not, so that the recommendation of the Alliance was most likely contrary to Germany's policy.

Mr. Chairman, if you will pardon the suggestion, I would most respectfully recommend that action upon the pending bill be postponed until after the war. I am fully aware of the strong feeling which has been created by the press against the Alliance, and therefore respect your motives for introducing the bill. You have simply acted in response to public sentiment. But I am also satisfied the investigation you are conducting, and which should be courted by every friend of the organization, will reveal the fact that its opponents have simply garbled the truth into an ugly story. I am afraid any action looking to repeal would at this particular time be misunderstood. It would seriously reflect on the honor and loyalty of millions of good American citizens, unnecessarily humiliate them in the eyes of their fellow men, and, what is worse, single them out for persecution by the unthinking. If it was a mistaken policy on the part of Congress to incorporate any such organization, that is another question, but in the present state of the public mind it would hardly be believed that the charter was being repealed on that ground.

It is proposed, by the way, not only to repeal the charter, but also to wind up the affairs of the Alliance, a proceeding which, as a matter of course, would have to be followed by similar action against all the other racial organizations of the country—for instance, the Alliance Française, the different Irish national organizations, the Caledonian and New England societies, etc. I regard the dissolution of the Alliance at this time as inopportune, because we are at war. Instead of turning against each other in accentuating our race differences, you will agree, our faces should be turned toward the common enemy. The momentum of complete national unity is essential for the success of America's cause. Can such a momentum be achieved if we start internecine racial strife, and will not such strife give aid and comfort to the enemy?

On the other hand, it goes without saying that, if in the course of your investigation, the least evidence be found showing disloyal conduct on the part of any one connected with the Alliance, or even the receipt of funds from improper sources, I should favor the immediate repeal of the charter, irrespective of the consequences to which I have called attention. I must add, however, that I would be a much-deceived man if such evidence were discovered.

In conclusion, Mr. Chairman, I wish to say, in order to keep the record straight and in refutation of the allegations of your recent star witness, that

I have never in my life made a speech which was not in strict accordance with what I believed to be the best interests of our country, and that I never advocated "Germanism" in any sense other than I have indicated. This applies to social as well as political occasions, and also to the European peace conferences which I have had the honor to attend as a Representative in Congress. I hope it will not be necessary to assert my Americanism. As proof of it I beg to submit the record of my 22 years of service in Congress, which is an open book, together with the testimony of my erstwhile colleagues in both Houses of Congress and of my constituents, who honored me with 11 consecutive elections, and whose full confidence, I believe, I enjoyed up to the time of my voluntary retirement and even to the present day. Since my retirement I have spent most of the time in my library writing my reminiscences, and my sole wish is to be permitted to enjoy my rest for the balance of my days. Nevertheless, when war was declared I offered my services to the Government through the highest Federal official of my home city, thus performing what I believed to be my duty as a loyal American citizen.

Respectfully submitted

RICHARD BARTHOLDT.

NATIONAL GERMAN-AMERICAN ALLIANCE.

MONDAY, APRIL 1, 1918.

UNITED STATES SENATE,
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY,
Washington, D. C.

The subcommittee met at 2 o'clock p. m. in the room of the Committee on the Judiciary in the Capitol, Senator Wolcott presiding.

Present: Senators Wolcott and Sterling.

Senator WOLCOTT. Mr. Ullrich, you will take the stand first.

TESTIMONY OF MR. REINHARD ULLRICH.

(The witness was duly sworn by Senator Wolcott.)

Senator WOLCOTT. Will you give your full name?

Mr. ULLRICH. Reinhard Ullrich.

Senator WOLCOTT. And your address?

Mr. ULLRICH. Five hundred thirty-seven Collins Avenue, Pittsburgh, Pa.

Senator WOLCOTT. You are president of the German-American Alliance in Pittsburgh?

Mr. ULLRICH. Of the Allegheny County Branch; yes, sir.

Senator WOLCOTT. Which embraces how much territory?

Mr. ULLRICH. Allegheny County.

Senator WOLCOTT. Is the city of Pittsburgh in that?

Mr. ULLRICH. Oh, yes.

Senator WOLCOTT. Is there any part of Allegheny County that is not in the city, or is the county the same size as the city?

Mr. ULLRICH. No, no; there are a good many smaller cities outside of Pittsburgh, like McKeesport and Homestead, and others.

Senator WOLCOTT. My attention has been called to a political advertisement that was put out in the mayoralty campaign in Pittsburgh when Mr. Babcock was elected mayor. That campaign was when?

Mr. ULLRICH. Last fall.

Senator WOLCOTT. The fall of 1917?

Mr. ULLRICH. Yes.

Senator WOLCOTT. The record shows that on September 9, 1917, the German-American Alliance of which you are president received a report from Mr. George Falkenstein, the chairman of the legislative committee, in which report Mr. Falkenstein stated that his committee had agreed upon the following candidates:

For mayor: E. V. Babcock.
For judges: John D. Schaefer, Josiah Cohen, Thomas Ford, Charles Kline.
For coroner: S. C. Jamison.
For council: Enoch Rauh, W. J. Brennan, Clifford B. Connelly, John W. Slayton.

You were present at that meeting?

Mr. ULLRICH. Yes, sir.

Senator WOLCOTT. The minutes of that meeting state that after some discussion—

It was finally resolved to receive the report on candidates favorably, and recommend them to German organizations for election.

You recall that action, do you?

Mr. ULLRICH. Yes, sir.

Senator WOLCOTT. What did the German-American Alliance do in the way of carrying out this resolution to recommend these candidates to the German organizations for election?

Mr. ULLRICH. The legislative committee had a ticket printed and sent out to the different societies as their recommended candidates.

Senator WOLCOTT. The legislative committee did?

Mr. ULLRICH. Yes.

Senator WOLCOTT. How did they have them printed; in the shape of a pamphlet or of a card?

Mr. ULLRICH. Of a card.

Senator STERLING. You say they were sent to the different societies. What different societies do you mean?

Mr. ULLRICH. The different societies belonging to the Allegheny County Branch of the German-American Alliance.

Senator STERLING. And being in Pittsburgh?

Mr. ULLRICH. In Pittsburgh and Allegheny County.

Senator WOLCOTT. Were those cards sent to the societies at McKeesport, for instance?

Mr. ULLRICH. Yes; to all of them.

Senator STERLING. Did the people in McKeesport have any vote in this election?

Mr. ULLRICH. No; they did not; but when those communications—those circular letters—are sent out they are sent to all those societies.

Senator STERLING. How many such circulars were sent out?

Mr. ULLRICH. We have approximately about 135 societies belonging to the Allegheny County Branch, and how many there were sent out I could not just answer. The secretary will be more able to answer than I am.

Senator WOLCOTT. Who is the secretary?

Mr. ULLRICH. Mr. Buchholtz—or was it sent out by the legislative committee?

Mr. AUGUST BUCHHOLTZ. Yes.

Mr. ULLRICH. The secretary of the legislative committee sent those out.

Senator WOLCOTT. Do you know whether those cards were sent to individuals in addition to having them sent to the different societies?

Mr. ULLRICH. We have single members, people not belonging to societies that are single members, belonging to the organization. I suppose they were sent to them, too.

Senator WOLCOTT. How many such individuals belonging to the organization are there or were there at that time?

Mr. ULLRICH. About 30, I think.

Senator WOLCOTT. So that these cards were sent only to the different societies and to about 30 individuals?

Mr. ULLRICH. Yes.

Senator WOLCOTT. And nobody else; to no greater extent than that?

Mr. ULLRICH. Not to my knowledge.

Senator WOLCOTT. Was there only one card sent—one form of card sent—or were there more?

Mr. ULLRICH. So far as I know, just one form.

Senator WOLCOTT. Look at that and see if that will help your memory any [handing poster to witness]. Here is a copy of the bulletins [indicating].

Mr. ULLRICH. I never saw that before.

Senator WOLCOTT. No; but this is a political dodger, apparently, and it has on it here "Bulletin No. 1" and here "Bulletin No. 2." The text of both of those is in German and each is signed by four gentlemen, of whom you are one.

Mr. ULLRICH. Yes.

Senator WOLCOTT. One is stated to be for the primary.

Mr. ULLRICH. I suppose there was one for the primary and one for the election. I can only explain it that way.

Senator WOLCOTT. There were apparently at least two bulletins sent out, bulletin No. 1 and bulletin No. 2, and you think that bulletin No. 1——

Mr. ULLRICH. Was for the primary.

Senator WOLCOTT (continuing). Had to do with the primary?

Mr. ULLRICH. Was for the primary; yes.

Senator WOLCOTT. And bulletin No. 2 had to do with the election?

Mr. ULLRICH. With the election.

Senator WOLCOTT. I will read a translation of bulletin No. 1 as it appears on this handbill.

Mr. ULLRICH. Yes.

Senator WOLCOTT (reading):

It is a critical period and in the forthcoming election we should cast our votes with extreme caution, so that no muckers or German haters (Germanophobes) shall come into control. Therefore, the undersigned committee addresses this appeal to the German-American electorate and earnestly bespeaks support for E. V. Babcock for Mayor.

We advise all to cast their votes for E. V. Babcock and the other candidates we recommend. We will not waste words, and close with frank assurance that we have given this question full consideration and are persuaded that no one will regret having followed this, our advice.

That was sent out in connection with a primary?

Mr. ULLRICH. Yes.

Senator WOLCOTT. What was that; a Democratic or a Republican primary?

Mr. ULLRICH. Republican.

Mr. CHRISTOPHER SAAM. Nonpartisan.

Mr. ULLRICH. Nonpartisan.

Senator WOLCOTT. Well, it is immaterial what Mr. Babcock's politics is. I do not know the gentleman. But what is he; a Democrat or a Republican?

Mr. ULLRICH. A Republican.

Senator WOLCOTT. So that it appears that the German-American Alliance, the Allegheny County Branch, supported a Republican candidate in the primary, that being Mr. Babcock?

Mr. ULLRICH. Yes.

Senator WOLCOTT. He was nominated, was he not?

Mr. ULLRICH. He was nominated.

Senator WOLCOTT. Bulletin No. 2 is translated on this paper as follows:

In the September primaries the German element stood firm and true behind its candidates.

I will ask you there if in the primary the German-American element supported some nominee or nominees in addition to Mr. Babcock?

Mr. ULLRICH. Yes.

Senator WOLCOTT. Did it support men for the council and for judges and for coroner at the primary?

Mr. ULLRICH. At the primary.

Senator WOLCOTT. Resuming the reading of this translation of bulletin No. 2:

If we do the same in the election on November 6th, we will win a great victory and the muckers and German haters will encounter an overthrow. Now as never before must we stand together.

The legislative committee has given the selected candidates a fundamental tryout. It has considered all aspects and now recommends these candidates with the most earnest assurances that no one will regret having voted for them.

We will not waste many words. It is a time of great significance. Be as one and victory is ours.

This bulletin No. 2 does not mention the names of the candidates for office whom the alliance was supporting. Who were those candidates that the bulletin does not disclose?

Mr. ULLRICH. The candidate for mayor was E. V. Babcock; and you have the names on the first that you read that we supported. We supported all those candidates in the election that we supported in the primaries, too, with one change, and that is in the judiciary. Mr. Drew was added; Judge Drew.

Senator WOLCOTT. He was added in the place of somebody else?

Mr. ULLRICH. Yes; as the fifth one. I do not think there was any other change made. Was there any other change made?

Mr. SAAM. No.

Mr. ULLRICH. One name was added, that of Judge Drew, in the judiciary.

Senator WOLCOTT. Was that added or was that a substitute for some other name?

Mr. ULLRICH. No; that was added, because in the primary we only indorsed four candidates, and five were to be elected. We left one for the choice of our people, because there were a good many that were for a man that we did not want to recommend, so that we left the fifth one out so that they could vote for whomever they saw fit.

Senator STERLING. And you afterwards put a man in the fifth place?

Mr. ULLRICH. Yes, sir; in the fifth place, because that man that ran as judge in the primary did not get this nomination; so that we put this man Drew in as the fifth man in the judiciary.

Senator WOLCOTT. If I understand the situation, then, it was this: You supported four men for judges at the primary?

Mr. ULLRICH. At the primary; yes.

Senator WOLCOTT. There was a fifth man that you did not want, but some of the German-Americans did want to vote for him?

Mr. ULLRICH. Yes.

Senator WOLCOTT. So that you said nothing about the fifth place?

Mr. ULLRICH. Yes.

Senator WOLCOTT. And that fifth man was not nominated?

Mr. ULLRICH. Was not nominated.

Senator WOLCOTT. And when the ticket came to be presented at the polls you inserted an indorsement of a fifth judge; was that the situation?

Mr. ULLRICH. Exactly.

Senator WOLCOTT. This bulletin No. 2 does not mention the names of the various candidates in the body of the bulletin, but was it not true that on the back side of that bulletin there was the name of Mr. Babcock for mayor and a list of all the candidates that were indorsed by the German-American Alliance?

Mr. ULLRICH. Yes.

Senator WOLCOTT. And those two bulletins were circulated only to that extent you have mentioned; is that true?

Mr. ULLRICH. To my knowledge. Of course, the legislative committee is more informed. I had nothing to do with the distribution of those tickets. That was left to the legislative committee.

Senator WOLCOTT. You did authorize the affixing of your name to these bulletins as president of the alliance, did you not?

Mr. ULLRICH. I did; although I did not see the bulletin after it was sent out.

Senator WOLCOTT. Now, Mr. Ullrich, who paid for circulating those bulletins?

Mr. ULLRICH. The legislative committee will answer that question. I do not know.

Senator WOLCOTT. You do not know?

Mr. ULLRICH. I do not know that.

Senator WOLCOTT. Bulletin No. 2 contains this sentence:

The legislative committee has given the selected candidates a fundamental tryout.

What was that fundamental tryout?

Mr. ULLRICH. I think that word is not just used properly.

Senator WOLCOTT. Look at the original. [Handing poster to the witness.]

Mr. ULLRICH. Well, I see it, too. I do not think that is properly worded.

Senator WOLCOTT. Look at the original German and see how you would translate it. [Indicating on poster.]

Mr. ULLRICH. I could not translate it any other way, either. I could not find a better word for it—"gründlich geprüft". How could you word it, Senator? Have you a better word than that?

Senator WOLCOTT. Let Mr. Scholtz examine it and see how he would translate it.

Mr. SCHOLTZ. "Investigated".

Senator WOLCOTT. Would you make it "have been thoroughly tested"?

Mr. ULLRICH. "Tested"; yes.

Mr. SCHOLTZ. "Have investigated"?

Mr. ULLRICH. Yes; "investigated".

Mr. SCHOLTZ. "And found them satisfactory".

Mr. ULLRICH. Yes; I think that is about the proper word for it.

Mr. SCHOLTZ. "Thoroughly investigated" or "thoroughly tested"; either one.

Mr. ULLRICH. Yes; that they have thoroughly investigated their records and found that they were worthy of their support.

Senator WOLCOTT. What did that thorough investigation consist of?

Mr. ULLRICH. I suppose to look up their records.

Senator WOLCOTT. On what?

Mr. ULLRICH. On their ability for the office, and so on.

Senator WOLCOTT. Was their record with reference to their sympathy with Germany examined into?

Mr. ULLRICH. Absolutely none; absolutely none.

Senator WOLCOTT. The bulletin says "the muckers and German haters will encounter an overthrow."

Mr. ULLRICH. I very much regret those words were used. If I had seen that bulletin before, they would never have been used.

Senator STERLING. Who is the author of those words?

Mr. ULLRICH. The legislative committee.

Senator WOLCOTT. You signed the bulletin, Mr. Ullrich?

Mr. ULLRICH. My name was——

Senator WOLCOTT. Authorized to be used?

Mr. ULLRICH. Yes; but I did not see the bulletin until it was printed.

Senator WOLCOTT. Who did write the bulletin; do you know?

Mr. ULLRICH. The legislative committee.

Senator WOLCOTT. Of course the inference from the bulletin is that if the German-Americans elected the ticket that they advocated it would be an overthrow of the "muckers and German haters".

Mr. SCHOLTZ. Permit me, Senator; that word "muckers" seems to stump the committee. The word "muckerism" means simply puritanism. What is meant is what in America is known as puritanism.

Senator WOLCOTT. How about "German haters"? That is not an ambiguous phrase.

Mr. ULLRICH. That word should never have been used.

Senator WOLCOTT. The bulletin, then, does an injustice to Mr. Babcock, does it, when it undertakes to say that his election would be an overthrow of "the muckers and German haters"?

Mr. ULLRICH. Yes.

Senator WOLCOTT. You do say that Mr. Babcock and the other candidates had not been investigated with respect to their pro-Germanism?

Mr. ULLRICH. No, no; absolutely not.

Senator WOLCOTT. Senator Sterling, do you want to ask the witness anything?

Senator STERLING. Was the question of how the candidate stood on the prohibition question a matter which was investigated?

Mr. ULLRICH. Well, no; that had nothing to do with the prohibition question.

Senator STERLING. It had nothing whatever to do with it?

Mr. ULLRICH. Nothing whatever. We selected those men from all parties. We indorsed Democrats; we even indorsed a Socialist in our ticket. Mr. Slayton is a Socialist, and Mr. Brennan was a

Democrat. But politics had absolutely nothing to do in our indorsement. We wanted just the right men for the right offices.

Senator WOLCOTT. Mr. Babcock was a Republican. Now, the first of the judges was Mr. Schaefer; was he a Democrat or a Republican?

Mr. ULLRICH. I can not tell you.

Senator WOLCOTT. Do you remember the politics of Mr. Cohen?

Mr. ULLRICH. I think Mr. Cohen is a Republican, is he not? Mr. Josiah Cohen; is he not a Republican?

Mr. GEORGE J. F. FALKENSTEIN. City judge; yes.

Mr. ULLRICH. What is he; a Democrat or Republican?

Mr. FALKENSTEIN. A Republican.

Senator WOLCOTT. And Thomas Ford?

Mr. ULLRICH. Yes; he is a Republican.

Mr. SAAM. And Mr. Charles Kline; he is a Republican.

Senator WOLCOTT. And of the members of the council, is Enoch Rauh a Democrat or a Republican?

Mr. SAAM. He is a Republican.

Mr. ULLRICH. Is he a Republican?

Mr. SAAM. Yes.

Senator WOLCOTT. And W. J. Brennan?

Mr. FALKENSTEIN. He is a Democrat.

Senator WOLCOTT. And Clifford B. Connelly?

Mr. FALKENSTEIN. I do not know.

Mr. ULLRICH. I do not know whether he is a Democrat or a Republican, but we thought he was the proper man.

Senator WOLCOTT. You do not know his politics?

Mr. ULLRICH. No; I do not.

Senator WOLCOTT. How about Mr. Slayton?

Mr. ULLRICH. He is a Socialist.

Senator WOLCOTT. Your ticket, then, was selected from the various parties?

Mr. ULLRICH. Oh, yes. It had nothing to do with politics whatever.

Senator WOLCOTT. Well, of course, it had something to do with politics.

Mr. ULLRICH. I mean for the certain parties.

Senator WOLCOTT. I see. You were not trying to benefit any particular party?

Mr. ULLRICH. No particular party; yes, sir.

Senator STERLING. Had any of these men who were candidates for judges been judges before, or were they at the time judges?

Mr. ULLRICH. At the time those three were judges—Mr. Cohen and Mr. Schaefer and Mr. Ford.

Senator STERLING. It was the business of this legislative committee, you say, to investigate the records of these men?

Mr. ULLRICH. Yes.

Senator STERLING. In what respect were they seeking to investigate the records of the judges—to find out what with reference to the records of these judges; do you know, Mr. Ullrich?

Mr. ULLRICH. I could not answer that question.

Senator STERLING. Was it to find out how they had decided certain questions?

Mr. ULLRICH. I could not answer that question. It was just at a meeting. Those two other judges, Mr. Carnahan and—what was the fifth judge?

Mr. FALKENSTEIN. Carnahan and Snering.

Mr. ULLRICH. They were two old men, and the committee thought that it should not be in the judiciary that always the same man should be elected. That is why they thought that they would bring younger blood in, and Senator Kline was proposed and a young judge, Drew.

Senator STERLING. Had you known that any of these judges had decided adversely to you any question in which the German people as such were interested?

Mr. ULLRICH. Absolutely not; no. There was never a trial, to my recollection, before any of these judges on that question.

Senator WOLCOTT. Bulletin No. 1, which was put out prior to this primary, refers to the fact that it is the wish of the German-American Alliance "that no muckers or German haters shall come into control." The second, bulletin No. 2, which was put out in connection with the election, repeats that in the following language, "we will win a great victory and the muckers and German haters will encounter an overthrow." Then it goes on and says that complete investigation of these candidates had been had. Now, the dominant thought of those two bulletins is the fact that the German-American Alliance is against muckers and German haters. Conversely, of course, it must be for people that it considers not muckers and as German supporters. I want to know if these bulletins correctly state the attitude of the alliance in that particular?

Mr. ULLRICH. They do not.

Senator WOLCOTT. They are false, then, are they, in the impression they give?

Mr. ULLRICH. They do not. As I say, I very much regret that those words were used. Of course, a person reading them might misconstrue the sentiment of the alliance.

Senator WOLCOTT. You say that, notwithstanding your name appears signed to the bulletins?

Mr. ULLRICH. Yes.

Senator WOLCOTT. Are there any further questions?

Senator STERLING. Do you translate that word "mucker" as Mr. Scholtz does, as meaning "puritan"?

Mr. ULLRICH. I must say I do not know what the right translation would be. I would translate it "hypocrite." A hypocrite, one who appears to be one thing and does something else. For instance, if I want to be plain, a man who appears to be a prohibitionist before the world and in the cellar he has his liquor. That is what we call a "mucker."

Senator STERLING. Then the word "mucker" there has some relation to a man's views in regard to prohibition or temperance, you think?

Mr. ULLRICH. Yes; yes.

Senator STERLING. That is the way in which you use that word?

Mr. ULLRICH. Yes; that is correct.

Senator WOLCOTT. Who got up the scheme of circulating these bulletins?

Mr. ULLRICH. The legislative committee.

Senator WOLCOTT. Let us have a member of this legislative committee, then. Mr. Falkenstein, you will be sworn.

TESTIMONY OF MR. GEORGE J. F. FALKENSTEIN.

(The witness was duly sworn by Senator Wolcott.)

Senator WOLCOTT. Give your full name.

Mr. FALKENSTEIN. George J. F. Falkenstein.

Senator WOLCOTT. And your address?

Mr. FALKENSTEIN. McKeesport, Pa.

Senator WOLCOTT. You were chairman of the legislative committee of the Allegheny County Branch of the German-American Alliance?

Mr. FALKENSTEIN. Yes.

Senator WOLCOTT. You are the gentleman who made the report to the alliance on behalf of the legislative committee on September 9, 1917?

Mr. FALKENSTEIN. At that time; yes, sir.

Senator WOLCOTT. You made the particular report at the meeting that indorsed a ticket to be voted for in the primary?

Mr. FALKENSTEIN. Yes.

Senator WOLCOTT. Who wrote this bulletin No. 1 and this bulletin No. 2 to which I have referred?

Mr. FALKENSTEIN. Mr. Saam, the secretary, and myself.

Senator WOLCOTT. All right; now we have got the author, and you can explain it to us. What was the "fundamental tryout" or investigation or test that you applied to these candidates that you indorsed and whose names were put on the backs of the bulletins?

Mr. FALKENSTEIN. The "general tryout" I would construe that word there to be—is this bulletin No. 1 or No. 2?

Senator WOLCOTT. It is in bulletin No. 2 that the "tryout" is referred to.

Mr. FALKENSTEIN. That word referred to the result of the primary. As the result of the primary they were nominated. That is the way I would construe that.

Senator WOLCOTT. I am going to read you the whole sentence:

> The legislative committee has given the selected candidates a fundamental tryout.

Mr. FALKENSTEIN. Now, there were several of them: quite a number of them. We talked to them and asked how they felt on certain propositions.

Senator WOLCOTT. That is what I want to get at.

Mr. FALKENSTEIN. Referring to liberal ideas and views; that they would not be narrow minded, and so on.

Senator WOLCOTT. Did you make inquiry about their views on prohibition, for instance?

Mr. FALKENSTEIN. Some of them; yes, sir.

Senator WOLCOTT. Did you make inquiry concerning their views toward Germany?

Mr. FALKENSTEIN. No, sir; that had nothing whatever to do with it.

Senator WOLCOTT. Why was that phrase "German haters" used in both bulletins? Why was that phrase used?

Mr. FALKENSTEIN. "German haters"? That was translated from "Deutschenfresser"—German "fresser". The German "fresser" is somebody that wants to eat up everything German. That was very much used during those times up there, and I believe we had a proclamation from our President asking our people not to inculcate the hatred of the German people, the German method of going around and living, and so on. He did not want this nativistic idea to get abroad. That was the meaning of that.

Senator WOLCOTT. You made investigation of these various candidates with respect, then, to their attitude toward the German ideas and ideals?

Mr. FALKENSTEIN. As to their liberal ideas, liberal views, and ways of living, and not narrow-mindedness, and having fairness; and you know we have so many charter organizations with us, singing societies and turning societies and beneficial unions and societies, who have their charters under the county and for social purposes, and we also have out in our country a great many one and two man club affairs, and we wanted them to have a thorough understanding with us and feel with us that we were in favor of the chartered clubs and that we were opposed to the one or two man affairs; that is, individuals who make money out of these clubs.

Senator WOLCOTT. What do you mean by one and two man affairs?

Mr. FALKENSTEIN. One and two men speak-easies—quite a good many of them out there.

Senator WOLCOTT. Yes; I guess they are quite fairly universal in their appearance.

Who paid for the circulation of this stuff?

Mr. FALKENSTEIN. We had nothing to do with that there [indicating poster].

Senator WOLCOTT. No; I mean of the bulletins.

Mr. FALKENSTEIN. That was outside.

Senator WOLCOTT. No; I am referring to the bulletins.

Mr. FALKENSTEIN. The campaign committee who had charge of that entire proposition. The county officers and everything, including the mayoralty fight, was all put in that bill and paid in that way.

Senator WOLCOTT. The campaign committee of which you were chairman?

Mr. FALKENSTEIN. No; the campaign committee of the county organization.

Senator WOLCOTT. Whose county organization?

Mr. FALKENSTEIN. The city and county organizations that had charge of the campaign of Babcock and the councilmen—the county campaign.

Senator WOLCOTT. You are speaking of the county organization. Do you mean of the German-American Alliance?

Mr. FALKENSTEIN. No; the party organization.

Senator WOLCOTT. The party organization?

Mr. FALKENSTEIN. The party organization.

Senator WOLCOTT. Some campaign committee, then, of a political party paid for circulating these bulletins?

Mr. FALKENSTEIN. That is, only the printing bill. I suppose it was paid for.

Senator WOLCOTT. Did the German-American Alliance pay for it?

Mr. FALKENSTEIN. We did not pay for it out of our treasury. We paid part for it—part of it.

Senator WOLCOTT. It was paid by some official, was it?

Mr. FALKENSTEIN. Yes.

Senator WOLCOTT. Who was he?

Mr. FALKENSTEIN. The treasurer of the campaign committee, Mr. John Sharpe, I think.

Senator WOLCOTT. Was he a Republican or a Democrat, as a matter of fact?

Mr. FALKENSTEIN. I do not know his politics.

Senator WOLCOTT. Mr. John Sharpe.

Mr. FALKENSTEIN. John Sharpe.

Senator WOLCOTT. He was treasurer of whose campaign committee?

Mr. FALKENSTEIN. What they called out there the Babcock campaign committee. He included all of the others, as I told you, there.

Senator WOLCOTT. The circulation of these bulletins, then, was paid for by Mr. Babcock's campaign managers?

Mr. FALKENSTEIN. No; the treasurer of that campaign committee. You understand that included all of those candidates for sheriff and coroner and the council—all the candidates were one proposition.

Senator WOLCOTT. Who got up the idea of circulating these bulletins?

Mr. FALKENSTEIN. I think I am partly responsible for it. We all had our heads together on it.

Senator WOLCOTT. Whom do you mean?

Mr. FALKENSTEIN. Mr. Saam and myself, as president and secretary of the legislative committee.

Senator WOLCOTT. You got up the idea, and then you took it up with this Babcock campaign committee?

Mr. FALKENSTEIN. No; they did not know anything about that. We talked the matter over, and I told them that our treasury was depleted and we would have to have some assistance to pay those bills and they said they would be taken care of.

Senator WOLCOTT. Yes.

Mr. FALKENSTEIN. We usually have a legislative fund of our own, but we were depleted and had no cash on hand and we had to call on them to help us.

Senator WOLCOTT. You had to call on your friends to help out?

Mr. FALKENSTEIN. Yes.

Senator WOLCOTT. Did your legislative committee ever participate in any political campaigns on any other occasion than this mayoralty campaign?

Mr. FALKENSTEIN. That is about the only time I recall that I have been chairman of the committee. That was the first time I had done it.

Senator WOLCOTT. Did you ever do any work around the legislature?

Mr. FALKENSTEIN. Yes, sir.

Senator WOLCOTT. In what connection?

Mr. FALKENSTEIN. I was journal clerk in the session of 1907–1909.

Senator WOLCOTT. No; I mean your legislative committee.

Mr. FALKENSTEIN (continuing). Among other things that I did at the last session. Through the legislative committee the idea of a

teachers' pension-fund bill originated with us. We had that drafted and presented to the Legislature of Pennsylvania, and had it started that way. That was by the Allegheny County Branch, one of those things that was an economical proposition to be worked on, the same as we did the playground association and the physical culture in public schools and the child-labor law; we were among the first ones that proposed them, several years ago; and other things outside of a political nature we had in hand, you know; good for the community, good for the people.

Senator WOLCOTT. You were an officer in the legislature, then?

Mr. FALKENSTEIN. Yes. I am now—reading clerk. I was journal clerk from 1907 to 1909 and reading clerk from 1915 to 1917.

Senator WOLCOTT. Did your legislative committee ever busy itself in the wet and dry contest around the Pennsylvania Legislature?

Mr. FALKENSTEIN. Yes; I think they have. The members looked after the candidates who were inclined to be liberal minded, or wet, as we say, and work in support of them.

Senator WOLCOTT. Did your legislative committee undertake to do any lobby work around the legislature on behalf of the alliance in connection with any wet or dry contest?

Mr. FALKENSTEIN. But not in the—you mean while the legislature was in session?

Senator WOLCOTT. Yes.

Mr. FALKENSTEIN. No; they would generally go down there on the day that the bill was voted on. Prior to that time they would have their conferences with the members, you know, at home, when they would come back for the recess, and so on.

Senator STERLING. Mr. Falkenstein, did you consider, now, all who did not agree with the German ways or the German social customs or with the German attitude in regard to prohibition, did you consider all such as "muckers" and "German haters"?

Mr. FALKENSTEIN. I do not, sir.

Senator STERLING. Do you not see that the tendency of such teachings and bulletins such as your legislative committee got out there would be to alienate the German people and the American people and prevent their assimilation and their working together for the public welfare, especially if you called them German haters and muckers simply because they can not agree with all the German ways and all the German social customs?

Mr. FALKENSTEIN. No; that is not the idea. I agree with you on that. I certainly do.

Senator STERLING. Well, that is what you did call them in this bulletin, is it not?

Mr. FALKENSTEIN. That was perhaps a little radical; a little radical. But at the time that was written there was a good deal of animosity around about, you know, that perhaps adduced that word. That is the only apology we have there. It is rather raw, to tell you the truth.

Senator STERLING. That feeling arose out of the war, did it not?

Mr. FALKENSTEIN. How is that?

Senator WOLCOTT. That feeling to some extent arose out of the war?

Mr. FALKENSTEIN. No; I do not think the war proposition cuts a figure on that proposition.

Senator STERLING. You think not?

Mr. FALKENSTEIN. Not with me, I am sure; not with any of us. Far from that, because I am American born—Chambersburg, Pa.—and I would not tolerate anything like that.

Senator STERLING. You say you were born in this country?

Mr. FALKENSTEIN. Yes, sir; Chambersburg, Franklin County, Pa.; and I was raised in Baltimore, and I have been out in McKeesport for the last 25 years. I have been mayor of my city, and I am city treasurer to-day—on the sixty-ninth ballot.

Senator STERLING. You agree that a statement like that put out by your German-American Alliance there is radical, do you not?

Mr. FALKENSTEIN. That was a little radical.

Senator STERLING. That is unwarranted, is it not?

Mr. FALKENSTEIN. That "German hater" is, but I would stand for the word "mucker."

Senator WOLCOTT. Of course, Mr. Falkenstein, it would be manifestly unfair and in a sense an abuse of your position as chairman of the legislative committee to put out such language as that to the German voters, would it not; because you recede from it now?

Mr. FALKENSTEIN. How is that again?

Senator WOLCOTT. You recede from this extreme language now, do you not?

Mr. FALKENSTEIN. Yes.

Senator WOLCOTT. I repeat my statement, that it was grossly unfair to counsel the members of your organization in language which you say is unjustified?

Mr. FALKENSTEIN. Well, just in that particular sense, I might admit that.

Senator STERLING. And you would admit, I think, Mr. Falkenstein, that language like that would tend to promote the very hatred which you deplore?

Mr. FALKENSTEIN. Yes; yes. The less we have of that the better it will be. And yet you will admit, Senator, that there could have been a good deal stronger words used on the other side?

Senator STERLING. And yet it went out on the authority of the legislative committee; and because it went out on the authority of the legislative committee it would have more effect and more influence, would it not, than going from an individual?

Mr. FALKENSTEIN. Yes. I think there has more attention been paid to that word in there by the opposition than there was by our people, because I did not know—that bulletin that you have there was passed out in Pittsburgh on the Monday morning before the election. They have the words, I notice, down there, "propaganda," and so forth. That was foreign to the entire proposition.

Senator WOLCOTT. Yes.

Mr. FALKENSTEIN. See? That was put out on Monday morning before the Tuesday election.

Senator WOLCOTT. Did you ever talk this thing over with Mr. Babcock?

Mr. FALKENSTEIN. No, sir.

Senator WOLCOTT. That is all.

TESTIMONY OF MR. CHRISTOPHER SAAM.

(The witness was duly sworn by Senator Wolcott.)

Senator WOLCOTT. State your full name.

Mr. SAAM. Christopher Saam.

Senator WOLCOTT. And your address?

Mr. SAAM. Essen Street, North Side, Pittsburgh, Pa.

Senator WOLCOTT. You are secretary of the legislative committee we have been talking about?

Mr. SAAM. Yes.

Senator WOLCOTT. Did you have any hand in writing or in drawing these two bulletins?

Mr. SAAM. Yes, sir.

Senator WOLCOTT. Who is the chief author?

Mr. SAAM. I am.

Senator WOLCOTT. Now, will you tell us what is meant by this phrase which occurs in both bulletins, "muckers and German haters"?

Mr. SAAM. "Mucker"; that was explained by Mr. Falkenstein. A mucker is a narrow-minded man, or a man who actually pretends to be a prohibitionist and goes to work and drinks in a concealed place. We call them, in German, muckers; a man who is narrow-minded and will not stick up for his principles.

Senator WOLCOTT. You know what we mean by the word "mucker" in English, do you not?

Mr. SAAM. Yes; I do.

Senator WOLCOTT. The word "mucker" in English——

Mr. SAAM. Yes: but that has got nothing to do with this.

Senator WOLCOTT. Is there such a word in German?

Mr. SAAM. No, sir.

Senator WOLCOTT. What did you mean by the phrase "German haters"?

Mr. SAAM. Well, we were attacked several times by speakers—by the various speakers, campaign speakers—and we simply put that in without actually thinking about it. It was not used for any special purpose or anything like that. It was actually just used because we were attacked from all sides, pretty near.

Senator WOLCOTT. When were you attacked: at the election?

Mr. SAAM. Before the primary.

Senator WOLCOTT. Before the primary?

Mr. SAAM. Before the primary and after the primary. That is how that word got in there—never thought of it.

Senator WOLCOTT. What was the fundamental test or investigation to which you subjected the various candidates?

Mr. SAAM. In this campaign we generally talked the matter over with the different candidates, what they thought, for the welfare of the city and the county, and we selected the best men, actually—that is, which we thought would be the best men. For no other purpose.

Senator WOLCOTT. You did something more, did you not, than merely finding out which man had the most wholesome municipal views? You did something more than that, did you not?

Mr. SAAM. We did not.

Senator WOLCOTT. In your inquiries?

Mr. SAAM. We did not.

Senator WOLCOTT. This language in here is very, very strong and indicates to my mind that you were making some inquiries which had to do with things that were wider in scope than the mere desire to find out a man's views on municipal problems, because you speak of this in your bulletin as a time of great significance, and you used this strong language which indicates a feeling on your part that those opposed to you are more or less German haters.

Mr. SAAM. I will tell you how that came; because, on the other hand, the prohibition party was pretty strong, and certainly if we believed in personal liberty, and we did not want a man who was narrow-minded on that question, although if a man is broad-minded I do not care, for my part, whether he is a prohibitionist or not, so long as he is broad-minded and fair and honest. A man does not have to drink, a man does not have to be a "booze-h'ister." He can be a prohibitionist and be a very good man; and if he did that we certainly would support him, any time at all. We supported a man here who never took a drink, for judge; but he is a liberal-minded man.

Senator STERLING. And he is in favor of license, is he?

Mr. SAAM. Yes, sir.

Senator STERLING. You believe there is a posibility of a prohibitionist being a fairly good man, do you?

Mr. SAAM. Why can not he? They can be as fair as anybody else.

Senator WOLCOTT. You would define a prohibitionist as a man who never took a drink?

Mr. SAAM. I know a great many men who are prohibitionists and never took a drink in their life, and they are very good friends of mine, because they are honest and fair.

Senator WOLCOTT. What information can you give us concerning the connection between these bulletins and one of the old political parties?

Mr. SAAM. What do you mean?

Senator WOLCOTT. Mr. Falkenstein testified that some campaign committee paid for circulating these things.

Mr. SAAM. Yes.

Senator WOLCOTT. That is correct, is it?

Mr. SAAM. Yes; that is what they did. That is correct.

Senator WOLCOTT. Did you consult with that campaign committee before these bulletins were put out?

Mr. SAAM. Yes.

Senator WOLCOTT. They approved of it, did they?

Mr. SAAM. They approved of it. They did not see the bulletin. They just simply told us to write up a bulletin and send it out and they would pay for it.

Senator WOLCOTT. You talked over with them the general plan of the bulletins?

Mr. SAAM. I did not.

Senator WOLCOTT. You told them, did you, that you were going to circularize the German vote?

Mr. SAAM. Yes; certainly.

Senator WOLCOTT. And they approved of your doing it?

Mr. SAAM. Yes.

Senator WOLCOTT. So that if there was any wrong done in your mentioning any politics, it was not, certainly, on the side of the

Germans, but some old political party shared it with you, because they approved of your circularizing that German vote?

Mr. SAAM. Yes. In fact, they did not see the bulletin, because they can not read German and the bulletin was in the German language; it was not printed in the English language. Only this circular came out the day before the election. We did not have anything to do with this bulletin at all, whatever. I never actually saw one until now.

Senator WOLCOTT. This is, of course, a translation.

Mr. SAAM. I never saw one.

Senator WOLCOTT. Did you ever talk it over with Mr. Babcock himself?

Mr. SAAM. No, sir.

Senator WOLCOTT. Nor with any other candidate on that ticket——

Mr. SAAM. No, sir.

Senator WOLCOTT. Democratic or Republican?

Mr. SAAM. No, sir.

Senator WOLCOTT. Is there anything more, Senator Sterling?

Mr. SCHOLTZ. I was just going to ask, Senator, what is the German word that is translated "German hater"? What is the original German?

Mr. SAAM. It is "Deutschenfresser."

Mr. SCHOLTZ. That means "German eater"—one who eats them alive.

Mr. SAAM. It has not very much of any meaning at all. It is rather of a stronger word, but there is hardly any meaning to it.

Mr. SCHOLTZ. The phrase used there is much more odious and strong. It is a colloquial phrase meaning "a man who eats everything German." I could not understand what the word was; that is the reason I asked.

Mr. SAAM. It does not mean anything at all really. It just simply makes the sentiment a little stronger.

Senator WOLCOTT. It was used in the bulletin.

Mr. SAAM. Yes.

Senator WOLCOTT. It was exaggerated language, calculated to make a stronger appeal than usual?

Mr. SAAM. Yes; but it means nothing at all.

Senator WOLCOTT. What did you mean by saying that it was "a time of great significance"?

Mr. SAAM. It was the time of the city election.

Senator WOLCOTT. The city election was not of great significance, was it?

Mr. SAAM. The city election is very important for us in Pittsburgh—very important for us in Allegheny County.

Senator WOLCOTT. That particular city election was of no more importance than any other?

Mr. SAAM. Yes; sometimes it was.

Senator WOLCOTT. At that time it was?

Mr. SAAM. It was at that time.

Senator WOLCOTT. Why was it?

Mr. SAAM. Because there were two very strong candidates opposed to each other.

Senator WOLCOTT. That does not make an election of great significance.

Mr. SAAM. Yes; but we were for Babcock; and I guess if we had not been for Babcock he would not have been elected.

Senator WOLCOTT. You think you folks elected him?

Mr. SAAM. I actually do.

Senator WOLCOTT. Simply the presence of two strong men running for office against each other does not make a campaign of great significance.

Mr. SAAM. It makes it very important.

Senator WOLCOTT. Yes; the elections are important.

Mr. SAAM. Certainly.

Senator WOLCOTT. But what did you have in mind when you said that the time of this election was a time of great significance?

Mr. SAAM. I did not have anything particular in mind, I guess, in that.

TESTIMONY OF MR. AUGUST BUCHHOLTZ.

(The witness was duly sworn by Senator Wolcott.)

Senator WOLCOTT. State your full name.

Mr. BUCHHOLTZ. August Buchholtz.

Senator WOLCOTT. Where is your residence?

Mr. BUCHHOLTZ. At 808 Walnut Street, Edgeford Park.

Senator WOLCOTT. You are secretary of the Allegheny County Branch of the German-American Alliance?

Mr. BUCHHOLTZ. Yes.

Senator WOLCOTT. Did you know anything about this bulletin No. 1 and this bulletin No. 2 that have been presented here?

Mr. BUCHHOLTZ. I do not know anything but what Mr. Ullrich stated. The legislative committee voted to send that thing out, and I only saw it after it was printed.

Senator WOLCOTT. You saw your name on it?

Mr. BUCHHOLTZ. Yes; our political bulletins carry my name as secretary.

Senator WOLCOTT. But you did not know what was in it?

Mr. BUCHHOLTZ. No; not these two bulletins. I only saw them after they were printed.

Senator WOLCOTT. You saw the bulletin No. 1 that came out in the primary?

Mr. BUCHHOLTZ. Yes.

Senator WOLCOTT. You approved of that bulletin, did you?

Mr. BUCHHOLTZ. Yes.

Senator WOLCOTT. You saw the bulletin No. 2 that came out at the election?

Mr. BUCHHOLTZ. Yes.

Senator WOLCOTT. And you approved of that?

Mr. BUCHHOLTZ. Yes; before the election.

Senator WOLCOTT. But you did not see either of those bulletins until after they had been published?

Mr. BUCHHOLTZ. No, sir.

Senator WOLCOTT. Did you know anything about how the bulletins were gotten up and how they were circulated and who paid for them?

Mr. BUCHHOLTZ. I did not know who paid for them until Mr. Falkenstein said here to-day. That was the first I knew.

Senator WOLCOTT. The first time you knew how they were paid for?

Mr. BUCHHOLTZ. Yes. I sent the bill to Falkenstein, and this is the first time I knew, the first time that he has mentioned the name.

Senator WOLCOTT. So that you really know nothing about the bulletins except what they themselves show?

Mr. BUCHHOLTZ. That is all what I know.

Senator WOLCOTT. You had no part in looking into these candidates and giving your views concerning them?

Mr. BUCHHOLTZ. No, sir.

Senator STERLING. You read these bulletins over when you did see them?

Mr. BUCHHOLTZ. Yes; I did that.

Senator STERLING. And you approved them?

Mr. BUCHHOLTZ. Yes.

Senator STERLING. What is your translation of the word "Deutschenfresser"?

Mr. BUCHHOLTZ. That is just a man who, maybe, hates a fellow because he looks like a German, has a German appearance, or talks German, or anything like that.

Senator STERLING. It does involve the idea of hatred, then, does it?

Mr. BUCHHOLTZ. Yes; because of his appearance. Maybe he is a good fellow, but because some people find objection when you speak German at the present time. That is the way I translated that into English. I did not find any injustice to anybody in that statement.

Senator STERLING. It means opposition to or hatred of anything that is German; that is the idea, is it not, in the word "Deutschenfresser"?

Mr. BUCHHOLTZ. Yes.

Senator STERLING. Opposition to or hatred of anything that is German?

Mr. BUCHHOLTZ. It makes no difference if he is German or German-born here, if he is American and speaks German, or anything like that. Some people get excited when they hear a little bit of German talked.

Senator STERLING. That is all.

Senator WOLCOTT. Mr. Scholtz, what is this matter which you have submitted [indicating]?

Mr. SCHOLTZ. At the last session I suggested that as a good deal of talk had been made as to the activities of the Alliance in its various branches and we have had some men here from out of town who could have testified as to their work, I would beg permission to give a little synopsis of the work done by the Independent Citizens' Union of Maryland. I have presented here this little statement.

Senator WOLCOTT. Just what is it?

Mr. SCHOLTZ. It is extracts from the minutes for 1910 that I had here the other day, and then some of the other minutes of the Alliance along the line of some questions that have been brought up here. If the committee sees fit to print it, well and good: if not, very well.

Senator WOLCOTT. Do you think that it should be printed?

Mr. SCHOLTZ. It will put the Alliance in a fairer light, as showing that the activities of the various State branches and local branches were not confined solely to fighting prohibition.

Senator STERLING. You want to submit it?

Mr. SCHOLTZ. Yes.

Senator STERLING. To the committee?

Mr. SCHOLTZ. Yes.

Senator WOLCOTT. And leave it for the committee to print or not, as it chooses?

Mr. SCHOLTZ. Yes. I also submit some programs and other publications of the Maryland branch, showing their activities and that they were not un-American or any such thing.

Senator WOLCOTT. We will take it up in the full committee, and I have no doubt it will be inserted.

Mr. SCHOLTZ. There is no argument or anything of that kind there; it is simply a statement.

Mr. ULLRICH. Senator, I wanted simply to submit a few letters that I have from the Treasury Department, to show that we are not, as we are accused of being, disloyal to our adopted country. This shows what the Allegheny County Branch did in regard to the present movement here. We subscribed to the Second Liberty Loan—our members—$223,500, subscribed by 52 societies and 1,457 members.

Senator WOLCOTT. In Allegheny County?

Mr. ULLRICH. In Allegheny County. You will read the acknowledgment here of the Treasury Department.

Of our members up to the 1st of November, 332 men from 55 societies enlisted or were drafted for the Army; so that you will have that before you. That is in German and I do not know whether you can read that [indicating letter].

Mr. FALKENSTEIN. It is nothing to boast of; only it shows we are doing our duty like anybody else.

Senator WOLCOTT. You have the idea, apparently, that the loyalty to this country of the Germans in this country has been attacked.

Mr. ULLRICH. This shows what we have done, in these papers.

Senator WOLCOTT. Your belief is that the loyalty of the German-American Alliance has been assailed before this committee?

Mr. ULLRICH. Yes.

Senator WOLCOTT. And, as throwing light on that, you would like to have these letters inserted in our record?

Mr. ULLRICH. Yes.

Senator WOLCOTT. For my part, I think you are entirely entitled to have it. Senator Sterling, have you any objection to these papers being inserted?

Senator STERLING. No; I have none.

Senator WOLCOTT. Very well; they will be inserted in the record with your testimony. I should say to you, however, that I do not recollect that there has been any witness here before this committee who has undertaken to say that the German-American Alliance membership throughout the United States could be denounced as disloyal. I do not recall that any witness has made such a statement.

Mr. FALKENSTEIN. I will not tolerate any of them that are not loyal, I will tell you that.

Senator WOLCOTT. I am entirely of the firm belief that there are plenty of men in your organization who would not tolerate such a thing if they knew it was going on.

(The letters referred to are as follows:)

TREASURY DEPARTMENT,
Washington, February 7, 1918.

Mr. R. ULLRICH,
Pittsburgh, Pa.

DEAR SIR: This is to acknowledge receipt of your favor of the 31st ultimo with inclosed data regarding the members of different societies.

We highly appreciate your willingness to assist the Government all you can, and thank you for the information sent us.

Very truly yours,

FRANK R. WILSON,
Director of Publicity.

TREASURY DEPARTMENT,
Washington, February 21, 1918.

Mr. REINHARD ULLRICH,
President German-American Central Bund,
Allegheny County Branch, Pittsburgh, Pa.

MY DEAR SIR: The itemized list of all subscribers to the Second Liberty Loan of 1917 belonging to your organization, attached to your letter of the 31st ultimo, has been brought to my attention.

Permit me to assure you that we not only most highly appreciate your personal efforts and those of Mr. August Buchholtz in behalf of this great cause, but also the so liberal support of the members of your organization of this financial enterprise of the Government.

It is an irrefutable proof of patriotism and loyalty and a wise act of thrift.

In order to enable us to conduct a thoroughly organized campaign in connection with the Third Liberty Loan, we would very much appreciate a list giving the names and addresses of either presidents or secretaries of all organizations, clubs, and societies affiliated with your branch. Similar lists are now being furnished us by the other branches of your national society, also by other national bodies.

As soon as the date for the Third Liberty Loan has been definitely set and its details determined we will advise you, sincerely hoping to then again have your so valued cooperation and services.

Very truly yours,

HANS RIEG,
Chief Foreign Language Division.

TREASURY DEPARTMENT,
Washington, March 21, 1918.

Mr. R. ULLRICH,
Pittsburgh, Pa..

DEAR SIR: I desire to acknowledge receipt of your favor of the 11th and thank you for the attached lists of clubs, societies, etc., belonging to your branch.

Permit me also to again assure you that your so patriotic thoroughly systematized and organized efforts in behalf of the Second Liberty Loan are equally as highly appreciated as the so gratifying results achieved by your organization.

Your readiness to serve in a like manner in behalf of the Third Liberty Loan is likewise a source of deep gratification to us.

You have our very best wishes for an unbounded success in behalf of this great cause.

Very truly yours,

HANS RIEG,
Chief Foreign Language Division.

Second Liberty Loan.

	Number of societies.	Number of members.	Amount subscribed.
First report	43	951	$170,050
Second report	7	443	47,200
Third report	2	43	6,250
Total	52	1,437	223,500

Senator WOLCOTT. I want to call the attention of one of you gentlemen to a piece of testimony which is in evidence, and which out of fairness to yourselves I think you ought to have the opportunity to say something about and explain it if you can, because the particular piece of testimony I refer to may be subject to some right severe remarks, according as it might be viewed by the particular person reading it. I myself express no opinion about this at this time. I will address this question to you, Mr. Ullrich. You are president of the Allegheny branch. On October 21, 1917, your minutes contained the following:

2. A communication from McAdoo, Treasurer of the Government, was read, in which this branch and all the branches and the members thereof, were called upon to subscribe liberally to the Liberty Loan. As to this communication it was resolved that as an act of necessity $1,000 were to be taken out of the memorial fund and this amount to be set aside for the purchase of Liberty Bonds (second issue, 4 per cent). The treasurer, Th. L——, was ordered to draw the sum of $1,000 and invest in the purchase of those bonds.

It was further resolved to have the communication of the Treasurer of the Government printed, same to be sent to all branches of the society with the request that they all should do their best to fulfill the desire of the administration to help the good cause along.

Further resolved, that the secretary was to communicate the above resolutions to Washington.

I wanted to direct your attention to that portion of the minutes which states that "it was resolved that as an act of necessity" $1,000 should be set aside to buy these bonds. It is that phrase, "as an act of necessity", that might excite some adverse comment. What is your explanation of the use of that phrase?

Mr. SAAM. I can explain that. I believe I made the motion.

Mr. ULLRICH. I believe Mr. Saam made the motion.

Mr. SAAM. I made the motion, but I did not say anything about a necessity. I only said it was our duty as American citizens to subscribe that amount for Liberty Bonds. I was even in favor, if we had any more money, to put that in. I spoke about our duty to do so as American citizens.

Senator WOLCOTT. Were those minutes written in German?

Mr. ULLRICH. In German; yes, sir.

Mr. SAAM. But we never had the minutes read afterwards. Our books were taken away.

Senator WOLCOTT. Your explanation, then, is that that ought to be that "as an act of duty" you ought to subscribe $1,000?

Mr. SAAM. Yes.

Mr. ULLRICH. Yes; that was it. We had no funds in our treasury, because our dues are so small. We have no big funds in our treasury; but we have a memorial fund for the purpose of erecting a monu-

ment to the soldiers that lost their lives in the Civil War, that were of German birth or of German descent—in the new memorial hall in Pittsburgh, and our societies contributed to this fund; but we have not gotten enough yet to put up a monument for that purpose, so that we thought it was a good chance to invest that money in the Liberty Loan; and so we invested that money which was contributed in the Liberty Loan until a time when we will be able to erect that monument for those soldiers that lost their lives in the Civil War.

Senator WOLCOTT. Mr. Saam, you were the man who explained this word "necessity"?

Mr. SAAM. Yes, sir.

Senator WOLCOTT. You were the secretary and wrote the minutes?

Mr. SAAM. No; Mr. Buchholtz.

Mr. BUCHHOLTZ. It is "the necessity of our country" I will translate it. That is the way I wrote it.

Senator WOLCOTT. Your point, then, is that this is a poor translation of the minutes?

Mr. BUCHHOLTZ. Yes.

Mr. SAAM. I did not talk about any "necessity" when I made the motion. I said it was our duty to do so and it was the duty of every man to do so.

Senator WOLCOTT. The secretary translated it "necessity". Then he adds that it will help our country. It is translated "necessity", and the secretary says that the word he used was "necessity" instead of "duty".

Mr. SCHOLTZ. It is a literal translation, rather than giving the sense of the motion. The word is "notwendigkeit".

Mr. BUCHHOLTZ. Yes.

Senator WOLCOTT. I want to address another question to Mr. Falkenstein. In the presidential election of 1916 the Allegheny branch of the German-American Alliance took some part?

Mr. FALKENSTEIN. What election?

Senator WOLCOTT. The 1916 presidential election.

Mr. FALKENSTEIN. The presidential election? No; not actively. That would be at the time of that Henry Ford business, was it not?

Senator WOLCOTT. I do not know. In the minutes of September 24, 1916, there is a ticket headed "German-American Central Alliance, Allegheny County Branch." It reads:

All members are requested to vote for the candidates forthwith: President, Charles E. Hughes; Vice President, Charles Fairbanks.

That is in the minutes; so that the alliance apparently did indorse presidential candidates in 1916.

Mr. FALKENSTEIN. The Allegheny County local branch did that after the primary, I believe.

Senator WOLCOTT. Did you issue any circulars in connection with the election in 1916?

Mr. BUCHHOLTZ. No.

Mr. FALKENSTEIN. I am pretty sure there was none.

Senator WOLCOTT. Let us not get our witnesses confused. I am addressing this question to Mr. Ullrich. Mr. Ullrich, on March 25, 1917, the Allegheny County Branch of the German-American Alliance received a communication from the chief treasurer of the relief fund, Baltimore, Md.—that was Mr. Tjarks, was it not?

Mr. ULLRICH. Yes, sir.

Senator WOLCOTT (continuing). In which he advises that all moneys to Germany may be sent by wireless. Wireless to where; to Germany direct?

Mr. ULLRICH. I could not say that. We had a man that took charge of the German war relief fund, Mr. Hirsch, and I suppose he got that communication, where to send it. He had charge of all that fund. That fund was collected by the German-Americans under the auspices of the Allegheny County Branch; but Mr. Hirsch had charge over that fund. Our treasurer had nothing to do with it whatever. He never handled any money.

Senator WOLCOTT. Was any money sent to Germany by wireless from your branch, as was suggested by the communication from the chief treasurer of the relief fund?

Mr. ULLRICH. I could not answer that question. I do not recollect.

Mr. SAAM. Surely we did not send any from the Allegheny County Branch. We did not send any. We stopped everything.

Mr. ULLRICH. No; no. This question you gave, I did not give any instructions to send any money.

Senator WOLCOTT. I think what this communication meant was that if there was any money to be sent it could be sent through this federal treasurer by wireless to Germany.

Now, I have asked you the question, Did your branch, by that method, send any money to Germany?

Mr. ULLRICH. No; no. Absolutely not.

Senator WOLCOTT. On July 29, 1917, there is this in the minutes:

Carl Erdlen reported that from now on a collection-depositary for the Swiss Red Cross was opened by the "Volksblatt and Freiheitsfreund." The members resolved to give $50 to this fund.

Mr. ULLRICH. Yes.

Senator WOLCOTT. That is from the minutes of the Allegheny County Branch.

Mr. ULLRICH. Correct.

Senator WOLCOTT. Was that sum ever sent to the Swiss Red Cross?

Mr. ULLRICH. To the Swiss Red Cross?

Mr. FALKENSTEIN. Yes. There was a subscription. There was one subscription sent. The Allegheny County Branch subscribed $50.

Senator WOLCOTT. Did the Allegheny County Branch ever donate more than that $50?

Mr. FALKENSTEIN. No; just $50.

Senator WOLCOTT. That is the first contribution that appears in these minutes, so far as I can recall, to the Swiss Red Cross.

Mr. ULLRICH. To the Swiss Red Cross, yes; the Swiss fund.

Senator WOLCOTT. Why was it sent to the Swiss Red Cross?

Mr. ULLRICH. Well, you know the Swiss Red Cross is international. That takes care of all wounded and all, of all nationalities. The Swiss Red Cross is international; and, of course, we did not make any contributions to the German Red Cross or the Austrian Red Cross, but the Swiss Red Cross is international and attends to all the wounded and needy of any nation, so that we gave $50 to the Swiss Red Cross.

Senator STERLING. To be expended for German relief?

Mr. ULLRICH. Not for German relief; for anyone. The Swiss Red Cross has nothing to do with Germany; it is, as I say, international. If anything is needed for the Russian wounded there, they attend to them just as well as if they were Germans or Austrians. The Swiss Red Cross is international.

Senator STERLING. Does not the Swiss Red Cross administer funds that may be intended for the nationals of a people of any particular nation?

Mr. ULLRICH. No.

Senator STERLING. As it is designated by the donors of the funds?

Mr. ULLRICH. No; they would not take it. They use it for anyone that it is needed for. We have in Switzerland war prisoners—or, not war prisoners, but wounded men—where they are cared for by these people, and people of all nationalities in the war are cared for, and the Swiss Red Cross takes care of them.

Senator STERLING. So that it was sent to the Swiss Red Cross with the idea that it would be expended by the Swiss Red Cross for British or French?

Mr. ULLRICH. Or anyone.

Senator STERLING. Or German soldiers?

Mr. ULLRICH. For anyone that needed it.

Senator STERLING. In Switzerland?

Mr. ULLRICH. Yes, sir.

Senator STERLING. Well, now, why did you not, if you wanted to alleviate suffering caused by the war, turn it over directly to the American Red Cross as a means of presenting that fund?

Mr. ULLRICH. Well, we did do that. I issued an appeal to all our societies to contribute to the American Red Cross. I, myself, contributed $200 to the American Red Cross.

Senator STERLING. Well, it is very commendable of you to do that, Mr. Ullrich.

Mr. ULLRICH. And all our members did do that.

Senator STERLING. But did your society contribute anything to the American Red Cross?

Mr. ULLRICH. Oh, yes. I issued an appeal to all our societies. But we have no records of what they contributed to the fund, as we had no place there to receive those funds.

Senator STERLING. Yes; but your Allegheny County Branch of the German-American Alliance did not officially raise funds for the American Red Cross as it did for the Swiss Red Cross, did it?

Mr. ULLRICH. Well, that was just a one-time contribution, that $50.

Senator STERLING. For the Swiss Red Cross?

Mr. ULLRICH. Yes.

Senator WOLCOTT. On September 9, 1917, the minutes of the Allegheny County Branch show the following:

EXECUTIVE MEETING.

CARRICK, *September 9, 1917.*

The meeting was called to order at 9.15 by President Reinhard Ullrich.

The meeting was announced to be a secret one, and those only who gave their word of honor not to divulge a word of the business enacted should be permitted to be present.

Why did you call that secret meeting and pledge them all not to divulge a word of the business transacted?

Mr. ULLRICH. I will explain that, Senator. We held that meeting at a country club, and while I was downstairs in the refreshment room I saw a former mayor—Armstrong—there, with former Congressman Barchfeld, and I was told that a candidate for mayor, Mr. Kerr, would be present at that meeting, too, and I did not want any politicians present, because at those meetings we expect that the legislative committee should inform us about those candidates to be recommended to our society; so that I called that meeting as a secret one, so that no one could be present except executive men. We have an executive board consisting of 50 members, and this was an executive meeting; and I called that as a secret meeting, so that no one else could get in nor interfere with our business. That was the only reason.

Senator STERLING. What is the date of this?

Senator WOLCOTT. September 9, 1917. The minutes show at the heading that it was an executive meeting.

Mr. ULLRICH. Do not the minutes show that it was at that meeting that those candidates were recommended?

Senator WOLCOTT. Yes.

Mr. ULLRICH. That was the sole reason. I did not want any altercation between those two candidates, and I thought I would just exclude everybody except just the members of the board. That was the sole reason.

Senator WOLCOTT. Are there any further questions?

Senator STERLING. I have nothing further.

Senator WOLCOTT. I think that is all.

(Thereupon, at 3.30 o'clock p. m., the subcommittee adjourned subject to the call of the chairman.)

46276—18——37

NATIONAL GERMAN-AMERICAN ALLIANCE.

TUESDAY, APRIL 9, 1918.

UNITED STATES SENATE,
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY,
Washington, D. C.

The subcommittee met at 10 o'clock a. m. in the room of the Committee on the Judiciary in the Capitol.

Present: Senators King (chairman), Wolcott, and Sterling.

TESTIMONY OF PROF. EARL E. SPERRY.

(The witness was duly sworn by Senator King.)

Senator KING. Dr. Sperry, state your name, profession, and address.

Mr. SPERRY. Earl E. Sperry; teacher of history, Syracuse University, Syracuse, N. Y.

Senator KING. How long have you been engaged in educational work?

Mr. SPERRY. I began to teach in 1902; that is to say, I first had a regular position then. I began to teach in 1898 and 1899, but did graduate work after then.

Senator KING. Have you given attention to German activities in this country, to the Pan-Germanic movement as it has been reflected in the teachings of Germans in the German Empire, and to the effect of the Pan-Germanic movement or its results in this country?

Mr. SPERRY. Yes; I have. I first came in contact with that accidentally, the year after finishing my graduate work, when I went abroad and spent six or seven months in Germany, during which time I enjoyed myself very much; and I noticed in the lectures that I attended that reference was made to this general plan of consolidating the German nation everywhere into a great international unit; that is, I saw traces of that. I also met with the same idea in certain German papers, the Münchener Neueste Nachrichten, the Frankfurter Zeitung, and the Koelnische Zeitung; and I noticed further evidences of it in this country in the winter of 1901 and 1902.

If you wish to take the time, I should like to say that there is one expression there that I read at that time that has stuck in my memory ever since, because it was the first time I came in contact with it. It was in the Münchener Neueste Nachrichten. This statement was that the time was coming when the Germans in the United States were going to have the rights there which were their due. That statement interested me considerably, and I attempted to find out the source of that series of articles which was being published in the paper. I discovered that the right of the Germans in the United States which they thought they were entitled to was that of controlling the United States Government in a way favorable to Ger-

many when a crisis arose between the United States and Germany. Accordingly, when the war began in July, 1914, I was very much interested to see that certain German organizations in this country and certain German-Americans took steps to follow out that policy. This is merely a parenthesis; it is one of the very early indications that I saw of an organization among Germans here to forward the political interests of the German Empire. Since that time I have on several occasions come into contact with statements, in newspapers and in conversations with German-Americans, showing that same tendency.

Senator KING. Just one moment. You mentioned three newspapers published in Germany which exhibited or which were carrying on that propaganda. Did you find in Germany a Pan-Germanic organization?

Mr. SPERRY. Yes.

Senator KING. And various branches of such an organization?

Mr. SPERRY. Yes.

Senator KING. Did you discover the purposes of that organization so far as the United States—the Germans within the United States—were concerned?

Mr. SPERRY. Yes, sir. They are very distinctly stated in the constitution and in the official publications of that organization. That organization was the Alldeutscher Verband. Its official publication is the Alldeutsche Blätter, or the Pan-German Gazette; and I can read their own statement of their purposes, if you wish me to.

Senator KING. You may.

Mr. SPERRY. This is from the Alldeutsche Blätter. I have the notes which I copied from the publication, but I will read from this little pamphlet:

> The Pan-German League is founded for promoting German national interests both in Germany and in foreign lands. It aims "to support and foster German national aspirations in all countries where the members of the German nation are struggling to preserve their national character and aims, also to unite people of German blood everywhere in the world in the attainment of this goal." Its "sphere of activity is every spot on the earth where Germans live and are conscious, or wish to be conscious, of their membership in the all-German nation." [Alld. Bl., Jan. 1, 1894.]

May I ask your particular attention to that expression, "wish to be conscious, of their membership in the all-German nation"? Right there is the heart and center of the whole movement. The great purpose of this movement is to weld people of German blood everywhere in the world into what may be called a great international nation, if I may use those contradictory terms. It is to make them conscious of membership in the German nation, and to make them act in the interests of the German nation rather than in the interests of the nation or the state of which they are citizens.

Now, to proceed [reading]:

> There is but one goal: the creation of a common consciousness among Germans everywhere in the world. [Alld. B., Jan. 1, 1894.]

That is an official statement in the Alldeutsche Blätter, the official organ of the Pan-German League.

Senator KING. Did that lead to the formation of various subordinate organizations or branches, one to teach the language, one to push for commercial supremacy, and others for other special work, but all generally in favor of the Pan-Germanic movement?

Mr. SPERRY. Yes; it did so. They founded leagues or founded chapters in practically all the countries of the world. I can provide you with a list of their chapters very easily. They are to be found in their handbook of the year 1916, which is in the New York Public Library.

One of the interesting features of the league is that they established three chapters in the United States; and the man who organized the league, and who was therefore its most effective and most prominent worker, Dr. Karl Peters, known as "Hangman" Peters because of the work that he carried out in German East Africa, was the first propagandist of the Pan-German League in this country. He came here as early as 1903, and took the first steps toward the unification of the German people of this country into a branch of the German nation here.

Other propagandists have come here from about a dozen of other societies in Germany.

The Pan-German League, however, is not the only organization in Germany which has been engaged in that sort of work. I should like to read you, if you will permit, a list of the societies which I have taken from the Alldeutsche Blätter, and which are all of them engaged in this attempt to organize the German people everywhere, including those in the United States, into a separate German nation.

Senator KING. When you were in Germany studying and investigating problems there, did you find confirmatory evidence of the statement you are now making as to the existence of these organizations?

Mr. SPERRY. Yes, sir; in the periodicals and in the German newspapers there. This is not my statement of the organizations engaged in the work; it is an official statement and is taken from the Alldeutsche Blätter of September 2, 1910, and the article is entitled "Gross Deutschland and die Deutsche Auswanderung" (Great Germany and the German Migration). It says that the following societies are entered in this working organization and the all-German nation: Alldeutscher Verband, Verein für das Deutschtum im Auslande, Gustav Adolf Verein, Deutscher evangelische Kirchenauschuss, Evangelische Geselleschaft für die protestantischen Deutschen in Amerika, Diaspora Verein, Verein zur Pflege deutschevanglischen Lebens in Ausland, Deutscher Wehrverein.

Two or three of those societies, as you see, are church societies. They are looked upon, however, by the German government and by the other organizations in Germany as cooperating in this work. Their purposes are not primarily religious, but they are doing the same work as the League for Germanism in Foreign Lands and the Pan-German League.

Senator KING. That is political work?

Mr. SPERRY. It is to eventuate in political activities. The first step is to organize the separate national unit. After that has been accomplished it can then act politically, as can be made very clear. Would you care for an extract showing what the purposes of these separate units may be?

Senator KING. You may submit that.

Mr. SPERRY. Very well. This is from the Alldeutsche Blätter again:

Germany's position as a world power is unthinkable without the possession of colonies, is unthinkable if we do not take care that our fellow-Germans in foreign lands are held in the bonds of Germanism. [Alld. Bl., Sept. 9, 1894.]

Germany's position as a world power requires that. Here is another statement:

Germans everywhere should unite "in common labor for the one great goal, Germany's power and position as a world state." [Alld. Bl., Sept. 9, 1984.]

Senator STERLING. What is the date of that?

Mr. SPERRY. In 1894. The idea is not new, therefore.

The organizations that I speak of here have a military significance, and I should like to read you the dispatch from the German government which was sent out on February 23, 1915, to all the ambassadors, ministers, and consular representatives of the German Empire in all the neutral countries of the world.

Senator STERLING. Including America?

Mr. SPERRY. Including America. The source of this dispatch is the Petit Parisien, a French newspaper, and it is dated February 6, 1915. This dispatch was cabled to the New York Times on February 7, 1918.

Senator STERLING. What do you mean by saying that the French paper is the source of that dispatch?

Mr. SPERRY. I mean by that, that it and others were first published in the French paper. These dispatches were obtained from Russia by a revolutionary newspaper. After the overturn of the government there some of the revolutionists got access to the Russian archives, and some of the matters found there were taken and published in the French newspapers and also in Swiss newspapers. Some of the most important ones have been cabled to the United States, and this is one of the most significant. I ask your attention in it to the expression "separatist movement," because the Germans have been carrying on in this country a separatist movement; and it has a military as well as a political significance. Here is the dispatch:

It is brought to your knowledge that in the countries where you are accredited there have been founded special bureaus for organizing propaganda in countries of the coalition at war with Germany. The propaganda will have for its aim the inception of social movements, accompanied by strikes, revolutionary explosions, separatist movements, and civil war as well as an agitation in favor of disarmament and the cessation of this bloody war.

The "separatist movement" which is referred to there, and which is grouped, as you see, along with other military measures, is the movement which has been carried on by these many societies in the German Empire with the encouragement and approval of the German government for many years past, and the military significance of which is this: If people of German blood in foreign countries are organized into firm separate nationalities and feel themselves a part of the German nation, they will serve the interests of that nation in time of conflict; and the German periodicals which have been published since the war are very loud, in fact, in their praise of those organizations in this country, like the German-American Alliance, which have performed such good military service for Germany. Now, the main service which they have performed is not, of course,

putting men in the field. It is, however, to embarrass the United States Government and to force pro-German policies on Congress.

The way in which the German-American Alliance has been involved in that is indirectly. That is, it has been involved in an indirect way. There have been organized in this country since the war began several societies which have the backing of leading German-Americans, and of men who are members of the German-American Alliance and who were working through these societies for the purpose of hampering the Government. I will give you only one illustration; that is the important one of the Embargo Conference at Chicago, organized in 1915. That society pretended to consist of a large number of middle-class Americans who were opposed to the war for humanitarian and religious reasons, and it pretended to be supported by a large number of persons. An investigation made of it by the Department of Justice showed that this organization consisted of only five people, that its resources were derived from German-American sources. It spent $57,000 in the 11 months following June, 1917, and all of that money came in amounts of from $400 up to $1,000 from German-Americans in Chicago, Detroit, Milwaukee, and other cities in the Middle West. There was one contribution of over $5,000 from an international banking house in New York City. That organization, financed and directed by German-Americans in this country, had for its purpose to exert indirect influence on Congress. That is the organization which had nearly 5,000,000 telegrams circulated all through the Middle West, of which 250,000 came into this city. That organization paid for telegrams to one company in the city of Chicago $20,000. I do not know how much it paid to other companies.

Senator KING. What other companies?

Mr. SPERRY. I do not know how much it paid to companies in other cities, I mean. Similar societies of that sort are "The Friends of Peace,"——

Senator KING. Just a moment, there. You are familiar with the record in the Department of Justice respecting that matter?

Mr. SPERRY. Yes.

Senator KING. In view of services you have rendered to the Government, or your connection with the Government?

Mr. SPERRY. Yes, sir.

Senator KING. You were for some time connected with the Government in Washington?

Mr. SPERRY. Yes.

Senator KING. During the past year?

Mr. SPERRY. Yes.

Senator KING. And the information as to some of these matters as to which you are testifying, which enables you to testify, you obtained while working in that capacity?

Mr. SPERRY. The facts I am giving at this moment.

Senator KING. Proceed.

Mr. SPERRY. Other organizations of that same general character, so far as origin and purposes and maintenance are concerned, are the Friends of Peace, the American Neutrality League, the American Independence Union, the American Truth Society, and Labor's National Peace Council. The American Truth Society came into existence before the war opened, and German-Americans had a leading

part in it, although Jeremiah O'Leary is also one of the leading spirits and it is well known that he has received money directly from the Germans. Franz von Rintelen paid him large sums.

Senator KING. Did you ascertain approximately what was paid to him?

Mr. SPERRY. No; the sums are not named. It is known that Franz von Rintelen spent $391,000 organizing Labor's National Peace Council. A part of that money went to Jeremiah O'Leary.

Senator KING. Is von Rintelen the man who was recently convicted?

Mr. SPERRY. Yes.

Senator KING. For violation of the laws of this country?

Mr. SPERRY. Yes; including the placing of fire bombs on ships.

Senator STERLING. He was convicted before the passage of the espionage act?

Senator KING. Yes.

Senator STERLING. And therefore suffered a very light punishment in comparison with the magnitude of the offense?

Mr. SPERRY. Yes.

Senator KING. Do you know what official position he had here?

Mr. SPERRY. Von Rintelen was not a member of the staff of the German Ambassador. He was sent over by the German government and operated as a free lance in this country. He had an independent bank account. He deposited $508,000 at the Trans-Atlantic Trust Co. when he came, and he spent that as he pleased. He was not responsible to the ambassador, von Bernstorff, and did not belong to the main band of plotters here. Von Rintelen, by the way, had the mission of bribing Members of Congress, primarily.

Senator KING. Yes; if he could.

Mr. SPERRY. Yes; that was his plan. The treasurer of the Trans-Atlantic Trust Co., George Plockman, so testified. He organized Labor's National Peace Council.

Now, as for the American Independence Union, that organization received $1,500 a month from the German consul general in San Francisco. It published one of those papers which was supported by the German government in this country. It received a monthly subsidy from the German government. That $1,500 a month went in part for the maintenance of that paper.

Senator KING. Do you connect leading German-Americans and especially members of the German-American Alliance—either the national organization or the State organizations—with this intriguing propaganda of Germany through von Rintelen and von Bernstorff and these others?

Mr. SPERRY. To the best of my knowledge the German-American organizations made no direct contribution in money, nor did they give any assistance to the men who were carrying on the criminal conspiracies here. I have not seen the slightest trace of that. It is known that a large sum of money was collected by them and turned over to Ambassador von Bernstorff. How he spent that no one knows; but I do not believe that the German-Americans have been involved at all in those criminal conspiracies. They have been, however, engaged in something which in my judgment was very much more dangerous, and that is the destruction of national unity here. That has been their purpose; that is perfectly obvious.

Senator KING. Did the National German-American Alliance take any part in the Embargo Conference and the sending of these telegrams that you have referred to, with a view to influencing Congress?

Mr. SPERRY. No; as an incorporated institution the Alliance did not; but the agents of the Department of Justice who made a special investigation of these societies made this statement, that leading members of the National Alliance, and of the State alliances which are its component parts, were the backers of the American Embargo Conference and of the Neutrality League. That is to say, the organization as a whole did not act, but the individuals acted and were able to bring about results in that way; and they received their inspiration to act from the German-American Alliance, for its purpose has been destructive.

Senator STERLING. Are you able now to name any individual members of the German-American Alliance who were conspicuous in the American Embargo Conference or in backing that conference?

Mr. SPERRY. No; and the reason I can not is because those papers were not placed at my disposal by the department. I saw, however, the statement made by the member who made these investigations, that such was the fact; and of course the department would provide you with that information if you wished it. It is there; but I did not see it.

One point which I think ought to be understood in this country is that the organizations in the German Empire which have been undertaking to split up the American Nation into two national groups, a German-American nation on the one hand and the American Nation on the other, have the approval and encouragement of the German government; that is to say that back of the German-American Alliance stands, after all, the German government; and the evidence which indicates that I can state very briefly indeed. In the first place, so far as the Pan-German League was concerned, Bismarck was an honorary member of that organization. Forty members of the Reichstag belonged to it about 1895. Its last annual or handbook, published in 1915, shows that 15 members of the Reichstag were at that time members of it. Ernest Basserman, the leader of the National Liberal party, and 17 college professors, who are also, of course, appointees of the German government, belonged to it. One of the most striking evidences that the organization receives the encouragement of the German government is that way back in 1898 the organization laid before the German Reichstag the proposition that was afterwards embodied in Delbrück's law. The Pan-German League and the Verein für das Deutschtum im Ausland had been agitating for the passage of Delbrück's law, and they finally were able to force that policy on the German government.

Senator KING. You mean the law with reference to retaining German citizenship while becoming a citizen of another country?

Mr. SPERRY. Yes.

Senator KING. That was passed in January, 1914, if I remember correctly.

Mr. SPERRY. Possibly in 1914.

Senator KING. Yes; January, 1914.

Mr. SPERRY. There are other evidences of the real purpose of these societies that have been specified, and that they have been able to establish the Government's policy to a considerable extent on certain

points in foreign policy, one of the most important being the citizenship policy.

The League for Germanism in Foreign Lands has been receiving 400,000 marks a year from the German Government. It has spent several million marks in the maintenance of schools in foreign countries, and the German Government has assisted in that work with an annual appropriation of 1,000,000 marks. All of these religious societies which I spoke of there, of course, have the approval of the Government, because they consist of clergymen who are appointed by the head of the state church; so that back of this whole movement stands the German Government. There is the government, these dozen societies, and in this country the National German-American Alliance.

Senator STERLING. Speaking of religious bodies or societies, did your investigation point to the fact that one religious denomination more than another was active in this propaganda?

Mr. SPERRY. No, sir; it does not. In fact, the German periodicals which I have read on this subject—and I give one or two quotations of that sort in this pamphlet—state expressly that both the Evangelical clergy and the Catholic clergy have been missionaries of Germanism in the United States and have done their best to implant in the hearts of their congregations German national sentiment. They both have been engaged in that sort of work. There is the Catholic Central Verein the clergy in this country are concerned with, and the Protestant Evangelical synods are very active, indeed, in doing that sort of thing. In fact, it is the Protestant synods which maintain in this country 491 German schools.

Senator KING. You mean in the United States?

Mr. SPERRY. Yes. One of the important policies of the German Government in carrying out this great plan that I speak of, of a world organization of the German people, is to maintain schools in foreign countries. I should like to give you a brief indication of the extent of that plan, if you care to hear it. I do not wish to bore you with any such information.

Senator KING. Proceed.

Mr. SPERRY. These statistics I took from a publication known as the Deutsche Erde ("German soil," or "The German earth"), which is devoted to the interests of Germans outside of Germany. Here are just a few figures on the maintenance of German schools in foreign lands: In Belgium, 6; in Holland, 4; in London, 7; in Denmark, 4; in Portugal, 4; in Spain, 3; in Asiatic Turkey, 12; in Egypt, 3; in Cape of Good Hope, 23; in Natal, 5; in Roumania, 14; in Argentina, 31; in Brazil, over 600. There are hundreds of these, scattered all over the globe. (Deutsche Erde, 1902, Heft 2, 3, 4, 5, 6.)

In all of the South American states they also have it. It is of particular interest to notice that in the three southern provinces of Brazil, which the Germans hope some day to detach from that state and make a German colony, there are 600 German schools. Altogether, there are, outside of the German Empire and the German-speaking part of Austria (that should be noted), 5,240 German schools. Now, they are agents of propaganda; deliberate agents of propaganda carrying on this separatist movement.

Senator KING. Do you know whether the German schools in this country receive recognition in any way from the Pan-Germanic organizations in Germany?

Mr. SPERRY. Not to my knowledge. I do not think that to be the fact. All of these German schools here are maintained by the Germans of the Protestant churches of this country.

Senator KING. When I say "recognition," I do not mean financial aid; but do the Pan-Germanic organizations in Germany and the newspapers the organs of the societies refer to the German schools in America?

Mr. SPERRY. Yes, indeed; and all of the other activities here; and they were very happy, indeed, and expressed their happiness, when the German-American Alliance was founded.

Senator KING. What did they say with reference to the German-American Alliance? Some of them made just brief reference to that?

Mr. SPERRY. Well, they say that they are carrying out here the work of organizing the "International German Nation," and so on. Here is a little article entitled "The growth of our Schools in Foreign Lands."

Senator KING. Where is that?

Mr. SPERRY. That is in the Quarterly of the Union (or League) for Germanism in foreign lands.

Senator KING. Published in Germany?

Mr. SPERRY. Yes; published in Germany. This is September, 1909 [reading]:

> Work done in the interests of the German school abroad is a noble service rendered to the German nation: for one of the most effective means of perpetuating Germanism in foreign countries is the school; within its sacred walls the strange land is transformed for children, teachers and parents into the German fatherland. [Vierteljahrschrift des Vereins für das Deutschtum im Ausland, Heft 1, p. 13.]

And these papers report from time to time many gifts that have been made by Germans to these German schools. They range from small ones, sometimes not over 5,000 marks, up to large ones, as for instance, 350,000 marks, and so on, made by Germans within the empire.

Senator WOLCOTT. "German school abroad" is the expression there?

Mr. SPERRY. Yes, sir; German schools in foreign lands.

Senator WOLCOTT. I have just come into the committee room, and I do not want to ask you to repeat anything that has been stated, but have you described the nature of these schools?

Mr. SPERRY. I have not described their nature, but I am speaking of their purpose and maintenance.

Senator WOLCOTT. Are there any such schools in this country?

Mr. SPERRY. Four hundred and ninety-one of them, according to the statistics of German periodicals.

Senator WOLCOTT. Four hundred and ninety-one German schools?

Mr. SPERRY. Yes; I am speaking only of the evangelical schools, however, and am not referring to those schools in our own State public-school systems which are also exclusively German. As you doubtless know, in some of the States, as Wisconsin and North and South Dakota, the State money has been spent largely for the maintenance of schools that are exclusively German.

Senator WOLCOTT. Schools that are exclusively German?

Mr. SPERRY. Yes; I mean where the instruction is given in the German language. English is at times used, but the pupils talk German to the teacher and the teacher talks German to them.

Senator KING. Do you mean during the entire lesson?

Mr. SPERRY. Yes, sir.

Senator STERLING. Do you know how extensively that is done in South Dakota?

Mr. SPERRY. No, sir; I do not know

Senator STERLING. I know that there are two or three counties in South Dakota that are almost exclusively German; but this is something of which I had not heard yet myself.

Mr. SPERRY. My informant is Assemblyman Harris of the North Dakota Legislature. He wrote me on the subject last winter, and he said they were having great difficulty in overcoming that and asked me for facts on the subject with the view of passing a law which would make that impossible, making the English language obligatory in the schools. Twenty years ago the State of Wisconsin tried to pass a law like that, and it was defeated by the German influence there. They have tried again since the war began, and it has been defeated.

Senator STERLING. In your study of this school question have you been led to investigate the books used in the schools, especially the reading books and histories?

Mr. SPERRY. No; I have not examined those books. I only know the character of the books which the German-American Alliance wishes to have used, the kind which they state they wish to have used.

Senator KING. While you are on that subject, do you recall now the books which they desire to have used?

Mr. SPERRY. At one of their national conventions a standing committee made a report. It was, by the way, the standing committee on the German language—for the German-American Alliance has such a committee. The fourth point in the report of that committee at the convention of 1905 urges the National Alliance as a whole and the component organizations, and the individual members especially, to take to heart this recommendation, that they support and insure the continuance in the schools of such works on pedagogy as Griebsch's Pädagogische Monatsblätter and Fick's "Yung-Amerika," and then they name two or three others.

Senator WOLCOTT. Was any action taken by the convention on that report?

Mr. SPERRY. That report was accepted finally.

There is one other very interesting clause in that particular report, and it is the most significant, which is this:

> Nationality and language are indissolubly bound together. If we are to preserve the former for ourselves and our descendants we must cherish the latter and protect it as the most precious treasure. One of the chief purposes of our Alliance, therefore, is the founding and the perpetuation of efficient German-American schools and the introduction and extension of instruction in the German language into the public schools of this country.

Senator KING. That is in their report?

Mr. SPERRY. That is in their report adopted by the convention. Now, that is a clear and express statement, an official statement, of the fact that the reason they wish German studied here is that it may perpetuate German nationality here.

Senator WOLCOTT. Will you read again the last clause of that report?

Mr. SPERRY. That paragraph which I just read?

Senator WOLCOTT. Yes.

Mr. SPERRY. Yes.

Senator KING. Just a moment; which convention was that?

Mr. SPERRY. That was the convention of 1905. I have a statement of the particulars here. It was held in Indianapolis October 4 to 7, 1905, the biennial convention.

Senator KING. Do you remember what volume of the Bulletin that is found in?

Mr. SPERRY. It is not found in the Bulletin. It is found in the German-American Annals.

Senator KING. That was their organ before the Bulletin?

Mr. SPERRY. Yes; it is in volume 7. I can give the page if necessary.

Senator KING. You had better give it if you have it there.

Mr. SPERRY. Very well, sir. It is pages 462 et seq., volume 7, of the German-American Annals.

Senator WOLCOTT. Will you read me now again the last clause of the report of that committee?

Mr. SPERRY (reading):

Nationality and language are indissolubly bound together. If we are to preserve the former for ourselves and our descendants we must cherish the latter and protect it as the most precious treasure. One of the chief purposes of our Alliance, therefore, is the founding and the perpetuation of efficient German-American schools and the introduction and extension of instruction in the German language——

Senator WOLCOTT. Now, right there: "introduction and extension of instruction in the German language". That is it?

Mr. SPERRY. Yes, sir.

Senator WOLCOTT. Was that in English or in German?

Mr. SPERRY. In German.

Senator WOLCOTT. Now, I want to get clear to my mind the exact meaning of that. You translated it yourself?

Mr. SPERRY. Yes.

Senator WOLCOTT. Does that mean that they favor the introduction of the study of German, or they favor the introduction of instruction in the general subjects in the schools in German?

Mr. SPERRY. No.

Senator WOLCOTT. Do you know whether they are referring to instruction in German?

Mr. SPERRY. No. They are referring there, first of all, to the German-American schools where all instruction would be given in the German language. They are referring, secondly, to the introduction of the study of the German language in the grammar schools of the country generally; and that is what you suggest.

Senator WOLCOTT. Yes.

Mr. SPERRY. The words are "Einführung" and "Ausdehnung".

Senator WOLCOTT. It is clear that the German-American Alliance in its national convention accepted the proposition that they should favor the use of German in giving instruction in classes in such general subjects as geography, and so on.

Mr. SPERRY. In their German-American schools.

Senator WOLCOTT. In their German-American schools, and that it should be taught in German.

Mr. SPERRY. Oh, yes.

Senator WOLCOTT. And that it should not be taught or conveyed by the English language.

Mr. SPERRY. Yes.

Senator WOLCOTT. That is the point I wanted to get.

Mr. SPERRY. In 491 schools that has been their intention, to maintain and establish all other schools of that sort.

Senator WOLCOTT. That was adopted and accepted by the national convention of the German-American Alliance?

Mr. SPERRY. Yes, sir; that is the report of Dr. H. A. Fick, chairman of the committee on the German language in the schools, which is a standing committee and one of two or three standing committees, and you can find that in the German-American Annals.

Senator KING. I would like to state at this point that I do not know that the States of the Union could do any greater service for Americanism than to abolish the German language in the schools.

Mr. SPERRY. Yes; in the grammar schools. There are other subjects which can be studied there with better profit. In the grammar schools there should be taught only those subjects which are of direct practical benefit to the ordinary student.

Senator WOLCOTT. But German should be studied in the high schools?

Mr. SPERRY. It should not be made obligatory, but it should be placed on an equality with French. The difficulty has been that, owing to the German influence largely, there has been maintained in all the American schools a German department with a German teacher who was paid, when it would have been better to have spent the money on some other kind of instruction. That has not been the case with the French language for the reason that the French in this country have not been so numerous, nor have they carried on a propaganda of this kind.

Senator KING. Of course the Italians have been very numerous, but there has been no such study of Italian.

Mr. SPERRY. No, sir.

This is all a part of the great plan for organizing a branch of the Pan-German nation in this country. In order to understand the significance of the German-American Alliance and of this attempt it is necessary to get what may be called its international setting. This Alliance is not peculiar to the United States. There are similar alliances in many countries of the world, and these people are engaged in similar work everywhere. In all these periodicals I find that the same thing is going on in Denmark, Holland, Belgium, northern France, Switzerland, Bohemia, Moravia, the Baltic Provinces, and Russian Poland and the Russian Provinces along the Black Sea, and elsewhere in Europe, and, in the South American countries, in Chile, Argentina, and Brazil.

Now, I am speaking of the separatist movement——

Senator KING. Just a moment before you come to that. Those 491 schools which you call German schools are maintained by the Germans exclusively?

Mr. SPERRY. Yes.

Senator KING. And they teach everything in the German language?

Mr. SPERRY. I suppose that at certain times during the day English is used, but generally speaking German is the language used in those schools to a very great degree.

Senator KING. Are they maintained by voluntary contributions of the Germans?

Mr. SPERRY. Yes; they are maintained by the German churches.

Senator KING. What do they call those schools?

Mr. SPERRY. They call them Lutheran schools. I wish I knew the official name for them. I do not happen to.

Senator WOLCOTT. Parochial schools?

Mr. SPERRY. Yes, sir.

Senator KING. While I am on that, Mr. Babbitt has been doing some translating here of these journals; and I will ask him, Do you find the name for those schools in the Bulletin?

Mr. EUGENE H. BABBITT. I have not found it. I could find it in the Bulletin. I have not looked for it. I can very likely find it.

Senator KING. In the State schools which are maintained by taxation—take those in Wisconsin to which you refer, and in Nebraska—did they have teachers there who are Germans—not German teachers, but teachers who do nothing but instruct in the German language?

Mr. SPERRY. They have German teachers there; they have teachers of German descent and of very strongly developed German affiliations, who are working there with that specific purpose in view; yes.

Senator KING. In Wisconsin, in the public schools, to what extent is German taught now? Is it mandatory there?

Mr. SPERRY. I can not tell you in how far the study of it is made mandatory, but it is taught all through the State.

Senator KING. And in the lower grades?

Mr. SPERRY. Yes; in many of the schools there, although it is not true in every section of the country, but it is true in the large number of the schools.

Senator KING. Are you familiar with the controversy that they had in Nebraska in regard to this introduction of German?

Mr. SPERRY. I have seen references to it. I am not familiar with it. I know it has taken place.

Senator KING. I received a letter yesterday from a gentleman in Texas stating in substance, as I recall, that in certain parts of Texas where the law requires that the public schools should continue for nine months during the year they held school in English for four months and then in German for five months.

Mr. SPERRY. Yes.

Senator KING. Do you know anything about that?

Mr. SPERRY. No, sir; I do not.

Senator KING. They had nine months of school, but five months of it was in German.

Mr. SPERRY. Yes. Your mention of Texas, however, brings up a very interesting historical incident. That was the attempt made about 1843, after Texas was detached from Mexico but before its annexation to the United States, an attempt by a society of 21 German princes, to colonize it and make it a German colony. That, of course, is not germane here.

Senator KING. You may proceed and state whatever you care to about the educational purposes in this country of the German-American Alliance.

Mr. SPERRY. The connection of the German-American Alliance with the German language in the schools has been a very close one, indeed, and in order to show that, in their own words, I will read a few extracts from reports made by delegates to the national convention of 1905.

For example, Mr. Richter, secretary of the Missouri Alliance, reported that it had had German introduced into the free evening schools of that State.

At the same convention the Central Verein of Newark, N. J., reported that it was strengthening the study of German in the five German-English schools in which German is taught.

C. W. Bente, from the Central Alliance of West Virginia, reported that the alliance had been having a hard battle to secure the introduction of German into the public schools, but it had been successful.

John Tjarks, from the Baltimore (Md.) Alliance, stated that they were gradually securing the introduction of German into the public schools.

President Joseph Keller, of the State Alliance of Indiana, said:

An active agitation is being carried on by all the vereins for the introduction of German into the public schools.

He specified that they had been successful in this in Indianapolis Fort Wayne, Crawfordsville, Jeffersonville, Vincennes, and Terre Haute. (German-American Annals, Vol. VII, pp. 445 et seq.)

Senator KING. That is the same Joseph Keller who is vice president of the Alliance and who has testified here?

Mr. SPERRY. Yes.

Senator KING. And who was president of the school board in Indianapolis?

Mr. SPERRY. I believe he was.

That same convention passed some motions bearing on education. Here is the first:

That steps be taken to have study of German as well as English history introduced into the public schools.

That American history textbooks be rewritten to give more attention to the achievements of Germans in the United States.

That the study of geography be broadened with special reference to Germany.

That a quite special effort be made to have German taught in a less formal manner, and that the German books be so selected that they will give fuller knowledge concerning Germany and the German nation in America.

In the report of Dr. H. A. Fick, chairman of a standing committee—that on German language in the schools—from which I have read you extracts, and which is reintroduced, we find the following:

1. The Alliance should take care that books are used in the public schools which give due attention to the famous deeds of German-Americans, both in war and peace.
2. That books are used for the teaching of history which do not cause prejudice against the foreign-born. [German-American Annals, Vol. VII, pp. 463 et seq.]

That same implied falsehood is in the constitutions of many of the subsidiary alliances and in the acts of the Alliance, that the Germans here have suffered, as they say, from "Neid, Leid und Hass;" that is, from envy, hate, and injury by the people of the United States, which we all know is not true. That is one means which we know they

have employed to create antagonism between themselves and other people, and by that means to draw themselves together into a national unit and segregate themselves from the rest of the Nation.

At this convention $200 was appropriated for the support of the National German Seminary for Teachers.

Senator STERLING. What convention do you speak of now?

Mr. SPERRY. The convention of 1905; the national convention held at Indianapolis. Two hundred dollars was appropriated for the support of the National German Seminary for Teachers in the city of Milwaukee, where special German-American teachers are maintained to serve the interests of the German nation here.

Senator KING. Have you made any investigation of the normal or training school for German teachers in America?

Mr. SPERRY. No, sir; I have not.

Senator KING. I have found frequent references to it and recommendations that the teachers be taken from that organization to promote German ideas of the schools. I did not know but what you had had some investigations of its activities.

Mr. SPERRY. I regret to say that I have not made a systematic study of this subject, but am giving you material which I picked up from time to time, which accidentally came in my way.

Senator WOLCOTT. Why did you use the expression a moment ago that teachers are maintained in this school to serve the German nation? You used that expression.

Mr. SPERRY. Yes; to serve the German nation here, because that is an expression which occurs quite frequently throughout the periodicals; that is, those published on the other side of the Atlantic. They make constant references to the German nation of the United States. They distinguish between that group and the rest of us here who belong to the American Nation. They feel that there is a German nation here.

Senator WOLCOTT. That is to say, that there is a sort of an outpost of Germany in this country?

Mr. SPERRY. Decidedly so; and in all branches of the German nation here working in the interests of the nation on the other side of the Atlantic.

Another standing committee of the German-American Alliance is the committee on turning. That is a system of gymnastic instruction known as "turning" which was worked out in Germany.

Here is a committee report to this same convention: That laws be passed in all States making obligatory in all instruction in turning. That only making obligatory in all sections instruction in turning. That in all normal schools instruction be given to both women and men in turning. That as new schoolhouses were built they should be provided with suitable quarters for instruction in turning. Those same recommendations were made at the convention held in Baltimore in 1903.

Senator KING. Turning is a system of gymnastics?

Mr. SPERRY. Yes; it is.

Senator KING. A system of physical education?

Mr. SPERRY. Yes.

Senator WOLCOTT. Can you conceive of any objection to that?

Mr. SPERRY. Not the slightest. It is a very beneficial system, indeed. The point is that it is a feature of German education, and in their plan of Germanizing the United States which they had in view, although that is an extreme view, and in their plan of keeping members of German descent here loyal to the German government, they favored that system of instruction. That is the second aim laid down in the constitution of this Alliance. Here are a few extracts from reports made by the delegates to the seventh convention of the Pennsylvania State Alliance, held in Pittsburgh in 1906, bearing on this matter of education:

Mr. Adolph Timm reported that in Philadelphia the vereins were zealously trying to have turning introduced into the schools.

Paul Heine reported for the branch at Lancaster, Pa., that it had successfully opposed the discontinuance of teaching of German in the public schools there.

Delegates from Reading and Altoona made similarly favorable reports.

A delegate from Wilkes-Barre reported that the vereins there had organized to have German put into the public schools.

A delegate from Lackawanna County urged the convention to have information concerning the injurious effects of alcohol removed from textbooks.

The committee on turning in the public schools also made a report urging that the Alliance should see that in all the towns of the State turning be made obligatory for the schools and high schools. [German-American Annals, 1906 (Vol. VIII).]

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At the convention of the German-American Alliance held in New York City in 1907 the president, Mr. Hexamer——

Senator WOLCOTT. That, of course, is the National German-American Alliance?

Mr. SPERRY. Yes. [Continuing reading:]

made a special recommendation that Germans should take an active part in politics; see that Germans are elected to school boards, State legislatures, and Congress. [Die Deutschen in Amerika, 1908, pp. 23–24.]

Senator KING. Prof. Sperry, this is not quite in line with what you are testifying to now: Do you recall in your investigation of this subject coming across any information about the Pan-Germanic League of Germany, or some of its subdivisions, sending delegates to the National German-American Alliance?

Mr. SPERRY. No. sir; I have not seen any hint of that.

Senator KING. The committee has been advised that that was done; at least, upon one occasion. Proceed, please.

Mr. SPERRY. Just one more extract. I have several others here, but I will not worry you by reading them. The alliance which is called the Independent Burger-Verein of Maryland has this for its motto:

Ja, wir sind *eines* Herzens, *eines* Bluts!
Wir sind *ein* Volk und *einig* wollen wir handeln!

Which means:

Yes, we are of one heart and of one blood!
We are one nation and as a unit we shall act!

[Das Buch der Deutschen, Philadelphia, 1909, p. 832.]

Senator KING. That was the motto of whom?

Mr. SPERRY. Of the Independent Citizens' Alliance of Maryland. That is a significant motto. I have others similar here.

Now, there is one point in connection with this matter of educational work to which I wish to call your attention. It came to my knowledge through Samuel B. Harding, who teaches history in the

University of Indiana and who is the author of several textbooks in this country which are widely used and are published by the American Book Co. These letters are without signatures. They were sent to me by the American Book Co., which, of course, has the signatures. I think that your attention should be called to these letters, and that some record should be made of them, although whether you wish to hear them or not I do not know.

Senator KING. Dr. Harding will be called as a witness. You may pretermit any reference to that.

Mr. SPERRY. All right.

Senator KING. Have you anything further to say about the activities of the National German-American Alliance, or its subdivisions, in the schools?

Mr. SPERRY. There is one other point to which I should like to call your attention, and that is the date at which this Alliance came into existence, and to speak of some other events which came to pass at that time.

It organized in 1901. In the same year was organized the German-American Historical Society, the union of old German students in America; the German-American Annals began in the same year; in 1902 the Germanic Museum was opened at Harvard; Prince Henry made his visit in 1901 or 1902, I am not sure which. The exchange professors began their work in 1904. That is, the establishment of this Alliance is a part of a great, deliberate movement to organize the German people into a branch of the German nation here.

Senator WOLCOTT. You base that statement, I suppose, upon the coincidence of all these significant things?

Mr. SPERRY. In the same two or three years, yes, sir; and in Germany, at the same time, there were occurring significant things. The first German laws making greater appropriations for the fleet were passed in 1898. It was the time when Germany was starting out on her campaign for a great military establishment which would make possible world supremacy, and the purpose of this organization here and in other countries was, as stated there, the political predominance of Germany.

Senator STERLING. Have you heard anything about a great international convention, to be held in Berlin in 1907, of the German-American alliances, or what in other countries would correspond to a German-American Alliance? Have you heard anything about that?

Mr. SPERRY. The only thing of that kind which I have read about was a letter which I have read, written by Mr. William R. Hearst, of New York City, to the convention which was meeting in New York City at that time, proposing that there should be established an international German-American Alliance—that the Alliance of this country should act in harmony with the similar organizations in Germany, and Mr. Hearst's promise to finance the undertaking for that purpose and to pay the expenses of the first delegates to this country. As a matter of fact, he did take all the delegates of that convention to Cambridge at the time that meeting was being held there, and an official telegram was sent to the German Emperor, and his reply to that I thought was rather interesting. He thanked them, among other things, for their "patriotic greeting."

Senator STERLING. Yes.

Senator KING. Do you recall what that telegram from the German Emperor was?

Mr. SPERRY. Well, it was simply an expression of good will and cordiality. I can easily produce it if you wish it. It is printed in one of these books that I have seen—in Das Buch der Deutschen, I believe.

Senator KING. And was Mr. Hearst's participation in that recorded in that publication?

Mr. SPERRY. It was, yes; and he was thanked for his munificence, by a motion.

(The matter referred to is as follows:)

After these reports had been made to the State Alliance, President Hexamer made known that he had a letter from Mr. William R. Hearst, which was read, as follows:

"The time has now come for the German-American National Alliance to broaden the field of its activities and to extend its hand to Germany, in order that the two countries may go forward in common on the path of progress. For this purpose it is desired to found an international German-American alliance with a branch in Berlin, in order that an understanding of German art and German ideals in America as well as the study of German social and economic relations may be furthered and in order to promote the most cordial political relations between the two countries. The proposal is therefore made that this convention authorize its president to name a delegation of 10 or 12 distinguished citizens who have this matter at heart to go to Germany in the year 1908 and to take action in the interest of this great project, and

"Mr. Hearst promises to cooperate with this delegation and through his eight papers in five cities to bring its purposes and aims to the knowledge of the government and of the people of Germany [United States]. In order further to meet the expenses of this movement, Mr. Hearst offers to bear all the costs of the above-named delegation, including those of the public functions in which it shall participate in Europe.

"Respectfully,

"WILLIAM RANDOLPH HEARST."

Senator KING. Dr. Sperry, I am sorry to say that we will have to take a short recess at this point. Senator Sterling and myself are very much interested in the bill which is now before the Senate, and we may be voting upon it and amendments thereto for some time.

(Thereupon, at 11.45 o'clock a. m., the subcommittee took an informal recess until 2.30 o'clock p. m., when they adjourned until to-morrow, Wednesday, April 10, 1918, at 10 o'clock a. m.)

NATIONAL GERMAN-AMERICAN ALLIANCE.

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 10, 1918.

UNITED STATES SENATE,
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY,
Washington, D. C.

The subcommittee met at 10 o'clock a. m. in the room of the Committee on the Judiciary in the Capitol.

Present: Senators King (chairman) and Sterling.

Senator KING. The committee will be in order. You may proceed, Dr. Sperry.

TESTIMONY OF PROF. SPERRY—Resumed.

Mr. SPERRY. I was referring yesterday to the systematic activity of the German-American Alliance for the purpose of having the study of German introduced into the schools of the country, and I said that they looked on the German language as a political instrument, as one of the most important forces in consolidating the German nationality in this country. As a matter of fact, everybody recognizes that language is perhaps the most powerful influence in the fusing of people into a national unit, and the reason why it is such a powerful factor in accomplishing that result is because a common language makes possible common ideas, and that, as everyone knows, is necessary for the existence of a nation; and the Germans, thoroughly understanding that, have done their best to bring about a wide use of the German language among people of German descent in this country.

In order to show—by one more quotation, at least, although many could be brought forward—the importance which they attach to that, I wish to read an extract from a Pan-German pamphlet published in Munich in the year 1904. Its title is "Germanism in the United States of North America." The author of the pamphlet, Dr. Julius Goebel, who at that time was professor of German at Leland Stanford University, is now professor of the German language and literature in the University of Illinois. In this pamphlet he is arguing that the German language and literature should be studied in the United States because of its cultural and literary value, but at one point in his argument he lets slip this statement: He says that the use of the German language and the reading of German literature by American citizens of German descent is sufficient to prevent the superficial process of Americanization. (Das Deutschtum in den Vereinigten Staaten von Nordamerika, Munchen, 1904, p. 78.) That is quoted in that little pamphlet. That goes exactly to the heart of the matter, that the use of the German language and the reading of German literature

will help to prevent the assimilation of these people, and therefore will make possible the perpetuation of the German nation in this country.

Senator KING. Prof. Sperry, Mr. Sutro, one of the attorneys for the National German-American Alliance and one of the witnesses, although he testified not under oath, stated while on the stand that the National German-American Alliance was not known in Germany. State what evidences you have of the fact that the German people, particularly the German authorities, had knowledge of the fact that this organization, and organizations of like character, existed in this and in other countries.

Mr. SPERRY. The evidence concerning the National German-American Alliance is to be found in repeated references to it in the German periodicals, particularly such as the Quarterly of the League for Germanism in Foreign Lands, and in the Alldeutsche Blätter, which is the organ of the Pan-German League, and also in a great number of the other periodicals and daily papers.

Senator KING. You have some of those papers, so that you have knowledge of that?

Mr. SPERRY. I have. I am speaking from personal knowledge.

Senator KING (continuing). That there is frequent reference to the organizations of Germans in this and other countries?

Mr. SPERRY. Yes. Now, if you would like a few specific references on that particular point from these German papers, I should be glad to read them to you.

Senator KING. You may put them in the record now.

Mr. SPERRY. These are from the Quarterly of the League for Germanism in Foreign Lands. This is from the number for June, 1911. In every one of these Quarterlies there is a column headed "Rundschau über das Deutschtum im Ausland"; that is, "Survey of Germanism in foreign lands," as one section of the foreign magazine.

Here is one little extract bearing on that particular point. The date of this is 1911 [reading]:

The National German-American Alliance and the Ancient Order of Hibernians formed a league in 1907. They now intend to use every fitting opportunity to express the union between them. They are to assist each other; are to fly the American, German, and Irish flags.

They agreed in 1907 to oppose any alliance, open or secret, between the United States Government and a foreign power.

The "foreign power" is needless to name. In September, 1910, this same section contained a paragraph headed "German-Americans as promoters of German kultur in the United States," and this item occurred. It said:

A German-American seminary for teachers has been founded in Milwaukee, and the German School Alliance of Cleveland, Ohio, is planning to pay the expenses of pupils there.

In September, 1910, in the same section of the same periodical: First there is a paragraph giving statistics concerning a large number of turnvereins in the United States, and the paragraph closes with the sentence:

A dark shadow is cast across this otherwise bright picture by the fact that several vereins have had to be struck from the list of the Nationalbund because, contrary to its by-laws, they have introduced English as the language of the verein and of command.

Senator KING. That is to say, that if the English language were introduced and used in the verein the verein would be cast out of the parent organization?

Mr. SPERRY. Yes, sir.

Senator KING. Out of this Alliance?

Mr. SPERRY. Well, the particular alliance to which reference is made there was the National Alliance of Turners. There is a National Turnerbund.

Senator KING. In this country?

Mr. SPERRY. Yes.

This is for June, 1910. The paragraph is headed, "An American university as the promoter of the German language." The paragraph then tells how courses on various subjects are given in the German language at the University of Wisconsin and closes thus:

These courses, owing to their small cost, are attended by the most different classes of students, and conserve German kultur among Anglo-Americans.

I should like, now or a moment later, to offer one or two extracts bearing on that point of the extension of the use of the German language. From the September (1909) volume we have this extract in the Rundschau.

Senator KING. From what paper?

Mr. SPERRY. This is from the same paper (Quarterly of the League for Germanism in Foreign Lands), but from that section [reading]:

A model of behavior is afforded to German-Americans by the convention of the State Alliance of New York held in Buffalo in July.

That was July, 1909.

Resolutions were adopted to this effect, that an agitation for preserving and extending instruction in German in the grammar schools shall be carried on; the use of the German language in the Sunday schools and in the church schools shall also be encouraged; also an agitation for the spread of the German press and the increase of the German sections in the public libraries.

I stumbled a little over that, because I am translating from the German. In June, 1911, the same section of the magazine stated:

The Reichstag in 1912 appropriated 1,000,000 marks for the promotion of German schools abroad.

That was not by any means the first appropriation made for that purpose. Appropriations had been made at least 10 years prior to that date. They had been to the amount of at least 1,000,000 marks for at least two years prior to that date, and I do not know but longer. That is, the German government maintains schools in foreign countries with the purpose I have described. I should say in connection with this that the German secretary for foreign affairs made it a part of his business to send teachers from Germany to these schools, and the teachers who did well in these schools in the promotion of Germanism were decorated by the Kaiser, just as Dr. Hexamer was decorated for his services here.

Senator KING. Were they sent to this country?

Mr. SPERRY. I can not tell you where they were sent, for the reason that the periodicals do not state.

Senator KING. Do you not know of German teachers coming to America?

Mr. SPERRY. Not under the auspices of the German foreign office; but I know of many German-born teachers here who have been carrying on this propaganda.

This is for March, 1911: There is a discussion of the progress of the German movement in the United States, and the organization of the German-American State Alliance in Nebraska is told about, and it says——

Senator KING. That is still in a German newspaper?

Mr. SPERRY. Yes.

Senator KING. Speaking about the organization of the schools in Nebraska?

Mr. SPERRY. Speaking about the organization of the State Alliance of Nebraska.

Senator KING. Proceed, sir.

Mr. SPERRY. The Germans, after celebrating their first Deutscher Tag in Lincoln, Nebr., wrote to this periodical that they had become a political power there and had taken steps to have German introduced into the public schools.

Senator KING. That is, the German-American Alliance of the State of Nebraska, after organization, communicated with this German newspaper——

Mr. SPERRY. Yes.

Senator KING. Stating the fact that they had organized?

Mr. SPERRY. Yes.

Senator KING. And that they were becoming a political power and were introducing German into the schools?

Mr. SPERRY. Yes; and if you notice the date there——

Senator KING. What date is that?

Mr. SPERRY. This is March, 1911. They celebrated the Deutscher Tag in October of the preceding year, and the first number of the Quarterly after that celebration had the information. I might say that anyone who examines these periodicals will find out that they are advised in Germany of things of that kind at once. They have fuller information of these things than we have here, in this sense, that all of that information is gathered together in these particular sections of these periodicals, of which I am reading extracts from only one.

Senator KING. And you find frequent references not only to the National German-American Alliance but to the State alliances in that newspaper?

Mr. SPERRY. Yes.

Senator KING. And their proceedings and activities?

Mr. SPERRY. Yes; and these periodicals from which I am quoting are in the New York Public Library, and they were presented to the public library by the chapter of the Pan-German League in New York City; at least, some of them were. I happen to know who the donor was.

Senator STERLING. In your investigations do you find, or have you found, that any of these State alliances are incorporated under State laws?

Mr. SPERRY. No, sir; I can not answer that. I do not know.

Senator KING. I might say that some of them are, and I noticed in a newspaper clipping forwarded to me that State Senator Douglas Robinson, of New York, I believe, has introduced a resolution in the legislature of New York to revoke the charter of their State organization.

Mr. SPERRY. In December, 1910, there is a paragraph headed "The growing influence of Germanism in Ohio." It tells about the meeting of the State Alliance at Cincinnati, and says:

The convention was unanimous in the belief that for the extension of German kultur—

Which means the plan for extending German kultur——

resort should be had to legislation, and that the political candidates, in order to get the votes of the Germans, must promise to carry out these demands. In Ohio, Germanism is at all elections the "needle on the scales"——

That is a German expression, the German words being "Das Zünglein der Wage" (signifying that as Germanism points, so the elections go)——

and it is determined to use this favorable position.

Senator KING. Now, let me understand. Is that the declaration of the newspaper itself, or the expression of the correspondent, or both?

Mr. SPERRY. I can only say that it is found in the newspaper.

Senator KING. In the German newspaper?

Mr. SPERRY. Yes; in the German newspaper.

Senator KING. And under the head of survey of foreign things?

Mr. SPERRY. Well, yes; it is under the head of the "Survey of Germanism in foreign lands."

For December, 1909, in this same survey there is a paragraph headed, "Support for the German language among the German Catholics of the United States of America", which is in German, [translating]:

The New York Alliance of the German Catholic Verein adopted the following resolution at its last general convention: "German is to be the language used in the State Alliance and in all vereins which make it up. German should be used in the families, among the parents, and in intercourse with the children."

That was adopted by the Catholic convention. I believe it was held in the city of Buffalo.

Senator KING. And that was transmitted to the German newspapers, and you are reading now from a German newspaper?

Mr. SPERRY. I am, sir.

Senator KING. Published in Berlin?

Mr. SPERRY. Yes, sir.

Senator KING. Proceed, Dr. Sperry.

Mr. SPERRY. I do not see here in this list of teachers' organizations which are affiliated with the societies in Germany any of the societies of the United States. I thought there were such. It is a fact, however, about the Germans in this country, that there is a National German-American Teachers' Association which is in very close contact with Germany. In one year, I believe in 1909—I can give you the precise date, for I have it here—the National German-American Teachers' Association held its meeting in the city of Berlin. It was received there by the president of the Berlin school board, a certain Dr. Fischer. On the program of that organization it was distinctly stated that its name was the National German-American Teachers' Association; but in spite of that fact the president of the school board in his opening remarks, and in repeated references which he made to it, and in his address persistently omitted the word "National." Afterwards it was explained to him

that the word "National" used in that connection did not signify that these teachers were necessarily members of the American Nation, but only that their organization was nation-wide in its extent.

Senator KING. Apropos of that, I have here a letter written me by one of the teachers who made that trip to Germany, and that teacher incloses to me a copy of the program, published in German. Will you examine that and briefly call attention to some of the salient features of that program? I do not read German.

Mr. SPERRY. You wish me to do that a little later, perhaps?

Senator KING. Right now, if you can briefly do it, if there is in it anything relevant to what you are stating.

Mr. SPERRY (examining program). This is at Frankfort on the Main.

Senator KING. That would be a later one, then?

Mr. SPERRY. Yes. [After further examining program.] Oh, yes; I see.

Senator KING. I have another program here, published in English, which has on the outside "National German-American Teachers' Association (Founded 1870). Convention of American Teachers in Berlin. Summer, 1912."

Mr. SPERRY. Well, sir, I should have to read through everything that is in this in order to pass an opinion which is worth anything at all.

Senator KING. Very well; you can do that later. I will put in the record a few excerpts from this program, which I have here, which is printed in English. After stating some general propositions it says:

It was with these facts in view that the National German-American Teachers' Association decided to plan for its members a European trip. American teachers were to be given an opportunity to observe for themselves the great German Empire, the land of closely allied races, the land of the Nibelungs and the "minnesaenger," the land of scholasticism as expounded by the monks, as well as of the Reformation, the land where Goethe and Schiller, Lessing and Kant, Bach and Beethoven, Schubert and Wagner, Duerer and Holbein, Frederick the Great, Bismarck, and innumerable other great minds aided in forming a new empire of imposing greatness.

Up, teachers, whether of American or of German extraction, prepare to join us in our voyage across the ocean! Join us in our trip to Germany, which, notwithstanding the many outward differences, is mentally so closely allied to us!

Then it says:

In July, 1910, during the thirty-eighth German-American Teachers' Convention at Cleveland, it was decided to consider a trip to Germany, and in July, 1911, at Buffalo, this proposition was unanimously adopted. The preparatory committee had spared no pains in making the necessary preparations so that in the summer of 1911, nearly 400 had declared themselves willing to participate in the trip.

Senator STERLING. Where is the headquarters of the National German-American Teachers' Association?

Senator KING. I am not sure whether I have any information on that. It says that it was organized in 1870.

Senator STERLING. Can you say, Mr. Sperry, where the headquarters of this National German-American Teachers' Association is?

Mr. SPERRY. No, sir; I can not say with certainty. I had the impression that it was in Milwaukee, but I should have to refresh my recollection on that point.

There is one significant little matter here. On one page in this German program is printed one verse of "My Country, 'Tis of Thee," and immediately under that there is a verse of the German song, "Heil, Kaiser, Dir!" They have the two songs together. That was

the intention, of course, to have the American national song and the German.

Senator KING. It states in this English program the places they will visit after the teachers reach Germany and the receptions that will be accorded them. Then it says:

At last, on the afternoon of August 10, we reach Berlin, the capital of the German Empire, where the fortieth annual convention of the National German-American Teachers' Association will be continued and concluded. All the different types of German schools will send their representatives to take part in the deliberations and discussions.

So it would seem that the fortieth annual convention of the National German-American Teachers' Association was held in Berlin.

Senator STERLING. Do you recall, Dr. Sperry, a statement attributed to the Kaiser himself, made, as I recall it, in 1908, in a speech at Potsdam, with reference to the German-American Alliance, in which speech he stated in effect that he now rules in America and that the German-American Alliance was the great instrument or means through which he rules?

Mr. SPERRY. I do distinctly recall; yes. I have here a very significant extract from one of the speeches of the Kaiser bearing on that point. He is referring not only to the United States but to all countries where there are people of German blood.

Senator KING. This letter to me, which inclosed these programs, is dated February 25, 1918, and among other things it says:

In Sunday, February 24th's, New York Times there is an account of the reasons you have for revoking the charter of the German-American Nationalbund. I do not know whether you need or desire further evidence, but I have felt for some time that it was my duty to report "to the proper authorities" the efforts of the German Government to introduce propaganda in the American schools. I am sending you an account of the German-American Teachers' Association trip to Germany in 1912, some sample programs, and a list of the members.

I am an American of British ancestry, but I joined this party because of the wonderful opportunities it seemed to offer for a small cost. It was evidently subsidized by the German Government from the time it secured offices for organizing the trip, in the Germania Life Insurance Co., till it was received in Berlin by Dr. Dreschler, who is mentioned in Curtain's "Land of the Deepening Shadow," as the head of the propaganda work.

We were given German emblems and received by high German officials in each city, and great expense in entertaining us was evident. I could not understand such hospitality to strangers then, but I know the money was invested that we might spread the praise of kultur in America.

The officers of this organization whose names I have underlined seemed to feel more pride in Germany than in America. They and many of the others in this list were part of the German system that is menacing this country as the German agents did in Russia. Many like myself were not "on the inside." I have not seen many of these people in the past five years, so do not say they are all spies.

Respectfully yours,

I will just file with the reporter this pamphlet or program printed in English, from which I have been reading.

Mr. SPERRY. In the greetings which were offered to this National German-American Teachers' Association, in the form of a poem, on the last page in the last paragraph is this significant line:

Return home to your country after the completion of your happy journey, bound yet more firmly to us by the bonds of friendship and true missionaries of deutscher Art.

That is almost untranslatable. It would be "true missionaries of German spirit," "of the German nature," "character," or "essential characteristics." The word "Art" is hard to translate sometimes.

I was explaining my view of the purpose of having German taught in the schools, and of the systematic efforts made with that in view. I read what Prof. Julius Goebel had to say, and I wish now to read an extract from the Pan-German Gazette in September, 1902, which was written by a German-American named Robert Thiem. Here is what he says:

The Germanization of America has gone ahead too far to be interrupted. Whoever talks of the danger of the Americanization of the Germans now here is not well informed or cherishes a false conception of our relations.

Senator KING. Do you know who Thiem is?

Mr. SPERRY. No; I do not. [Continuing reading:]

In a hundred years the American people will be conquered by the victorious German spirit, so that it will present an enormous German Empire. Whoever does not believe this lacks confidence in the strength of the German spirit.

I wish now to read another extract from the Alldeutsche Blätter of February 21, 1903:

It is therefore the duty of everyone who loves languages to see that the future language spoken in America shall be German. It is of the highest importance to keep up the German language in America, to establish German universities, improve the schools, introduce German newspapers, and to see that at American universities there are German professors of the very highest ability who will make their influence felt unmistakably on thought, science, art, and literature. If Germans bear this in mind and help accordingly, the goal will eventually be reached. At the present moment the center of German intellectual activity is in Germany; in the remote future it will be in America. The Germans there are the pioneers of a greater German culture, which we may regard as ours in the future.

* * * * * * *

Germans only need to grasp the situation and the future is theirs. Let them show that they mean to maintain Deutschtum, and then emigration may be directed to America with impunity.

This man says that the German university professors will make their influence felt on thought, science, art, and literature. Twenty years ago, when John Hay was Secretary of State, he foresaw the danger which has now become imminent, and in his Life and Letters there is a chapter on the German menace, in which Mr. Hay pointed out that some of the German professors in the American universities were really working in the interests of the German government.

One more extract of that sort; this is from Klaus Wagner, Krieg, 1906, pages 165–166:

Not only North America, but the whole of America must become a bulwark of Germanic kultur, perhaps the strongest fortress of the Germanic races. That is everyone's hope who has freed himself from his own local European pride and who places the race feeling above his love for home. Also South America must and can easily become a habitation for German or Germanoid races!

The lands will be settled upon by people of Germanic blood, the non-Germanic inhabitants being driven into reservations or at best to Africa (Morocco, Algiers, Tunis, Egypt).

That was the plan of this man in South America. Of course that seems fantastic, but we see them carrying out the policy in certain parts of Europe at the present time, in Belgium, Serbia, Poland, and certain parts of northern France.

Now, to turn to another point, showing the activity of the German-American Alliance in introducing the study of German into the schools. This next point relates to this activity since the war began, as a separate organization; that is, as an incorporated and distinct organization, as a unit. In order to show what they have done in

that connection, I wish to quote from a little book entitled "Deutsch-Amerika Mobil" ("German-America Mobilized"). The author is Karl Jünger. The introduction of the book is by a German admiral, Admiral von Knorr. I have here an extract from Admiral von Knorr's preface. This was published in 1915, after the war began. [Reading:]

This war has fused the Germanism [Deutschtum] of the whole world into a single mighty unit; but nowhere more than in America, that land which before the war was completely flooded and dominated by English gold. What the Americans of German descent have done for Germany by incessant education and indefatigable assistance is so unselfish, so magnificent, and so overwhelming, that it will remain forever engraved in letters of gold on this war's record of honor [p. 4].

That is, he is there referring to the services of German-Americans for Germany since the war began. The author of the book says that consciousness of unity among the Germans of the United States and the resolve to stand together in public life have been created, firstly by the German church—now, this is German evidence concerning the activities of these agencies in this country; this is written by the Germans—consciousness of unity among the Germans of the United States and the resolve to stand together in public life have been created, first, by the German church, second, by the German schools, third, by German social clubs and vereins of all kinds, fourth, by the German-language press with its 100 daily papers, and, fifth, by the National German-American Alliance (pp. 32–41).

The author then says that in the 10 years preceding the publication of his book the number of pupils studying French in the United States increased only 7 per cent, while the number studying German increased 51 per cent, which he says is "an evidence of the progress of American Germanism"; and he also states something which I think has some interest, that the German organizations in various parts of the United States petitioned to have Bryce's American Commonwealth excluded from the schools (p. 33).

He then proceeds to enumerate the specific services which the German-Americans, under the lead of the German-American Alliance, performed for Germany after the war began. He first enumerates gifts of money, clothing, and supplies of many kinds from the German vereins. He says that 2,000,000 marks were collected by the German Red Cross through the German societies, many of which, of course, are component parts of the German-American Alliance, and he said that one and one-half million marks were raised in New York City.

The second service is that the Germans lectured and went on lecture tours.

Under the third head he takes up at considerable length the National Alliance, which we particularly are interested in, and here I will read a verbatim quotation. He says (p. 67):

The war has well shown the importance of the National German-American Alliance, which, under the lead of its president, Dr. Hexamer, has carried on an extremely active agitation in favor of Germany and has directed comprehensive activities for its assistance.

The author then says:

So early as August 3 he issued the following summons.

Senator STERLING. August 3 of what year?

Mr. SPERRY. In 1914; and that is mighty interesting, because you know how far the war had progressed at that time.

Senator KING. This was published in this German book?

Mr. SPERRY. Yes. He then quotes this summons as follows:

In this difficult time which Germany is passing through it is the duty of us German-Americans to stand firmly together.

The executive officials of the Alliance are alive to the situation and are on the watch to do what is best for the interests of our Germanism * * * to protect the German name against the hatred and ignorance of a minority in our own country.

I summon every German and German-American in the United States to get in touch with our representatives, whom I enjoin to act with vigor. In every town there should be established a literary bureau with an efficient press agent who, in the English language, will promptly refute all attacks inspired by hatred and all statements originating in the ignorance of irresponsible reporters.

Furthermore, every branch of the Alliance should collect money to be placed at the disposal of the central executive of the Alliance, and used for the members of our race in Germany whenever the cry of need arises.

It should now be shown * * * that among people of German race in our country this proverb prevails: "Blood is thicker than water."

That manifesto was sent out by Hexamer in August, 1914. The author of the book then tells about a public letter which was written by Dr. Hexamer to President Wilson in which he asks certain pointed questions of the President. Those questions were concerned with America's neutrality, which Dr. Hexamer said was simply a pretense. He says (pp. 67–68):

Neutrality does not signify help for both sides, but help for neither side.

The fourth service which was rendered by the German-Americans to Germany since the war began is stated in this way (pp. 69–70):

The German churches in America are not lacking in German national sentiment. The Evangelical Synod of North America served the Fatherland well. It has presented the causes of the war clearly in its organ "Der Friedensbote" [The Messenger of Peace]. Mass meetings and bulletins of German-Americans have had great results. The sale of the New York World was reduced 200,000 a week.

He last enumerates among the services performed by the various German agencies a few of the activities of the German-American press.

Senator KING. Are you familiar with the organ referred to there, the organ of the churches, The Messenger of Peace?

Mr. SPERRY. No.

Senator KING. Mr. Babbitt, in connection with your services to the Post Office Department have you come in contact with that paper?

Mr. BABBITT. Yes; we have them all.

Senator KING. Is the publication still in existence?

Mr. BABBITT. I suppose it is, because we had 800 of them in March; but I could not tell you without looking up the files.

Senator KING. Proceed, Prof. Sperry.

Mr. SPERRY. There is a chapter in this book with the following title:

The attitude of the German-Americans on the question of contraband; their agitation against the American trade in munitions, and their effort for American neutrality.

The author then tells about the protests against the sales of munitions to the allies which were made by various persons, and then he says this:

The German-Americans, too, bestirred themselves. And here also the National Alliance took the lead. About the middle of October its president, C. J. Hexamer, sent to President Wilson the following letter.

I will read a verbatim translation of that letter, omitting here and there certain unessential features which it would worry you to listen to. This is Hexamer's letter to the President of the United States [reading from pp. 109–110]:

In the name of the National German-American Alliance, which includes 2,000,000 American citizens * * * permit me to call your attention to the * * * neutrality of this country. I request your powerful support, not alone against the unjust action of those nations with which the American Nation is at peace, but also in the name of American fair play and of the Golden Rule. I inclose an article from the New York Globe which in an impartial manner discusses the legal questions involved in America's trade (in munitions), and I request you particularly to take into account the fact that as we can sell to only one side our neutrality is in fact a fraud and that the sale of war materials by the United States is a breach of neutrality, because the sales injure Germany and Austria. * * * A similar letter with the same inclosure is being sent to the Secretary of State, to the members of your Cabinet, to the judges of the Supreme Court, to all the Members of Congress, to the governors of the States, and to 250 American daily newspapers.

The author of the book then says that another letter was sent by Hexamer to the President. That letter, however, is not reprinted.

Then he says that the National German-American Alliance then sent to Washington E. Frank Carson, of Philadelphia, a specialist in international law, to prove to Solicitor General Davis and to Mr. Lansing, Counselor of the State Department, that America had taken an untenable position in selling war materials to the Allies. In consequence of this visit the American papers friendly to England demanded that President Wilson dismiss Mr. Lansing (p. 110).

There we have positive evidence that the German-American Alliance has taken, as an organization, steps to prevent the export of munitions and thereby to perform a military service to Germany; and it is in this connection that that clause in the dispatch, which I read yesterday, from the minister of foreign affairs to all ministers, ambassadors, and consuls, gets its significance, for in that dispatch, you will remember, was enumerated among other things the encouragement of separatist movements. Now, here is the way the separatist movement has served Germany in a military way in this country.

In January, 1915——

Senator KING. Have you made sufficient investigation here in Washington, in the departments, to know that representations were made by agents of the National German-American Alliance to the State Department?

Mr. SPERRY. No, sir.

Senator KING. Or whether Mr. Carson was sent or not?

Mr. SPERRY. I have no other proof than this.

Senator KING. You do not know of your own knowledge, except from what you are quoting from this book?

Mr. SPERRY. No, sir.

In January, 1915, the Alliance issued a summons to German-Americans in all cities to call meetings which should protest against the friendly attitude of the administration to England. The result was that great mass meetings were called in Chicago and other large cities which demanded that the Government forbid the export of war materials to Europe. The Germans were not satisfied with these measures, but attempted through the National Legislature to have neutrality preserved.

The author then tells how Senator Hitchcock introduced a bill, and recites the excellent service of Congressmen Vollmer, of Iowa, Lobeck, of Nebraska, and Bartholdt, of Missouri, in the cause of Germany (pp. 111-120).

The third section of this book has this headline: "Further Possibilities of Assistance from the German-Americans." The first chapter is concerned with the German-Americans and the Japanese menace. The substance of that chapter is that the German-Americans will do well to act in a manner that will provoke bad feeling between the United States and Japan. I have read the German-language papers, and Mr. Babbitt will, I think, bear me out in saying that they have systematically done that; they have done their best to provoke bad feeling between the two governments (p. 139 et seq.).

Mr. BABBITT. And are still doing it.

Mr. SPERRY. Yes.

Senator KING. Do you refer to the local German papers in this country or in Germany?

Mr. SPERRY. No; of this country. The hint or suggestion received from Germany that that be done was all they needed.

Senator KING. The local German papers, that is, those published in the German language in the United States, have attempted to create feeling between this country and Japan?

Mr. SPERRY. Yes. There is a mountain of evidence to prove that assertion. It can be culled from the German-language papers.

The second chapter of the third part of this book is entitled "German-Americans and the Canadian Question," and the author says this, that the German-Americans can show their fellow Americans that the world war offers them an excellent opportunity to make the long desired conquest of Canada, and the author suggests that the 550,000 German reservists in the United States invade and conquer Canada. Those were two of the additional means suggested by which the German-Americans might help Germany (p. 139 et seq.).

Senator KING. Have you found any references in The Fatherland, or in other publications in this country, to the German reservists in the United States?

Mr. SPERRY. Oh, yes; the papers are full—the German papers have been full—of references to the German reservists and to what they might do in conquering Canada or invading Canada. I have seen no references but this one to the conquest of Canada; but there have been frequent references to the German reservists and what they might do in possible contingencies. Of course the references are rather vague.

(At this point, at 11.05 o'clock a. m., the subcommittee took a recess to permit the members to go upon the floor of the Senate; and at 12 o'clock m. the subcommittee resumed its session, there being present Senator Sterling.)

Senator STERLING (presiding). Senator King asks us to proceed now, as he may not be able to leave the floor of the Senate for some little time.

Mr. SPERRY. Mr. Russell has just suggested to me that some facts concerning the support of some German papers in this country should go into the record. If that is your wish, I can give them from documents which I have read, which are now in the Department of Justice.

Senator STERLING. You may proceed to do that.

Mr. SPERRY. I think they are already known to Senator King, and you may wish to have them produced here.

Senator STERLING. Yes.

Mr. SPERRY. A letter written by Mr. George Sylvester Viereck, who is the editor of Viereck's American Weekly, which was formerly The Fatherland, disclosed the fact that he received every month from Dr. Heinrich F. Albert, who was the commercial attache of the German Embassy and disbursing agent, $1,750. Count von Bernstorff paid into the treasury of Fair Play, a violent pro-German sheet, $10,000.

Senator STERLING. Where was that paper, Fair Play, published?

Mr. SPERRY. In New York City.

That (the payment) is proved by photographic copies of the checks and receipts in the possession of the Department of Justice.

The paper known as the American Independent, published in San Francisco, received $1,500 a month from the German consul general there.

A Polish newspaper in New York City, the name of which I do not know—can not pronounce—received $700 a month from the Austrian Embassy.

A Roumanian and Hungarian paper were also subsidized, in amounts unknown to me, by the Austrian Embassy.

Senator STERLING. And where were these other papers published?

Mr. SPERRY. In New York City.

I have just one more statement to make, and that is as to the reason why I believe that the National German-American Alliance is a great danger to the country. The population of the United States is composite. If the German-American movement is carried on and is imitated by the members of other nations here, our population will disintegrate into groups of antagonistic and warring nationalities. The internal racial and political condition of the United States will come to be like that of Austria and the Balkan Peninsula. I will not amplify that; I think that is sufficient. That is the great future danger for the United States in this matter.

Senator STERLING. Is it your belief, Dr. Sperry, that the Germans, in anticipation of this war between the Imperial German Government and Great Britain and France, sought to educate Germans in other countries of the world, and especially in America, so that when the day came the German government would at least have the moral support of the Germans in this country?

Mr. SPERRY. That is my belief, based on a wide reading of their periodicals and newspapers, from which I could produce some extracts if I had time to do it. Yes; it is very evident, indeed, from numerous utterances, that such was the plan of the German government.

Senator STERLING. And that Germany contemplated this war in a way, or that the time would come when there would be the break between Great Britain and Germany?

Mr. SPERRY. Oh, yes; there is no question about that. I could read from this little pamphlet here numerous extracts bearing that out.

I have here a book called "Das annexionistische Deutschland," compiled by Grumbach and published at Lausanne, in Switzerland,

in 1915; and I could give you 600 pages of extracts from all sorts of German periodicals, political platforms, and speeches, and things of that sort, showing that Germany had this plan of conquest in view, and, as they state explicitly in some extracts which I read here yesterday, this organization of Germans in foreign countries was one part of the great plan of world conquest. It was one phase of it. They were conscious of it. That is why it is that the German government has given encouragement, including financial support, to certain of these organizations, and why it is has cooperated with them.

Senator STERLING. You have discovered in your investigations no reason for the antipathy they sought to create or foster between Americans and Germans?

Mr. SPERRY. No; that is, the activity has not been justified by any acts or attitude of the Americans.

Senator STERLING. Yes.

Mr. SPERRY. The reason for creating it has been to draw these people together against the rest of us. It has been artificially stimulated by many means.

Senator STERLING. That completes your statement, does it, Dr. Sperry?

Mr. SPERRY. Yes.

In this book, "Deutsch-Amerika Mobil" ("German-America Mobilized") it is stated that the Alliance of German Authors in America, of which George Sylvester Viereck was the head, encouraged the founding of an English weekly to be used for the defense of the German cause against the calumnies of the French and the English. That paper was The Fatherland, published in New York City.

Senator STERLING. And now called what?

Mr. SPERRY. Viereck's American Weekly.

(Thereupon, at 12.20 o'clock p. m., the subcommittee took a recess until 3 o'clock p. m.)

AFTER RECESS.

The subcommittee resumed its session at 3 o'clock p. m.

Present: Senator King (chairman).

TESTIMONY OF MR. EUGENE H. BABBITT.

(The witness was duly sworn by Senator King.)

Senator KING. State your name, age, and business, please.

Mr. BABBITT. My name is E. H. Babbitt; my age is 58; I am officially a translator for the Department of Justice, assigned to the Solicitor of the Post Office Department.

Senator KING. You are familiar with the German language, are you?

Mr. BABBITT. Yes, sir.

Senator KING. And have translated from English into German and German into English?

Mr. BABBITT. Yes.

Senator KING. So that you are able to do that?

Mr. BABBITT. Yes.

Senator KING. Have you made translations of any numbers of the Bulletin, a publication of the National German-American Alliance?

Mr. BABBITT. Yes, sir. I have here some translations which I made at your request the other day. You asked me at that time to look in the Bulletin for matter indicating actual participation of the Alliance in political activities, and I went through the 1912 volume for that purpose.

Senator KING. How many issues are there in that volume?

Mr. BABBITT. The year's issues, 12 months' issues. Now, there may be more than this, besides this particular line, which you would like to ask about; but perhaps I had better put in first this translation which I have in typewritten form.

Senator KING. You have made a translation, then, of only a few excerpts from the volume which came under your observation?

Mr. BABBITT. And they answer that question, just as they are.

Senator KING. Let me see them, please. [After examination of typewritten translations.] The translations that you have furnished me are correct?

Mr. BABBITT. Yes, sir; they were dictated to your stenographer and have been revised by me.

Senator KING. I do not think there is any necessity for us to take the time now to read into the record to-day that which you have already translated. We will just hand the copy, which you vouch for, to the reporter and he will put it in the record. Is there any explanation of this translation that you want to make?

Mr. BABBITT. Nothing, except what I have already given, that these translations are strictly in line of showing actual attempts by the Alliance to influence legislation.

Senator KING. But the point I want to make is, Is there any explanation to be made as to any particular item, to show its relevancy to preceding matter, or is it sufficiently clear to indicate what the subject is?

Mr. BABBITT. If, as you look it over, anything interests you so that you would like to have the text, of course I can furnish it from the volume.

Senator KING. For instance, I find on the seventh sheet of this translation these words:

Then the president reported about the activity of the executive committees, which in accordance with the resolution——

Mr. BABBITT. What month is that?

Senator KING. I will read all of this last paragraph:

Then the president reported about the activity of the executive committees, which in accordance with the resolution of the last State convention called attention of the voters, by speaking and writing, to the danger of county option and undertook an active propaganda in the State in this matter.

That is in the original exactly as you have translated it? I mean, it is not a deduction by you as to the meaning of remarks made by the president?

Mr. BABBITT. No; that is a translation. I have here the original [indicating].

Senator KING. In other words, nothing here is a deduction made by you or a résumé?

Mr. BABBITT. Unless it is plainly evident. It is only in one or two cases I made such a deduction; possibly rather a summing-up than a translation.

Senator KING. I see none that would be regarded as that—a summing-up.

Mr. BABBITT. In one instance I gave the substance of certain resolutions.

Senator KING. Is that in the data that you have handed me?

Mr. BABBITT. On page 6 of the translations, in parentheses, at the top of the page, there is a list of subjects referred to, and the full text is not given.

Senator KING. Are the subjects embraced, "immigration, prohibition, forest conservation, instruction in foreign languages in the public schools, especially German," mentioned in the article which you have translated?

Mr. BABBITT. Yes; that is, in a full translation of the paragraph the text of the matter is given instead of the mere titles that I have given there, which is not a full translation.

Senator KING. Have you made translations from any other volumes?

Mr. BABBITT. I have made no further translations. I am ready to make a translation on the spot of anything you call for.

Senator KING. What volume is that you have in your hand?

Mr. BABBITT. It is the volume for 1912 [indicating]. That is the volume from which those translations have been made. I have here also the volumes for 1913, 1914, and 1915.

Senator KING. Have you marked any articles in those volumes?

Mr. BABBITT. I marked no further articles, except some fuller reports from the State branches. The reports were made on the candidates' answers to questions put to the candidates for Congress.

Senator KING. What are you reading from now?

Mr. BABBITT. In the translation made there is an account of questions submitted to the candidates for office as to their attitude on these various questions, and in nearly every report of a State branch there is mention made of their answers. I have marked some places referring to that that I did not translate.

Senator KING. Do you find the activities of the State alliances reported in the volume of the Bulletin from which you have made the translations which you have just submitted?

Mr. BABBITT. In every case there is a summary of the activities of the State branches.

Senator KING. And, generally speaking, what are the activities that are reported in the Bulletin, the organ of the National German-American Alliance?

Mr. BABBITT. Well, there is always some particular thing in the way of legislation that they are endeavoring to encourage or oppose. There is systematic attempt to influence the schools, either through legislation or by individual effort, in connection with the appointment of teachers, or propaganda in general.

Senator KING. For the control of the school boards?

Mr. BABBITT. For the extension of instruction in the German language in the schools.

Senator KING. Do you find an effort made to control the school boards?

Mr. BABBITT. There is an effort made to control the school boards that may be considered as political, I might mention. Then, going through the 1914 volume I have seven instances of attempts to affiliate with the Irish for different purposes.

Senator KING. For what purposes?

Mr. BABBITT. For the purpose in some cases distinctly mentioned of anti-British agitation. The president mentions distinctly, in one case, an affiliation with the Ancient Order of Hibernians. In 1914, which is the only other volume of which I have made a complete study, when the war broke out they changed their activities from influencing the schools and general antiprohibition legislation to agitation against the manufacture of military supplies and exportation to Germany. That seemed to be the first thing they took up.

Senator KING. To what extent does the Bulletin go, in the volumes you examined, in efforts by the State alliances to maintain racial distinctions and to keep the German people in a separatist movement?

Mr. BABBITT. The State branches were subject to the orders of the national organization, apparently. The thing was well organized, and they were in constant touch with the central organization.

There appears in places evidence that the national organization as such did not wish to appear so definitely as pro-German agitators, on account of having their charter from the United States Government, but wanted the State organizations to take the detail agitation in their own hands and under their own responsibility.

Senator KING. Was that suggested in the Bulletin?

Mr. BABBITT. There are places in the Bulletin which suggest that. The State branches, apparently, carried out orders from the central organization very carefully, very directly; because the constant reports from the State branches indicate that.

Senator KING. Have you got some paragraphs in the Bulletin, marked, as you went through it, which you have not translated as yet?

Mr. BABBITT. Oh, yes; I have marked a great many passages—anything of interest. The only way to get at them, though, because I have not had time to analyze them, would be to turn the leaves until we find something.

Senator KING. Have you them marked?

Mr. BABBITT. Yes; I have them marked. I would suggest that the 1914 volume would give the most "meat" for the purpose.

Senator KING. Very well. Can you turn readily to those pages in the volume which refer to political activities, or themes and purposes of the work, of the National German-American Alliance?

Mr. BABBITT. Yes.

Senator KING. Give the month, in each case.

Mr. BABBITT. Take the January (1914) number, page 2. First is a report calling for action against prohibition. "The management of the National German-American Alliance recognizes the threatening danger" is the headline [translating]:

An organization committee under the chairmanship of the first vice president, Joseph Keller, will direct the struggle from the Indianapolis headquarters. An important conference of the president of the German-American Alliance and the three first vice presidents, Joseph Keller from Indianapolis, John Tjarks from Baltimore, and Julius Moersch from St. Paul, took place in Philadelphia, to discuss ways and means for carrying on the struggle for personal liberty and liberal laws still more energetically than before. Especially the amendment to the Constitution introduced

into Congress, which has national prohibition for its object, is to be fought with special emphasis. The gentlemen were agreed that the danger is greater than ever. Nativistic efforts are becoming evident everywhere, which are directed against the German society life [Vereinsleben]. News is at hand from Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Ohio, and other States which shows that the Anti-Saloon League is working at high pressure to hit the liberal element in a most irritating manner by closing up German society halls or club quarters and prohibition of Sunday enjoyments.

It was determined to establish an organization committee in Indianapolis, which, on account of its central position, is most suitable for the purpose, and to appoint Joseph Keller as chairman.

The committee is to strengthen and encourage the various State, county, and city branches of the National German-American Alliance in their struggle against bigotry. It will further see to it that in the various congressional districts of the States in which the Alliance has branches (and that is the case in 45) liberal candidates for public offices be supported by the German voters and an effective propaganda be made for their election. Five hundred dollars was placed at the disposal of the committee for these purposes.

A standing legislative committee of the National German-American Alliance, under the chairmanship of the president of the Washington Board of Trade, Cuno Rudolph, was nominated. This is to consist of prominent business men of the National Capital and to be on the watch in Congress. It will be commissioned to support the president of the National Alliance and the Members of Congress who are favorably disposed toward the liberal efforts of the latter, in the most energetic manner.

That is the platform of the agitation. Now, perhaps I had better give you the headlines of these articles as we go through, and if they interest you any further I can translate for you.

Senator KING. Give the headlines.

Mr. BABBITT. The next headline is "An appeal by Congressman Bartholdt for action."

Senator KING. Does he sign it?

Mr. BABBITT. It is not signed here; this is simply a statement.

Senator KING. Read what it says.

Mr. BABBITT (translating):

Thanks were expressed by telegraph to Congressman Bartholdt for his manly stand in the House of Representatives of Congress against prohibition and for true temperance, when Richmond Pearson Hobson, of Alabama, the much-kissed hero of the *Merrimac*, pronounced in favor of a national-prohibition amendment to the Constitution amid applause of the Christian Temperance ladies, who filled the galleries, and the Anti-Saloon people, this was expressed by Henry Lierz, the steward [or manager] of the German House in Philadelphia.

In his answer Congressman Bartholdt declares that the battle is now on along the whole line, and that the friends of personal liberty would do well to be active. Mr. Bartholdt had turned with uplifted hand toward the galleries where the audience in favor of prohibition started a hostile demonstration against him when he spoke, and declared he would not be intimidated. If it came to the point, he could bring two or three million German-Americans to Washington to engage in demonstrations against prohibition and in favor of personal liberty.

The next is Dr. Hexamer's call to the branches for organization against prohibition. That contains nothing new beyond the appeal.

Then the protest, which they are requested to get signed everywhere, is given textually.

Senator KING. Against whom? Against what?

Mr. BABBITT. Against prohibition.

Senator KING. Does that purport to be drawn by any person?

Mr. BABBITT. There are two forms, one for a society and another for an individual.

Senator KING. Which is given in the papers?

Mr. BABBITT. It is given here—the form that they are requested to use.

Senator KING. Who offers it?

Mr. BABBITT. Dr. Hexamer, the president of the association.

Senator KING. State if the paper purports to give the author of the resolution.

Mr. BABBITT. Well, Dr. Hexamer directs them to use this form in this work.

Senator KING. If you have stated Dr. Hexamer, that is what I have asked you.

Mr. BABBITT. Then comes an article by Ludwig Fulda, the author, who had visited America a short time before, about Germanism in America.

Senator KING. What does he state about the German-American Alliance?

Mr. BABBITT. In brief, it is a favorable discussion of the Germans in America. One paragraph is rather significant. He says:

The educated German-Americans—and I speak of them alone here—have almost superhuman tasks to accomplish. They must do justice to the demands of two cultures.

Senator KING. "Two cultures"?

Mr. BABBITT. Yes; "two different cultures," you might say. [Continuing translating:]

This two-fold culture takes form as a dilemma for them in the first place with reference to language. Culture and language are almost identical. There is no stronger bond between men than that of language. Nationality can only be maintained by speech. Therefore, whoever gives up his German gives up his German faith and traditions [Deutschtum].

There is more of the same sort, but that is the gist of it.

On page 4 is an appeal in behalf of the Bulletin, urging subscriptions, naming different objects which are of interest. In some cases, because they are followed up later, I can give you a summary of those objects rather than a full translation, perhaps.

Senator KING. Relating to what?

Mr. BABBITT. Perhaps I had better translate this paragraph [translating]:

Everything which interests the Germans in America interests the editorial board of the Bulletin. A picture of German life should be given in it. The four chief factors upon which the Alliance relies in its work in favor of German, namely, church, school, societies, and the press, will always find fitting consideration when news from their circles is at hand.

Continuing, after omitting a little:

Everything which tends to extension of knowledge of the German language is of the highest importance for the American Germans, and especially important for the National Alliance.

Then another point, with a little omission:

Communications are also desired from the field of German-American historical research and writing. All new phenomena should be brought to the attention of the German-American Alliance.

The next is an article quoting Prince von Buelow, the former German chancellor, on the relations between Germany and America, which is interesting but does not mention the German-American Alliance.

Senator KING. Does it evince a greater interest in Germany by the Germans in America than would be proper on the part of citizens toward another country?

Mr. BABBITT. Well, it simply says—for instance, one sentence is:

I see no points of dissension on which German and American interests can come into conflict with one another.

That seems to be his text. He goes on in that way.

Another article on page 5 is a speech of Secretary Bryan before Germans in Chicago. Mr. Bryan was at that time Secretary of State. It is rather significant in this respect [translating]:

Secretary Bryan declared that the German element in the United States did not find enough consideration in nominations or elections. No German candidates were put forward by their German fellow citizens, and that was the reason for it. The declaration of the Secretary of State, who also spoke of German modesty, hits the nail on the head. Germans should not leave that unsaid, but should act accordingly.

There is a probable misprint here which if corrected would change the sense to "let this be said of them" instead of "leave that unsaid".

On page 6 begins a series of articles on German instruction—instruction in German in the schools—which is carried on through this volume.

Senator KING. Without putting a translation of those articles into the record, what is the general purport of them?

Mr. BABBITT. They use every possible opportunity to take advantage of local situations to extend the instruction in German in the public schools, especially in the German language; the German National Seminary for Teachers, at Milwaukee—which was mentioned several times and is discussed in full—raising money to support it; giving prizes for good work in it, and its relations to the German instruction throughout the country, are discussed.

Senator KING. What does the article state as to the methods by which the teaching of German is to be accomplished, and what is the reason of the solicitude manifested in having instruction in the German language?

Mr. BABBITT. Well, Fulda's statement, which I just translated, is the keynote, that the German language is the most potent influence for keeping alive the German spirit. That is illuminated from all angles in these various articles.

Senator KING. Do the articles mention maintaining a national spirit of Germany among the German-Americans?

Mr. BABBITT. Yes; the German spirit against a "nativistic" spirit. In many places they use the expression "the nativistic Anglo-American spirit" in full.

Senator KING. The articles are all entitled "Instruction in German"?

Mr. BABBITT. No; they are various. Sometimes they are local.

Senator KING. I understood you to say that there was a series of articles beginning on that page and running through the whole volume.

Mr. BABBITT. No; not a series as such; but they are reports and polemics running all through the volume. This particular year seems to be a year when that kind of agitation was foremost.

Senator KING. Is there reference to the parochial and local schools?

Mr. BABBITT. Not very emphatically. If it was a local school it was generally mentioned, but no emphasis was put on the fact. At this time there came along the law for the restriction of immigration. The Burnett law for the restriction of immigration was opposed sharply by the Germans.

Senator KING. What action did the Alliance take?

Mr. BABBITT. It begins with this article here on page 7, which, perhaps, I had better translate [translating]:

A dispatch was sent to Representative Richard Bartholdt by Dr. Hexamer, as follows:

"The 2,000,000 members of the German-American Alliance protest energetically against the passing of the immigration law now before the House. We protest especially against the educational test, which we consider foolish and unjust. Please bring this before the House of Representatives."

To the presidents of State branches and to all German societies of the country Dr. Hexamer sent the following dispatch in the name of the Alliance:

Since there is the greatest danger that the immigration bill may be passed before Christmas by the House of Representatives, I beg all presidents to telegraph immediately something like the following to their Representatives in Congress:

"In the name of —— —— I request you most urgently to use your powerful influence to bring about the defeat of the immigration law now before the House, and to vote against it. We protest energetically against this or any similar measure which, especially on account of the educational tests therein provided, would keep out desirable immigrants, as a foolish and unjust measure. What we need is the bones and muscles of sound immigrants who will perform heavy work which is necessary for the tilling of the soil, and in order that food production be increased and the cost of living reduced, as well as of workmen in our great factories who are willing to do the severe physical labor which a native American refuses to engage in.

"The question of immigration can only be regulated by suitable distribution of the immigrants, not by educational tests."

Then comes a long list of the reports from the State branches, of which I marked nothing for special report.

In February the prohibition question is still active.

Senator KING. Have you marked any articles there?

Mr. BABBITT. Yes; I have marked a good deal through here.

Senator KING. Well, read those that you have marked that especially attracted your attention. You may translate those.

Mr. BABBITT. On page 3 there is a paragraph as follows [translating]:

At a session of the executive committee of the German-American State organization of Ohio on the 25th of January in Columbus, the president, Judge John Schwaab, of Cincinnati, the foundation of an antiprohibition league was determined upon, and, furthermore, the liberty of selling spirituous drinks on the occasion of festivities in clubs and societies was to be insisted on, and the introduction of "home rule" with reference to traffic in liquor.

From page 5 I translate as follows:

The protests against the Burnett educational test bill, through which immigration is to be limited, are increasing. The executive committee of the National Alliance had asked the State and local branches to act, and that has brought good results, as is reported from almost all States by the reports received. The immigration committee of the State branch for New York has called for protests ——

Senator KING. I am afraid this is going to be too slow a process for us. Perhaps you had better get a stenographer and dictate your translations of these articles to which your attention has been directed, and then submit them and we can put into the record such articles as we deem relevant and material.

Mr. BABBITT. Of course, it is a very large proposition.

Senator KING. You need not make any explanation. You had better do that. Get a stenographer and make the translations. What volumes have you there?

Mr. BABBITT. We have 1912, 1913, 1914, 1915, and some of 1916, I think. There is here also a translation done by one of our volunteers, on the war file [handing paper to the chairman].

Senator KING (after examining paper). This translation is correct?

Mr. BABBITT. That, so far as I have looked at it, is a fair translation.

Senator KING. The committee will offer this. This is a translation from the Bulletin of 1913. I will read into the record the following from the Bulletin of January, 1912, page 3, third column:

Mr. A. Godsho, a member of the German consulate in Philadelphia, appointed assistant secretary of the Alliance.

From the same issue the following:

The German nationality of this country has all the reasons to stand firm and united that the German Empire in Europe has.

I think, perhaps, Mr. Babbitt, you had better take these translations that I have here and bring them in in chronological order, with any other translations that you may make from the same volumes. You had better take such volumes as you have not translated and make your translations. How long will it take you?

Mr. BABBITT. There is about a month's work there, to give that thorough consideration.

Senator KING. A month's work?

Mr. BABBITT. Yes; I should say so, for a man to sit down and make a translation of all of those volumes. It would take a good deal of time. I can do something with it, of course, in a week, if I have the time. I can get somebody to do it. If you want me to get these translations made by the men in my office, I will do what I can for you.

Senator KING. I thought you could take these volumes and quickly cast your eye over the pages and pick out any articles that were significant, showing political activities on the part of the organization or activity in advocating the maintenance of the separatist movement, and translate those.

Mr. BABBITT. It can be done. It can not be done so fast as perhaps you think it can; that is, to be done well. It requires a certani amount of time. I shall be glad to undertake it and do anything I can, and to have the translations made by the other members of the translating staff, if Judge Lamar is willing; but it is worth doing well.

Senator KING. He will be willing. I thought you had it all ready now.

Mr. BABBITT. Oh, no; I have not got it ready now. I did not want you to understand that. I have only what I have had time to do.

(Thereupon, at 4.35 o'clock p. m., the subcommittee adjourned until to-morrow, Thursday, April 11, 1918, at 10 o'clock a. m.)

NATIONAL GERMAN-AMERICAN ALLIANCE.

THURSDAY, APRIL 11, 1918.

UNITED STATES SENATE,
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY,
Washington, D. C.

The subcommittee met at 10 o'clock a. m. in the room of the Committee on the Judiciary in the Capitol.

Present: Senator King (chairman).

Senator KING. Prof. Harding, you will be sworn, please.

TESTIMONY OF PROF. SAMUEL BANNISTER HARDING.

(The witness was duly sworn by Senator King.)

Senator KING. What is your profession or business?

Mr. HARDING. Teacher in the University of Indiana; professor of European history.

Senator KING. How long have you been teaching, Dr. Harding?

Mr. HARDING. Twenty-three years.

Senator KING. Have you prepared books on history?

Mr. HARDING. Yes.

Senator KING. For use as textbooks in this country?

Mr. HARDING. I have prepared four or five books on history to be used in the schools, some for common schools and some for the high school.

Senator KING. Briefly state what influences have been exerted to eliminate or cause to be eliminated from your books certain historical facts with reference to our country.

Mr. HARDING. Every textbook writer experiences a certain amount of difficulty from various groups, and I have had, I suppose, my share of such experiences. I have experienced such pressure from religious sources. I have experienced it also in connection with the present war, the German element exercising pressure to control the expression of opinion in favor of Germany, or, rather, to keep out anything which might tell against the German cause.

Senator KING. Give a specific instance of activity in which the German-American Alliance or its members were interested in regard to a recent book of yours.

Mr. HARDING. In 1915 I had prepared a chapter on the present war to be added to a high-school textbook which I had written some time before and which was in process of reprinting. That chapter I read to a history club at our university. About two weeks later I received from the publishers of my book typewritten copies, without signature attached and without the place of origin or the date line, of letters they had received in regard to this chapter which I had prepared, protesting against the publication of that chapter in my book,

and practically threatening a boycott, not merely as to the particular book but all other publications of that company, in case this was done.

Senator KING. What reference was made to the convention of the National German-American Alliance in 1915?

Mr. HARDING. One of the letters said that "the Prof. Harding matter" was sure to come up at a meeting of the Alliance which was to be held in August of 1915.

Senator KING. In San Francisco?

Mr. HARDING. In San Francisco.

Senator KING. Was there anything in this article other than a correct statement of the facts, as far as you understood them, concerning the war?

Mr. HARDING. Not that I was aware of. Naturally, as a historian, I had sought to acquaint myself fully with the facts at issue and had devoted a great deal of time and care to the preparation of the chapter. A historian feels, of course, that he has a reputation at stake, and when he publishes anything over his name there is a matter of professional responsibility which tends to keep him as near true to the facts as his abilities will enable him.

Senator KING. Is this one of the letters you received, dated March 27, 1915? I will just read a part of it into the record [reading]:

There has heretofore been a kindly feeling toward the American Book Co. among the German-Americans everywhere, notably among the teachers of German at the various educational institutions and the members of our organization. For that reason, I deem it my duty to bring to your knowledge that a book such as you are reported to be about to publish for Prof. Harding will be considered obnoxious and our organization no doubt would feel itself obliged to actively oppose the use of such a book in any school anywhere in any State.

You have published a good many splendid books helpful to the teaching of German and there is universal good will toward your company now among our people, and I should very much regret to see anything happen which would interfere with the present cordial relations and might act unfavorably on your other splendid books.

Our organization will hold its biennial convention in San Francisco beginning with August, when the Prof. Harding matter is sure to be discussed.

In the meantime, I should be pleased to receive a line from you giving me the facts as you see them and your sentiments in the matter.

Yours very truly,

Mr. HARDING. That is one of the letters which I received.

Senator KING. Is this a copy sent to you by the American Book Co. of one of the letters written them, dated April 12, 1915? I will read from this letter [reading]:

The Committee on Education of the Alliance of German Societies of the State has been informed that Prof. Harding, of Indiana University, at a recent meeting of the Historical Society read a paper on the present world war, in which he expressed ultra anti-German ideas on questions which can be answered fairly only in the future. The professor also announced that this essay would be incorporated in his School History to be published by the American Book Co.

We do not want Prof. Harding to change his unneutral attitude. But we believe that a school history lacking historical facts, containing private, prejudiced opinions on the present crisis, is dangerous for our students and therefore undesirable. Besides the teachers and professors of German could not feel kindly toward such a publication by the American Book Co.

Mr. HARDING. That is one of the letters.

Senator KING. Was there anything in your book which was a prejudiced opinion, or did it lack historical facts?

Mr. HARDING. Not that I was aware of.

Senator KING. Are you acquainted with the books used in the public schools of Indiana published in the German language?

Mr. HARDING. I am not, intimately. I know in a general way something of the books, but that has not been a matter to which I have given any special attention.

Senator KING. Could you find out during the day, from any source, what German books are used in the schools in Indiana? I might say that Mr. Keller, who testified here and who is vice president of the National German-American Alliance, reports in a letter dated March 14, 1918, as follows:

I most respectfully submit to your kind consideration the inclosed list of the German textbooks used in the Indianapolis public schools. This list was compiled for the superintendent of our schools.

Then follows the list which he gives, and this will be printed in the record. There are a large number given here; there are two pages in the typewritten list.

(The matter is as follows:)

The following is a complete list of the German textbooks used in the elementary schools of Indianapolis since 1911. Some of the texts are of later adoption, to take the place of books eliminated, but the list includes all the German books used at any time during the entire period:

Erstes Deutsches Schulbuch (Heath & Co.).
Foster's Geschichten und Maerchen (Heath & Co.).
Guerber's Maerchen und Erzaehlungen (Heath & Co.):
    Erster Teil, with vocabulary.
    Erster Teil, without vocabulary.
Arnold's Fritz auf dem Lande (Maynard, Merrill & Co.).
Guerber's Maerchen und Erzaehlungen, Zweiter Teil.
Hauff's Das Kalte Herz (Holt & Co.).
Hauff's Der Zwerg Nase (Heath & Co.).
Schrammen's Legends of German Heroes (Maynard, Merrill & Co.).
Fick, Neu und Alt (American Book Co.).
Lyon's Deutsche Grammatik (Goeschen).
E. Prokosch, Deutsches Lese und Ubungsbuch (Holt & Co.).
Nix, Erstes Deutsches Schulbuch (Heath & Co.).
Scherer, Deutsches Lesebuch (Holt & Co.).
Gohdes and Buschek, Deutsche Grammatik.
Wildenbruch's Das edel Blut (Heath & Co.).
Zschokke's Der Zerbrochene Krug (Heath & Co.).

The following is a complete list of the German textbooks used in the three high schools of Indianapolis since 1911. Not all of the books listed are used in each school, but from the list recommended each high school selects its course:

HIGH SCHOOLS—GERMAN I TO VIII.

German I. Walter und Krause.
German II. Lesebuch.
German III. Two of the following works: Storm, Immensee; Baumbach, Die Nonna; Riehl, Der Fluch der Schonheit; Riehl, Die Vierzehn Nothelfer; Leander, Traumereien.
German IV. Two of the following works: Gerstacker, Germelshausen; Storm, Pole Poppenspaeler; Benedix, Der Prozess; Fulda, Unter vier Augen; Baumbach, Das Habichtsfraeulein.
German V. Schiller, Wilhelm Tell.
German VI to VIII. Three of the following works: Goethe, Hermann und Dorothea; Gotz von Berlichingen; Korner, Zriny; Fulda, Der Talisman; Grillparzer, Sappho. Or two of the following: Saar, Die Steinklopfer; Meyer, Der Schuss von der Kanzel; Das Amulett; Schiller, Das Lied von der Glocke; Goethe, Das Maerchen; Freytag, Die Journalisten.

HIGH SCHOOLS—GERMAN—Ia TO VIIIa.

German Ia. Wildenbruch, Das edel Blut.
German IIa. Two of the following works: Baumbach, Der Schwiegersohn; Keller, Kleider machen Leute; Zschokke, Das Abenteuer der Neujahrsnacht; Chamisso, Peter Schlemihl; Moser, Der Schimmel; Schiller, Der Taucher.
German IIIa. Schiller, Wilhelm Tell. One of the following works: Riehl, Burg Neideck; Dahn, Felicitas (gekürzt); Keller's Legenden; Eckstein, Preisgekront; Carmen Sylva, Aus meinem Königreich; Munchausen, Reisen und Abenteuer.
German IVa. One of the following works: Goethe, Hermann und Dorothea; Eine der folgenden: Heyse, Die Blinden; Wilbrandt, Das Urteil des Paris; Werner, Heimatklang; Riehl, Meister Hildebrand; Ebner-Eschenbach, Die Freiherren von Gemperlein.
German Va. One of the following works: Goethe, Egmont; Goethe, Gotz von Berlichingen. One of the following: Sudermann, Teja; Heine, Die Harzreise; Wildenbruch, Harold; Schiller, Balladen; Otto Ludwig, Der Erbförster; Korner, Zriny.
German VIa to VIIIa. Three of the following works: Goethe, Iphigenie auf Tauris; Goethe, Torquato Tasso; Schiller, Wallensteins Tod; Lessing, Nathan der Weise; Hauptmann, Die Versunkene Glocke. Two or three of the following: Sudermann, Frau Sorge; Scheffel, Ekkehard; Scheffel, Trompeter von Säkkingen; Dahn, Ein Kampf um Rom (gekürzt); Meyer-Forster, Karl Heinrich; Freytag, Soll und Haben (gekürzt); Freytag, Das Nest der Zaunkönige; Hauff, Lichtenstein; Goethe's Gedichte; Karl Schurz, Lebenserinnerungen; Schiller, Das Lied von der Glocke; Kleist, der Prinz von Homburg.

The book "Im Vaterland" has never been used, nor recommended for use, in the elementary or high schools of Indianapolis.

The following are the spellers used in the public schools of Indianapolis during the last six years:

Alexander Speller.
The Centennial Speller.

E. U. GRAFF,
Superintendent Indianapolis Public Schools.

MARCH 13, 1918.

Senator KING. Are you acquainted with the book "Im Vaterland"?

Mr. HARDING. Only from what I have seen of it in the newspapers. I have never examined the book.

Senator KING. Do you know whether it was used in the public schools in Indiana?

Mr. HARDING. I think it has not been used officially in any of the Indiana schools.

Senator KING. I wish you would ascertain that, because I received a telegram from one of the most prominent citizens of your State to the effect that it was.

Mr. HARDING. Did he state where?

Senator KING. No; just in the State.

Mr. HARDING. I would suggest that perhaps the superintendent of public instruction of Indiana could answer that question for us.

Senator KING. That is all, Dr. Harding.

(The witness was excused.)

TESTIMONY OF PROF. SPERRY—Resumed and concluded.

Senator KING. Dr. Sperry, when you were on the stand the other day you gave a number of references to publications in Germany in which the activities of the Pan-Germanic League were referred to and the plan of the league to maintain a separatist movement wherever the Germans were. Are there any other references that you have at hand that you may submit to the committee?

Mr. SPERRY. Yes; there are two or three in which the plan is very clearly stated.

Senator KING. Just read them, if you will, for the record.

Mr. SPERRY. The first one is from the Quarterly for Germanism in Foreign Lands.

Senator KING. What year?

Mr. SPERRY. That is September, 1909. [Reading:]

The purpose of this union is the preservation and promotion of the Germanism of over 30,000,000 people of German blood dwelling outside the German Empire. This constitutes an indispensable means for the spread of the German language and of German civilization throughout the world.

I should like to quote another extract from the same quarterly. This is in June, 1910, from an article written by Prof. Rein, of the University of Jena. He quotes statistics giving the number of Germans in various countries of the world, and then says:

They all, in spite of political division, constitute a single great unit, all parts of which are bound together by a common civilization.

Then he proceeds, after a line or two, as follows:

The conviction grows ever stronger that in the tremendous struggle of peoples which is going on to-day the 100,000,000 Germans must form a vast unit, bound together by community of thought, feeling, and interests, and must support and sustain each other in solving their great problems.

That states very clearly the purposes of the National German-American Alliance.

In order to show further the view taken of that Alliance in Germany I will quote now from Herman Oncken, author of Historisch-politische Aufsätze und Reden. He was writing at the time the German-American Alliance was founded, and he speaks thus concerning it:

We should warmly grasp the proffered hand and cherish the bonds of a common *Kultur*, we should realize that yonder *Deutschamerikanertum* * * * is a member of our national body. * * * We should learn the great lesson that the German nation extends beyond and will extend beyond the German state in which we live.

That is a fine, clear statement of their plan.

Another extract, this being from the periodical known as Das Grössere Deutschland, in February, 1915, shows the intention that people of German descent in the United States, while nominally citizens, should in fact be Germans at heart. This is the extract:

The reproach, often brought against the German-American, that as soon as he goes to America he becomes a citizen is unjustified. For if the German who intends to remain there does not become a citizen, he has no vote at the elections, no influence of any kind on the conduct of the Nation's political affairs. He must become an American; he is permitted, however, and can and ought in heart, thought, nature, and act to remain a German.

That is the substance of their plan—of the Pan-German plan and of the purposes of the National German-American Alliance.

STATEMENT OF MR. SUTRO—Resumed and concluded.

Senator KING. Mr. Sutro, you are the honorary president of the German-American Alliance of the State of New York, are you not?

Mr. SUTRO. Yes.

Senator KING. And have been vice president of the National German-American Alliance?

Mr. SUTRO. Yes: until the winter of 1913.

Senator KING. You have been president of the Alliance of the State of New York?

Mr. SUTRO. Yes.

Senator KING. For how many years?

Mr. SUTRO. Five years; until May, 1913.

Senator KING. Did you organize it?

Mr. SUTRO. No; I did not organize it.

Senator KING. Did you prepare its charter?

Mr. SUTRO. Yes; I did.

Senator KING. Have you the charter with you?

Mr. SUTRO. No; I have not the charter. I have the by-laws—the constitution. You did not say anything about the charter. I could not get hold of the charter—unless it is in here [indicating pamphlet].

Senator KING. Is it a charter granted by special act?

Mr. SUTRO. No; under the membership law of the State. I will try to get it for you. I do not think I have got it in here.

Senator KING. You are president and editor of the Deutsches Journal, are you not?

Mr. SUTRO. I was, up to——

Senator KING. When did you cease your connection with that paper?

Mr. SUTRO. The 1st of April—it must have been the 1st of April, 1916, I think.

Senator KING. 1916?

Mr. SUTRO. Yes. But I may add that I never controlled that paper. Mr. Hearst owned and controlled it.

Senator KING. You are the president of the German Publishing Co.?

Mr. SUTRO. Yes; of the German Publishing Society.

Senator KING. The Deutsches Journal was a German publication?

Mr. SUTRO. A German publication; yes.

Senator KING. And the German Publishing Society published German papers?

Mr. SUTRO. It only published one work in 20 volumes called "The German Classics of the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries." It is a translation from the time of Goethe up to about 1912—contemporaries.

Senator KING. Did it publish the Deutches Journal?

Mr. SUTRO. No, no; it had nothing to do with it. The Deutsches Journal was and is owned and published by William Randolph Hearst.

Senator KING. May I see that [indicating pamphlet]? Is that in German?

Mr. SUTRO. It is in German and English. I think that is the last edition [handing pamphlet to the chairman].

Senator KING. You have handed me a copy of the constitution of the German-American Alliance of the State of New York.

Mr. SUTRO. Yes; as well as the by-laws.

Senator KING. And in it I find the words "It is a member of the National German-American Alliance of the United States of America."

Mr. SUTRO. Yes.

Senator KING. Do you recall when this organization was effected, when your State Alliance was organized?

Mr. SUTRO. That was organized in, I think, 1907.

Senator KING. I find this statement as one of the aims:

The alliance as such keeps aloof from party politics but reserves the right to defend its principles vigorously, also in the field of politics, should they in any manner appear to be endangered. The alliance will initiate as well as support legislation of a general nature for the public good, if it may be assumed that it is favored by the greater part of the members of the alliance.

Your organization has lived up to those principles?

Mr. SUTRO. Yes; I think they have.

Senator KING. I find this stated as one of the aims:

The alliance recommends instruction in the German language in the public schools.

Mr. SUTRO. Yes.

Senator KING. Giving reasons. Another aim is stated as follows:

It advocates the repeal of such antiquated laws, not in accord with the spirit of the times, as hinder free intercommunication and restrict the personal liberty of the citizen.

Mr. SUTRO. Yes, sir.

Senator KING. Here is another aim:

It recommends the establishment of educational associations as centers for fostering the German language and literature, for promoting the education of those desirous of learning, and for the delivery of lectures on art, science, and topics of general interest.

Mr. SUTRO. Yes, sir.

Senator KING. I find another provision in your constitution [reading]:

The official language of the alliance shall be German.

Mr. SUTRO. Yes; that is right.

Senator KING. And your proceedings were in German?

Mr. SUTRO. Mostly.

Senator KING. Your records were in German?

Mr. SUTRO. Yes. Sometimes translations were made of parts of the records.

Senator KING. You were present at its annual meeting in the city of Utica, N. Y., in August, 1915, were you not?

Mr. SUTRO. I do not remember exactly the date, but I was at the annual meeting; yes.

Senator KING. In Utica?

Mr. SUTRO. At Utica; yes. 1915?

Senator KING. It was 1915 or 1916.

Mr. SUTRO. I think that was in 1915.

Senator KING. Yes; that is my recollection. Were you president of the organization then?

Mr. SUTRO. No; I was not.

Senator KING. What position did you hold?

Mr. SUTRO. I was honorary president.

Senator KING. And you were vice president of the national organization at that time?

Mr. SUTRO. No; I was no longer vice president at that time.

Senator KING. Do you remember that at that convention there was a large banner extending across the stage in the hall, containing the words:

United and strong!
German to the marrow!

Mr. SUTRO. There may have been. I do not remember it so distinctly as that. I think it may have been.

Senator KING. That is your best recollection, is it not?

Mr. SUTRO. That is my best recollection now. It may have been.

Senator KING. Your best recollection is that it was there?

Mr. SUTRO. Well, it may have been. I can not say that positively, Senator. It did not impress me particularly.

Senator KING. Those words would not impress you particularly?

Mr. SUTRO. Not particularly. They had always those kind of things; all sorts of——

Senator KING. They had banners of that kind with that legend?

Mr. SUTRO. Well, things of that kind: that Germans in this country should hold together for the aims that were laid down in our constitution.

Senator KING. Do you remember at that convention there were resolutions adopted expressing loyalty to the fatherland and strong expressions of fidelity to Germany in her purposes?

Mr. SUTRO. I do not think that was the purpose of it. I think the expression was rather in the way of sympathy because of the war of the world against Germany, or something of that kind. I do not think it was as strong as that.

Senator KING. Were not statements made there as follows:

We are looking to German success, and we express loyalty to the fatherland—

Or words in substance that?

Mr. SUTRO. No; I do not think we ever adopted resolutions that we were loyal to Germany—to the fatherland. Not in the sense that loyalty is generally understood, that a citizen should be loyal to his country.

Senator KING. Well, in what sense were the words "loyalty to the fatherland" used?

Mr. SUTRO. Have you the German expression there?

Senator KING. No; I have not. I have the English.

Mr. SUTRO. Now, I have the minutes of that meeting. You asked me to bring the minutes—the records, you know.

Senator KING. Yes.

Mr. SUTRO. And I have that here.

Senator KING. In German?

Mr. SUTRO. It is in German, and partly in English, I guess I will file it with you. I will have to look through that. There are so many of these things that I have not been able to to find time to refresh my memory by reading all these things; but that is a correct official record of that meeting, 1915. That was in Utica, the 23d to the 25th of July, Senator [indicating on cover of pamphlet]. You had August there.

Senator KING. I have it August; yes. [After examining pamphlet.] This is in German. I can not read it.

Mr. SUTRO. There is some English there, too. I can refer to it, but it will take your time.

Senator KING. I am going to ask you to, in a moment.

Mr. SUTRO. I am sure that we never—not when I was present—adopted resolutions of loyalty, except in the sense as I have explained, to Germany. We always made expressions of loyalty to the United States.

Senator KING. Did your organization hold two meetings in Utica, one in 1915 and one in 1916?

Mr. SUTRO. No; one in 1916, in Buffalo.

Senator KING. In Buffalo?

Mr. SUTRO. In Buffalo.

Senator KING. Have you the official records here of that meeting?

Mr. SUTRO. Yes; I have that, too. That was in Buffalo, the 2d and 3d of July, 1916. That is the official record of that [producing

another printed pamphlet]. I think in both those pamphlets are also English resolutions; that is, translations of the German.

Senator KING. In the convention at Utica your organization adopted resolutions, did it not, asking Congress to prohibit the sale and export of munitions?

Mr. SUTRO. I think they did.

Senator KING. And protesting against giving passports to be used by Americans to travel upon the vessels of other nations?

Mr. SUTRO. No; only, so far as I recall, to Americans who would travel——

Senator KING. On the vessels of belligerents?

Mr. SUTRO. On passenger ships of belligerents carrying contraband of war.

Senator KING. And to prohibit belligerent vessels from transporting American citizens from point to point on the American coast?

Mr. SUTRO. I do not recall that. I would have to refer to the official records—the minutes.

Senator KING. You also adopted a resolution, did you not, seeking to prohibit national banks acting as agents for any country in selling war bonds?

Mr. SUTRO. Are you referring to 1915 now?

Senator KING. Well, either of those conventions.

Mr. SUTRO. I really do not recollect. I would have to refer to the record.

Senator KING. Have you the record there?

Mr. SUTRO. You have the record for 1915 and also that for 1916 there. I will translate any of those, if you will give me time to look them through.

Senator KING. I find, recurring to that banner that you had there, the legend upon it is printed in your minutes at page 47——

Mr. SUTRO. Will you let me have it, and I will translate it for you? Of course, I can not remember all these things unless I have time and opportunity to refresh my memory from the minutes.

Senator KING. Does not that mean "United and strong! German to the marrow!"? You find it, do you not, published prominently there in two lines [indicating in pamphlet]?

Mr. SUTRO. Yes; I have it. I want to see who proposed that. Yes; I see that. [After further examination of the pamphlet.] That was the secretary of the nominating committee reported that.

Senator KING. Reported what?

Mr. SUTRO. He reported—they always had a nominating committee, you know, and the secretary of that nominating committee——

Senator KING. In what connection did he use those words?

Mr. SUTRO. Well, he does say that, that there was such a banner.

Senator KING. Read it, please.

Mr. SUTRO. That there was such a banner; yes.

Senator KING. Yes. There was such a banner, then?

Mr. SUTRO. Yes; I think so. I should say so, from this.

Senator KING. Your minutes state it, do they not?

Mr. SUTRO. He says that in accord with the proverb which was hung in the convention he would like to say—he proposed this: "United and strong! German to the marrow!" That is right. But I think that he must have referred to the officers that the nominating committee reported for that committee.

Senator KING. You will leave these copies of the minutes of these two conventions, and we will translate or have translated such portions as the committee may deem relevant and we may put them into the record.

Mr. SUTRO. If I may, I would like to say that when any of these branches, or the National Alliance itself, used the word "German" they meant simply, not in the political sense—that "German to the marrow"—as German citizens of Germany, but simply as German in the general sense that I have testified at the last hearing: German in the best sense; whatever was admirable in the German people, in the language or the literature or the gymnastics, and things of that kind—the social life, and matters of that kind.

Senator KING. Mr. Weismann was there, was he not?

Mr. SUTRO. Yes.

Senator KING. And Mr. Koelble?

Mr. SUTRO. As near as I remember, he was not there. I think that he was in Europe. I think he was in Germany.

Senator KING. I asked you specifically if there was not a banner containing those words, and after I handed you the minutes you seemed to convey the idea in your testimony that the secretary or some nominating committee used these words. Is it not a fact that the paragraph there shows that these words were on a shield——

Mr. SUTRO. Yes; I said that.

Senator KING (continuing). Or a banner?

Mr. SUTRO. But he repeated those words, and he said that in conformity with this proverb which was displayed in the convention; and by reading that my recollection was refreshed. There are so many thousand things that have occurred that it is impossible to remember all those things. I will translate the whole thing if you want it.

Senator KING. Read that paragraph, please [handing pamphlet to the witness and indicating].

Mr. SUTRO. In English?

Senator KING. No; in German.

Mr. SUTRO (translating):

The nominating committee through its secretary reported that it had, after thorough consultation and consideration, united itself in harmony with the proverb which on a shield in the convention had been displayed to all the delegates as a——

Senator KING. "Warning"?

Mr. SUTRO. No; it is not "warning".

Senator KING. "Reminder"?

Mr. SUTRO. "Reminder"; yes.

Mr. SAMUEL RUSSELL. "Admonition"?

Mr. SUTRO. "Admonition"; that is right. And then he used those words. There is a colon, and then he used those words:

Einig und stark
Deutsch bis zum Mark.

Then he goes on [continuing translating]:

and had decided to fill the places of the officers as follows.

Senator KING. Yes.

Mr. SUTRO. Shall I translate more?

Senator KING. It was just those words I was inquiring about.

Mr. SUTRO. There was no resolution taken about it. I do not really understand why he said that. It seems to me inappropriate, whether he referred to the members in the committee or whether the officers should be——

Senator KING. Yes; but the point I am inquiring about is, You had a banner?

Mr. SUTRO. Yes; there was such a thing.

Senator KING. And in that convention?

Mr. SUTRO. Yes; I remember it now.

Senator KING. With those words upon it?

Mr. SUTRO. Yes; it was a shield, he says there. I do not remember that. I did not notice it.

Senator KING. There was a meeting of the officers of the alliance of your State in September of last year, was there not?

Mr. SUTRO. Yes; that was of the board of directors—the executive committee.

Senator KING. Yes.

Mr. SUTRO. That is 1917.

Senator KING. Yes; that is what I say. You were editor at that time, were you not, of the Deutsches Journal?

Mr. SUTRO. No. The 1st of April, 1916, I had ceased being connected with that paper altogether. In fact, I might say that I claimed that my contract had not run out at that time, but that it continued until the end of that year.

Senator KING. During your editorship, or during the period that you claimed the right to control the paper under your contract, Mr. Henry Weismann wrote to that paper, under the nom de plume of "Pro Bono Publico," a circular which was published?

Mr. SUTRO. What was the date of that?

Senator KING. 1916.

Mr. SUTRO. I was not connected with it, you know, after the 1st of April, 1916——

Senator KING. The 1st of April of what year?

Mr. SUTRO. 1916. I was president and nominally editor in 1913, 1914, and 1915, and up to the 1st of April, 1916.

Senator KING. You remember a circular which was put out by Mr. Weismann, the president of the organization, and published in this newspaper just before the election of 1916?

Mr. SUTRO. Was it signed "Pro Bono Publico," or did he sign it?

Senator KING. No; I was mistaken about that; he signed it, but it was entitled "Pro Bono Publico."

Mr. SUTRO. If I saw it I did not read it. It may have been in the paper at that time.

Senator KING. It was a circular in which the members of the National Alliance were urged to vote against a certain man for the Presidency.

Mr. SUTRO. Well, I do not remember that, Senator, exactly. If I saw it, I could tell you. I may have seen it; I do not know. I did not keep in touch with these——

Senator KING. What action did your organization and its president take in respect to the election of 1916?

Mr. SUTRO. The New York State Alliance?

Senator KING. Yes.

Mr. SUTRO. The New York State Alliance, as far as I recollect, did not take any formal action about it; but then, I think, there was a feeling that the members would not vote for Mr. Wilson or for Roosevelt.

Senator KING. Did not the organization and the local organ of the organization affirmatively take the stand against the election of Mr. Wilson?

Mr. SUTRO. Well, there was no organ of the New York State Alliance. If you refer to the Deutsches Journal, yes. Mr. Weismann also may have done so. Very likely he did.

Senator KING. Were you not participating in the meetings of the leaders of the organization——

Mr. SUTRO. Not always.

Senator KING (continuing). To secure that result?

Mr. SUTRO. It was my opinion also——

Senator KING. I am not asking you about your opinion; I am just trying to find out about the activities of the organization.

Mr. SUTRO. I do not think there were any activities of the organization in that respect at all. I think that the members were advised to vote against Mr. Wilson.

Senator KING. Yes; by Mr. Weismann, president of the organization?

Mr. SUTRO. I think very likely, but not as president; but I can not say positively. I can not go into that. I have no doubt that many members voted against Wilson; I will put it as strong as I can.

Senator KING. Were you present at a meeting of "The Friends of Peace," so called, in Chicago in 1915?

Mr. SUTRO. No; I was not; I took no part in that.

Senator KING. In September of 1917 you and the members of your organization took a conspicuous part in the municipal election, did you not, Mr. Sutro?

Mr. SUTRO. Well, I can only say again what I said before. I do not think the organization did, but I took some interest in it.

Senator KING. Is it not a fact that the German-American Alliance was addressed by you, and you urged the members of that organization to vote the Socialist ticket?

Mr. SUTRO. Not at a meeting. After the meeting had adjourned I took the floor and I advocated that; yes.

Senator KING. A meeting of the alliance?

Mr. SUTRO. No; not the alliance. In 1917 we had no annual meeting—no convention. It was only the executive committee.

Senator KING. The executive committee of the alliance?

Mr. SUTRO. Yes.

Senator KING. You met and agreed not to hold a State convention?

Mr. SUTRO. Well, that was the final—yes; that was the resolution.

Senator KING. But at that meeting the executive committee affirmatively acted upon the question of the municipal elections in New York?

Mr. SUTRO. No; they did not, Senator. They did not do anything at all. Those were my views at that time. I may say that the reason I did that was because I thought that that candidate for mayor was the best of the three.

Senator KING. You urged the members of the German-American Alliance, then, to vote the Socialist ticket?

Mr. SUTRO. What is that?

Senator KING. I say, you urged the members of the German-American Alliance to vote the Socialist ticket?

Mr. SUTRO. I advised the members that were assembled there—the directors—after the meeting had adjourned, to do that, to vote for—what is his name? I can not think of his name.

Senator KING. Morris Hillquit.

Mr. SUTRO. Hillquit; yes. I thought he would make the best mayor.

Senator KING. He was notoriously pro-German, was he not?

Mr. SUTRO. No; I do not know that.

Senator KING. And hostile to England?

Mr. SUTRO. Yes; I think hostile to England. Now, wait a minute. I will not say that. No; I can not say that either.

Senator KING. And hostile to the United States in the prosecution of the war?

Mr. SUTRO. So far as I heard him speak at the convention, or mass meetings, rather—I attended two mass meetings, and he was urging strongly the cessation of the war and urging peace.

Senator KING. Yes; urging peace.

Mr. SUTRO. Yes.

Senator KING. And urging the withdrawal of our troops and the suspension of any further effort upon the part of our Government to prosecute the war?

Mr. SUTRO. He did not say that. He simply said that they wanted peace.

Senator KING. Yes. Well, he wanted our Government to stop any further preparations for war?

Mr. SUTRO. He did not say that.

Senator KING. You so understood that that was his position, did you not?

Mr. SUTRO. No; not necessarily. I understood that he was in favor of peace, probably when it could be had honorably. I do not know, of course, what his thoughts were. That is the way he expressed it.

Senator KING. You understood that he was not favorable to the continuation of the war so far as our Government was concerned, did you not?

Mr. SUTRO. I did not understand that he meant that the war should stop immediately, but that he was in favor of peace. The Socialist doctrine, so far as I understand it—I am not a Socialist—is against war, anyway.

Senator KING. Yes.

Mr. SUTRO. They are opposed to war.

Senator KING. The members of the State Alliance are not Socialists, are they?

Mr. SUTRO. No; not at all. May I explain why I urged it? May I do that?

Senator KING. If you care to make any explanation.

Mr. SUTRO. The only reason that I advocated that Morris Hillquit should become mayor was because I thought that Mr. Mitchel had made a failure and I did not know enough of Hylan to recommend him; so that when I made the acquaintance of Hillquit and heard his utterances in regard to how the city should be governed, I advised and recommended that they should vote for him.

Senator KING. Did you not state to a reporter of the New York Tribune as follows:

"I did address the members of the alliance and urged them to vote the Socialist ticket this fall. I have made addresses before various organizations in New York urging them to vote for socialistic candidates."

"Why did you urge them to vote for Socialists?"

"Because I am disgusted with the old parties. I haven't any confidence in them. That's all I will say."

Mr. SUTRO. Yes; at that time that was my sentiment and I said that.

Senator KING. Then that interview was correct and as you gave it to the New York Tribune?

Mr. SUTRO. Yes. I told the reporter that over the telephone. That is exactly correct, as I said.

Senator KING. Did Mr. Weismann and other members of the executive committee of your alliance take the same course that you did?

Mr. SUTRO. I do not think Mr. Weismann did. He seemed to be in sympathy with my views on that subject, but he finally voted for Mr. Hylan. I think he worked for his election, too. I want to say that I did not recommend or urge a vote for the whole Socialist ticket as such, but only, so far as I remember, particularly for the candidate for mayor, Mr. Hillquit. I thought I had the right to do that as an American citizen.

Senator KING. Do you know Mr. Sanders, the secretary of Mr. Weismann?

Mr. SUTRO. No; I do not.

Senator KING. You knew of him, did you not?

Mr. SUTRO. No; I do not know him at all. I do not think I ever saw him or corresponded with him. Sanders?

Senator KING. Do you know the secretary of Mr. Weismann?

Mr. SUTRO. No; I do not. No; I do not know him at all. I do not know even that—is not that his firm, Weismann & Sanders, or something? Is not that his firm? I do not——

Senator KING. You have been for years an attorney for German corporations doing business in New York?

Mr. SUTRO. Not particularly for German corporations. I have been attorney for more American corporations than German corporations. I was for a time—that was years ago—in a firm, the firm of Salomon, Dulon & Sutro, and that firm had a very large German clientage; and that is probably what you have in mind. But when that firm was dissolved I had not necessarily German clients. I had a great many other clients.

Senator KING. In your personal biography here you state, do you not, that you are attorney for large German interests in this country [indicating pages 847–849 in Das Buch der Deutschen in Amerika, published in Philadelphia, 1909]?

Mr. SUTRO. Yes [examining book]; that is what it says.

Senator KING. You state that, do you not?

Mr. SUTRO. Well, I said—well, I did not say this, anyway. That biography was made up from, no doubt, notes that I sent them.

Senator KING. Yes.

Mr. SUTRO. It says [translating]:

His law practice greatly increased, especially in the years 1889–1894, among the largest German-American commercial houses and corporate enterprises.

I just explained that I was at that time in the firm of Salomon, Dulon & Sutro and that they had a very large German clientage in the city.

Senator KING. By that you meant Germans who lived in Germany and who had interests here?

Mr. SUTRO. No. At that time that firm—especially Mr. Salomon; Edward Salomon, who was the governor of Wisconsin during the Civil War—had a very large German clientage in New York; among others the German Savings Bank, the German-American Bank, the Germania Life Insurance Co., and the large German commercial houses; and we were also—the firm also were—counsel for the German consul general and the Austrian consul general and for the Swiss consulate. But that was only from 1889 to 1894. I think it was the most prominent German firm in the country; that is, composed of German-American citizens. I might say that all three of the partners were born in Germany. I think I came as the youngest of the three partners when I came over to this country—only 5 years old. Mr. Dulon, I think, was also a child when he came over, and Mr. Salomon was practically most of his life an American citizen.

Senator KING. It is not important to go into Mr. Salomon's matters. I just wanted to inquire about your connection with German corporations.

Mr. SUTRO. Yes. I might say, which you asked me before, my practice now is more among other clients than among German-Americans. It is much more——

Senator KING. I think that is all, Mr. Sutro.

Mr. SUTRO. All right, sir.

Senator KING. Thank you very much.

I will say that Mr. Sutro came to-day at the request of the committee. You are excused, Mr. Sutro.

Mr. SUTRO. May I state something else?

Senator KING. Yes.

Mr. SUTRO. I find I have also the record of that meeting of the executive committee in 1917, you know, in September. Would you like to have that?

Senator KING. Yes.

Mr. SUTRO. All right, here it is [handing pamphlet to the chairman].

(In a letter to the clerk, written on April 29, 1918, Mr. Sutro submitted the following memorandum, asking that it be inserted in the record of the hearings, and it was ordered inserted:)

Now that the hearings on the bill (S. 3529) to repeal the Act entitled "An Act to incorporate the National German-American Alliance," approved February twenty-fifth, nineteen hundred and seven, are about to close I ask permission of the subcommittee to file and make a part of the record of the hearings this memorandum, as a succinct summary of the views which I have expressed in answer to questions put to me by the committee and partly also of my own accord in previous remarks at the hearing, bearing on the loyalty of the members of the National German-American Alliance and its branches in striving to realize the aims and objects laid down in the charter of the National German-American Alliance and in the respective charters of the various State alliances.

I can not express my opinion better in that regard as I reflect upon the various activities of the National Alliance and the State and local alliances, in so far as the question of the loyalty of their members has been brought out at the hearings before the committee and at the same time as an admonition to American citizens of German birth or descent as to the stand they should take for the future, whether members

of the Alliance or not, as substantially expressed in my own remarks and answers to the questions of the committee at the hearings, than in the words of Prof. Dr. Kuno Francke, of Harvard University, as follows:

"Where do I stand? Although I deeply deplored the tragic chain of circumstances and events which a year ago forced the United States into the European war, I have now come to believe that the participation of the United States in this war, provided the unselfish principles enunciated by President Wilson are strictly adhered to, will eventually make for a peace more democratic, equitable, and permanent than otherwise would have been the case. Sadly, therefore, but unreservedly, I accept the fact that Germany for the time being is my country's enemy, and I am determined to uphold our Government in its policy of forcing Germany, and for that matter all the belligerents, to accept a peace which will indeed make the world safe for democracy.

"While I thus pledge myself to the support of our Government in this war, I can not have anything in common with the fanatics who make it their business to inflame the people indiscriminately against Germany and everything German. I thoroughly believe in the ideals of American democracy and rejoice in our free institutions and the liberal and generous spirit of American life. But I must also recognize that the German system of Government has achieved great things in the training of the German people in good citizenship and public service, as well as in raising the level of personal worth and attainment. I thoroughly sympathize with the parliamentary parties in Germany which are striving to obtain for the people a larger share in directing its policies; but it would seem to me utterly futile to attempt to bring about this democratization of German public life by force from without. What I hope for is that American ideals of popular activity and American sympathy with the German progressive parties will help these parties to win their fight against the reactionaries and thus to open the way for a peace in accordance with the dictates of popular rights and common humanity."

May I add finally that the best proof of the loyalty of all the members of the National German-American Alliance as citizens of the United States is that, even before the hearings before the committee had been finally closed, the National Alliance and many of the State and local alliances had practically disbanded of their own accord. I say this without commenting or expressing any opinion about the advisability or wisdom of these voluntary steps, either from a practical or legal point of view.

Senator KING. I want to put into the record a statement from the recorder of deeds of the District of Columbia.

(The letter referred to is as follows:)

OFFICE OF THE RECORDER OF DEEDS,
Washington, D. C., February 21, 1918.

Hon. WILLIAM H. KING,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SENATOR: Acknowledging the receipt of your letter of the 19th instant, inclosing copy of a bill approved February 25, 1907, incorporating the National German-American Alliance, I have the honor to state that the records of this office do not contain the constitution of said organization or any papers or documents relating thereto.

Very respectfully,

JOHN F. COSTELLO,
Recorder of Deeds, District of Columbia.

Senator KING. I desire to put in the record a statement from Prof. John Firman Coar, who is now connected with the University of Alberta, Edmonton.

(The letter referred to is here printed in the record in full, as follows)

UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA,
Edmonton, April 1, 1918.

Hon. WILLIAM H. KING,
Senate Chamber, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SENATOR: Replying to your inquiry of the 25th last, I have the following to report:

In the fall, winter, and spring of 1911–12 I was the accredited representative of the Germanistic Society of America, in Germany, lecturing at some of the principal universities of that country and in many of its important cities. The purpose of my lectures was to carry out one of the aims of the Germanistic Society, an aim which

had been totally neglected until I refused to accept election to its board of directors unless it were pursued. This aim was to familiarize Germans with American ideals. In previous years the activities of the Germanistic Society of America were confined to German propaganda in our country.

By reason of the activities pursued by the society and of the fact that I represented the society in Germany, it happened that the ends to be achieved by the German propaganda in the United States were freely discussed in my hearing. Possibly the further facts that I lectured in the German language and could use that language quite as fluently as a native German, that I was a professor of German in America, and that I received my education (from my 12th to 21st year) in Germany, and, indeed, was born in Berlin (though of American parents temporarily resident there), contributed to the belief that I was in full sympathy with the German propaganda in America.

This propaganda, so far as I came in touch with it, was carried on by the Verein für das Deutschtum im Ausland, the successor of the Deutscher Lehrer Verein. The society may or may not have been subsidized by the Imperial German Government. Of this I have no direct knowledge. Its general purpose or aim was to prevent the denationalization of German emigrants—

(*a*) By the maintenance of the German language and German traditions among emigrants in foreign lands.

(*b*) By the establishment and maintenance of German schools, i. e., schools patterned after German models, using textbooks prepared either in Germany or under suggestions given by the central body (the aforesaid Verein für das Deutschtum), and employing German as the school language.

(*c*) By segregating the German emigrant population, both socially and politically.

(*d*) By the creation of a distinct political party out of this emigrant population, or, failing this, by the establishment of organizations, ostensibly social or educational, sufficiently influential to swing the so-called German vote in favor of those candidates or those measures which lined up with the policies of Imperial Germany.

(*e*) By putting through a law enabling German emigrants, while becoming and acting as citizens of another nation, to retain their supreme allegiance to the German Empire.

N. B.—A law embodying this principle of dual citizenship, though not to the full extent desired, was adopted, as you know, in 1912, the so-called Delbrück law.

(*f*) By establishing in this fashion potent agencies that would, in the anticipated conflict between Germany (Austria) and England-France, either swing a great nation like ours into line with the German cause or, at least, force such a nation to remain benevolently neutral.

All the purposes just enumerated were frankly discussed with me (as one presumably favoring them) by officers of the said verein, its acting secretary and its president (his excellency von Hentig). Indeed, in the course of these discussions my advice was asked how to make more effective the work in hand and how to hasten it. These officials and influential members seemed to be in doubt as to the attitude which would be taken by German-Americans in the coming war, and more especially as to their ability to enforce their views politically. I was told that during the last six years (I believe the number was larger) the said verein had operating in the United States no less than 36 secret agents in any one year. In some years this number was larger. This assertion was confirmed when two of these agents were sent to my chambers to confer with me. One of these agents was assigned to purpose (*b*), the other to purpose (*d*), as enumerated above.

Of course, the German-American Alliance was frequently mentioned; so was the Deutscher Lehrerverein (the latter being, in fact, the American branch of the verein of whose aims I have spoken); so was the Germanistic Society of America, and the Deutscher Lehrer Seminar of Milwaukee, the German Lutheran parochial schools, etc.

After my return to America, in the late spring of 1912, I communicated the foregoing facts to our Department of State, at the same time resigning from all associations or clubs that seemed to me to have any connection with the German propaganda. I also told the facts to Prof. W. H. Carpenter, now provost of Columbia University, who assured me that they, and more too, were known to President Nicholas M. Butler.

Though I can not say of my own knowledge that the German-American Alliance or any similar associations were directly controlled or subsidized by the Imperial German Government—in fact, I doubt it—I can assert my conviction that all these societies were merely tools in the hands of German officials. The go-betweens were many, but its ultimate guidance was centered in Berlin. Free, luxurious passage on the great steamers of the Hamburg-American or the North German Lloyd were always at the disposal of anybody traveling in the interest of the Germanistic Society of America or of similar societies.

For over 20 years I have been opposed to the German propaganda in our country, first, because I, though a professor of German, was convinced beyond any peradventure that this propaganda could only impede thorough Americanization of our German-born population; secondly, because it was un-American in principle and if adopted by other racial groups would spell the disintegration of our national life, and, finally, because intimate association with German-Americans connected, in one way or the other, with the propaganda showed me its thoroughly vicious influence.

I may not have given you the kind of facts which your letter evidently assumes to be in my possession in the case of the German-American Alliance. But that troubles me very little. The principle involved is the important thing and the principle is dead wrong. Camouflaged Germanism should be put out of action in our country. Almost single-handed I have fought it in our colleges and universities, even to the point where it became necessary for me to connect myself with a Canadian university simply because my Americanism was a bar to my professional career in the United States. Just at present it is good policy for the German-American Alliance and similar organizations to be quiescent or to put on a patriotic camouflage. But do you imagine for a single moment that, with the coming of peace, the old vicious activity will not be renewed? A society that took the stand taken by the German-American Alliance prior to April, 1917, that did its utmost to betray American ideals and to bedevil German-American sentiment, is not a society that should be allowed to remain in existence.

In closing permit me to say that I shall be in Washington early in May, just as soon as my lecture engagements in Canada and the States permit, probably about May 4. I shall be very glad to appear before your committee and to state any facts within my knowledge or to argue in behalf of any proposal that will prevent the continuance or the revival of an un-American propaganda.

Faithfully yours,

JOHN FIRMAN COAR.

Senator KING. I submit for the record a letter written by Dr. Hexamer, president of the Alliance, dated Philadelphia, October 12, 1916. The letter is in German, and the translation is as follows:

DEAR SIR: As our National Alliance dare not give a cent for the election of a Federal officer without the president and all the directors, etc., under paragraphs 83 and 37 of the Federal criminal statutes of the United States, becoming liable to imprisonment and money fine, so I for this letter write upon my private letter paper.

The contents of the inclosure [inclosed open letter] speaks for itself.

The time has now come when the German-Americans must come out and openly and fearlessly declare themselves for Hughes and Fairbanks. If Wilson should be elected our political powerlessness would be proven, and we would for a long time to come be made absolutely powerless.

With hearty greetings,

C. J. HEXAMER.

That letter was sent to the editor of the German Herold at Sioux Falls, the editor of which was president of the South Dakota German-American Alliance.

During the hearings Jacob Frohwerk testified. The committee had no information as to who Mr. Frohwerk was, but later were advised that he was connected with a German paper and had been arrested for a violation of the espionage act. The clerk to the committee wrote to the United States district attorney for the western district of Missouri, requesting information and a copy of the complaint against Mr. Frohwerk. In reply, the district attorney wrote that Jacob Frohwerk and Carl Gleeser "are bound over to await the action of the grand jury at the April term of court", growing out of a "series of articles published in the Missouri Staats-Zeitung between June 5 and December 14, 1917, all calculated to violate section 3 of Title I of the Espionage Act".

The district attorney says:

My information is that the newspaper in question was owned solely by Carl Gleeser, but that Jacob Frohwerk did practically all the editorial writing and jointly with Gleeser passed upon the advisability of publishing the various matters therein contained.

The letter is signed by Francis M. Wilson, United States Attorney. A copy of the information is submitted by him and is here offered in evidence, the committee believing it to be relevant and pertinent to the matter under consideration, in view of Mr. Frohwerk's statements made to the committee.

(The copy of the information referred to is here printed in the record in full, as follows:)

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
Western District of Missouri, western division, ss.:

Before me, Roy B. Thomson, a United States commissioner for the western district of Missouri, western division, personally appeared this day Arthur T. Bagley, who being first duly sworn deposes and says that on or about the 7th day of December, A. D. 1917, at Kansas City, in Jackson County, Mo., and within the division and district aforesaid, one Carl Gleeser and one Jacob Frohwerk, in violation of section 3 of Title 1 of the act of Congress approved June 15, 1917, entitled: "An act to punish acts of interference with the foreign relations, the neutrality, and the foreign commerce of the United States, to punish espionage, and better to enforce the criminal laws of the United States, and for other purposes," did unlawfully, willfully, and feloniously make and convey false reports and false statements with intent to interfere with the operation and success of the military and naval forces of the United States and to promote the success of its enemies, and did willfully, unlawfully, and feloniously cause and attempt to cause insubordination, disloyalty, mutiny, and refusal of duty in the military and naval forces of the United States, and did willfully, unlawfully, and feloniously obstruct the recruiting and enlistment service of the United States to the injury of the service and of the United States, the United States of America being then and there at war with the Imperial Government of Germany, in that they, the said Carl Gleeser and Jacob Frohwerk, did then and there unlawfully, willfully, and feloniously prepare, print, publish, distribute, circulate, and convey, and did then and there cause to be prepared, printed, published, distributed, circulated, and conveyed in and by means of a certain newspaper designated and entitled "Missouri Staats-Zeitung" the following false, seditious statements and reports, to-wit:

"Mr. Wilson's message may be joyfully received in England, France and Italy. But after the average American has read through the labyrinth of high sounding sentences he comes to the conclusion that they contain not a word of either cheer or hope to him. For almost nine long months now he has borne great sacrifices for this war. He has given his boys, complied with the request for a meatless and wheatless day each week, subscribed twice to a liberty loan, contributed to the Red Cross, and numerous other funds, and worst of all, he has seen day by day the cost of living going up and almost getting beyond his reach. He felt that it was due him to be remembered for all this in the President's message, his sacrifices recognized and some hope held out to him as to how the future of his beloved nation would be bettered and enriched by his efforts, and how soon he might expect it to be all over so he might resume the peaceful tenor of his ways."

"I am bitterly against this war. I think our entrance into it was the most monstrous treachery to the people of the United States that has ever happened. I don't care at all about hindering the conduct of this war. I want to stop it here and now, immediately if not sooner. I feel as I do because I feel we were plunged into it, betrayed into it by officials knowingly acting against the people's will; because I feel our going to war to be absolutely of no benefit to the people of the United States; because I feel on the contrary, that it is and will be of vital detriment to every interest of the people. I very clearly differentiate between patriotism to the people of the United States and patriotism to big business and the administration of the United States government which has served and is serving its interests. And yet it is a very bitter thing to me not to be able to climb on the band wagon and listen to the lovely siren music of our so called patriotism."

"Of course, I realize that if the Kaiser conquers this country they will lose the chance to vote for a President who kept us out of war only to plunge us in without any consultation of the people. But if we are conquered wouldn't the Kaiser do that for us just as well? Also we lose a lot of rights like the right to throw ashes or garbage in our alleys and to do a lot of unhygienic things like that, but wouldn't that be better for us?"

"The Central Powers are carrying on a defensive war, and they have from the very beginning. They have succeeded in keeping the enemies from the soil of the fatherland and will do so in the future. The Central Powers are not responsible for the continuation of the war, and will insist upon the consequence of the butchery and destruction of property being borne by those responsible for it—the Allies."

. That the said newspaper was then and there a newspaper of general circulation, prepared, printed and published by the said Carl Gleeser and Jacob Frohwerk in Kansas City, Jackson County, Mo., and distributed, circulated and conveyed in Kansas City, Mo., and in other States and Territories of the United States; contrary to the form of the statute in such case made and provided and against the peace and dignity of the United States.

_____.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 25th day of January, A. D. 1918.

_____,

United States Commissioner as aforesaid.

Senator KING. I also put into the record at this point an open letter written by Mr. Frohwerk and published in English in the German paper of which the district attorney says Mr. Frohwerk was the editor—the Neue Kansas Staats-Zeitung, at Kansas City, Mo.—under date of May 26, 1916.

(The matter referred to is here printed in the record in full, as follows:).

AN OPEN LETTER TO SENATOR THOMPSON, OF KANSAS.

MY DEAR SENATOR: I have your letter in which you acknowledge the receipt of my telegram asking you to do all in your power to keep this country out of the European war. I am indeed gratified that you in your letter take the identical position for peace as I do. It is for this very reason, however, that I feel impelled to address you again to inquire why it was that you did not arise in the Senate to defend our right to petition our Representatives in Congress, when Senator Husting from Wisconsin attacked the senders of these telegrams and impugned not only their motives but their loyalty. Instead of doing so, you assisted the Senator from Wisconsin in his attacks by pointing out the similarity in the language of these telegrams as though this might be a suspicious if not an incriminating circumstance. Have you ever in a like manner assailed the similarity in the language of petitions for prohibition that have reached you, and will you kindly explain to me wherein exists the difference in petitions mailed or telegraphed to you?

Why, then, if our telegram met your views regarding peace, did you assist the Senator from Wisconsin in assailing our loyalty and our motives?

And again, dear Senator, if you are really sincere in your assurances that you are for peace, why did you not vote for Senator Gore's resolution warning American citizens from traveling upon armed ships of the belligerent European nations?

Would not such a warning have gone a long way toward assuring us the peace you so much desire? Of course, you will say that in so voting you stood by the President of the United States and for the rights of American citizens. Senator, almost at the very moment you shouted yourself hoarse for Americans' rights to travel on armed ships the State Department was sending out another proclamation warning American citizens against staying in Mexico. Are not the rights of American citizens in Mexico identical with their rights to travel on armed ships of warring nations?

I maintain the latter to be at least a technical right open for discussion and argument; how about you, Senator?

If you are so deeply concerned about the rights of American citizens, why have you until now quietly submitted to the outrage committed by England, prohibiting American citizens from freely trading with all nations? Why, sir, have you not protested when your constituents, the Kansas farmers, were deprived from selling their wheat and the products of their farms to the hundred and more millions of consumers living within the limits of the central powers in Europe?

Don't you know that by your failure to do your sworn duty as their representative in Congress, you have assisted in reducing their legitimate income from their labor? Why didn't you uphold their rights and the rights of your manufacturing and importing constituents the same as you upheld the questionable right of some adventurous American traveler? I call your attention to a letter, in which Mr. Wm. Taft as president of the American Red Cross Society complains to the State Department that the English Government has refused permission for Red Cross supplies to be shipped to the central powers. I am sure you can not have read that letter without your cheeks burning with shame for the indignity offered not only to mere American rights, but to rights specifically recognized and guaranteed by the Geneva convention. What have you done about it? Senator! You have repeatedly indorsed the administration of President Wilson. I ask you, is not the Wilson administration directly responsible for these lamentable and shameful conditions of affairs? Can you as an

American citizen say with an abiding faith that this administration has upheld the rights of American citizens with equal justice and impartiality?

And remember, Senator, that during all the time, beginning with August, 1914, that American rights have been permitted by the administration to be abused by England in this shameless manner, the administration could have righted this grievous wrong by promptly ordering an embargo upon shipments of war ammunition in retaliation.

As to how the honor of this Nation has been kept, permit me to only quote one single instance.

The day after the declaration of war the wireless stations at Tuckerton and Sayville owned by private German firms were closed by order of President Wilson while the Marconi station owned by English firms remained unmolested.

The two German stations were later on reopened but placed under strict censorship, while no such restriction was placed upon either the English station, nor the English cables, nor the wires to Canada. Article 8 of The Hague international agreement, ratified by the United States on February 23, 1909, specifically provides, that a neutral nation is not bound to order such restriction, regardless whether the stations or cables are privately owned or owned by the State.

But article 9 of the same agreement makes it the duty of a nation, having ordered such restriction, to extend that same order to the wireless stations, cables, and wires of all belligerent nations alike.

I could continue quoting ad libitum instance after instance where our honor has been outraged and our neutrality violated. Do you indorse such palpable wrongs?

You have time and again declared your intention to stand by the President. This is proper and correct as long as the President stands for the honor, the rights, the dignity, and a truly impartial neutrality of the American Nation. This the President has not done, and I for one ask you to now stand by the American people.

It's them, or at least that part of them who live in the State of Kansas, who have elected you and which you represent, not Mr. Wilson.

And your constituents ask of you not for a pro-German or a pro-British, but a pro-American policy. This neither you nor Mr. Wilson have given them so far. As one of your constituents I consider it not only my right, but my duty to inform you of the facts as they are and to call your attention to your sworn duty.

In closing I assure you, dear Senator, that your answer to me shall receive the same wide publicity among your constituents as has this letter to you.

Respectfully yours,

JACOB FROHWERK.

(At this point, at 10.45 o'clock a. m., a recess was taken to enable the committee to attend the session of the Senate; and at 11.05 o'clock a. m. the subcommittee resumed its session.)

Senator KING. I desire to place in the record a letter received by me, which is as follows:

GERMANTOWN, PHILADELPHIA, PA., *March 18, 1918.*

Hon. WILLIAM H. KING,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Pardon my intruding upon your valuable time, but as a citizen of Germantown, the first German settlement in this country, I am interested in the investigation you have in hand of the German-American Alliance. Several years ago they appropriated $25,000 toward a monument to the early German settlers to be erected here and secured a similar amount from Congress.

It was to have been dedicated last spring, but we kicked against Hexamer acting as chairman of the affair or having anything to do with it. They kicked back pretty hard. but the affair was postponed and the monument boarded up. A man signing himself J. B. M.—I suppose J. B. Mayer—tried hard to tear me up the back in one of our local papers.

These people have no sympathy for the aims and character of the early settlers, but, I am persuaded, wanted to use this occasion for propaganda purposes. I write to ask if it is possible to ascertain whether the $25,000 was collected from members for this purpose or came out of the propaganda fund?

We may have to have another tilt with the near-Prussians here, and I want to be prepared. Thank you for anything you may be able to do while you have access to the books.

Respectfully,

EDW. B. PHILLIPS.

As a matter of historical information the subcommittee puts into the record a clipping from the Cleveland (Ohio) News of July 6, 1917. (The matter referred to is as follows:)

45 LANGUAGES USED IN HOMES IN CLEVELAND.

Forty-five different languages or dialects are spoken in Cleveland homes, it is shown in a tabulation of school census reports made by Mrs. Sarah E. Hyre, school board clerk.

Reports made out by all school children in the city show 55,268 families are represented in the schools. Of this number, English is spoken in 31,916 homes.

The reports show Bohemian is spoken in 5,495 homes, German in 4,707, Polish in 3,052, Yiddish in 2,633, Slavish in 2,460, Hungarian in 2,213, Italian in 1,427, Croatian in 249, Lithuanian in 236, Greiner in 218, Russian in 106, Swedish in 100, and a miscellaneous scattering of languages in 456 other homes.

The school census for this year will show 195,000 youths between 6 and 20, Mrs. Hyre says. This will be a gain of 11,000 over last year.

"Most of this gain has come from the small towns around Cleveland," says Mrs. Hyre.

The enrollment of 195,000 boys and girls between 6 and 20 means a population for Cleveland of 867,000, according to Mrs. Hyre.

The cosmopolitan type of Cleveland's population is shown by the fact that in some wards there are more non-English homes represented in the schools than English.

Ward 14 has 1,361 homes in which Polish is spoken and only 690 homes in which English is the tongue used. Ward 15 has 2,384 homes in which Bohemian is spoken and only 1,480 in which English is spoken.

Ward 12 shows 1,385 homes in which Yiddish is spoken, 1,143 in which Bohemian is spoken, and only 971 in which English is used.

Senator KING. The committee is in possession of a circular issued by the Michigan German-American Alliance, which, translated, is as follows:

DETROIT, *March, 1915.*

To the MEMBERS OF THE STAATSVERBAND MICHIGAN,
German-American National Alliance.

DEAR BROTHERS: In its executive meeting held in Detroit on the 9th instant the Staatsverband Michigan has passed resolutions providing for the enlightenment of its members in regard to the bearing of the provisions of the constitutional amendment upon woman suffrage, which will be voted upon on the next 7th of April.

More than ever the Staatsverband sees the necessity to warn its members against ratifying said amendment, for by so doing the foreign-born woman would be excluded from the privilege of suffrage. The amendment, which will be voted upon next April, explicitly says that no foreign-born woman shall be invested with the right of vote by virtue of her marriage to an American citizen, but shall herself acquire it by becoming naturalized after having lived in this country continuously for five years.

You know how difficult it is for our German men to obtain citizenship by naturalization; much more difficult will it be to induce our German women to sacrifice time and money in order to secure citizenship by naturalization! However, we venture to say that it can hardly be expected that the working woman, and especially the factory girl of foreign birth, would spend $5.50 from her scanty wages to obtain the privilege of vote.

However, even if the most improbable thing should happen, namely, that a sufficient number of foreign-born, especially German women, could be induced to acquire their citizen's papers, they could not exercise their right of vote until 1915 at the earliest possible date, since a period of two years must intervene between the acquisition of the so-called first paper (price, $1.50) and of the so-called second paper (price, $4.50, and after passing the naturalization examination).

If, however, the foreign-born woman is excluded from the suffrage; if the suffrage would be laid into the hands of the native-born American women only, the results which surely will follow can easily be predicted:

Narrow-mindedness will triumph everywhere; fanaticism will flourish; prohibitionists and their refuse, the Anti-Saloon League, will easily set up for dictators in the State of Michigan. The factory girl and the working woman in general will much less expect an improvement of their conditions, since they will be deprived of the possibility of self-help on account of their impossibility to acquire the right of vote.

For these and many other reasons, German brothers, vote "No" upon the woman suffrage amendment on Monday the 7th of April.

STAATSVERBAND MICHIGAN,
CARL BAUER, *President.*

The committee is also in possession of circulars published by a local alliance in Nebraska. One of the circulars reads as follows:

DEAR SIR: The officers of the local alliance deem it their duty to direct the attention of their countrymen to certain questions which will be decided at the coming election.

We consider the proposed amendment to the constitution granting the right of suffrage to women as the most important of these. Our State Alliance took a most decided stand against woman suffrage at its annual convention held in Columbus on August 25. Our German women do not want the right to vote, and since our opponents desire the right of suffrage mainly for the purpose of saddling the yoke of prohibition on our necks we should oppose it with our might.

In these times, when on account of the European war the English-American press has stirred unpopular sentiment against Germany and Germanism, it behooves us to stand together and to demonstrate to our many envious enemies our political power by giving to those candidates who are of German descent our full support, in so far as they are capable of filling the offices to which they aspire.

Then follow the names of the candidates who are indorsed, among them being a candidate for governor and a candidate for the State senate and a candidate for the House of Representatives.

The circular continues:

In conclusion we most earnestly urge our friends of German speech and German descent not to permit business or other considerations to prevent them from going to the polls and casting their ballots as above directed.

With true German greeting,

COMMITTEE OF THE LOCAL ALLIANCE.

This circular letter was reprinted in the Register, of Trenton, Nebr., July 6, 1917.

I desire to put in the record a resolution adopted on October 2, 1916, by the German-American Voters' League in "The German House," a German clubhouse in San Francisco.

(The matter referred to is as follows:)

Whereas, through his absolutely unneutral course of conduct in the existing international situation Woodrow Wilson, the candidate of the Democratic Party for President of the United States, has forfeited the good will and confidence of his fellow citizens, and furthermore, by means of attacking and discrediting the loyalty to the Government of those of his fellow citizens who keep themselves free from the bondage and influence of English tyranny and oppression, has attempted to cover up and conceal his own active partisanship for Great Britain and her allies in the pending world struggle; and

Whereas Charles Evans Hughes, the candidate of the Republican Party for the presidential chair, through the broad plane of his addresses and the firm and tactful stand maintained by him for the upholding of the rights of American citizens, has succeeded in gaining for himself the fullest confidence of those of his fellow citizens whose hearts beat first for the welfare of the American people; therefore, be it

Resolved, by the citizens of the city and county of San Francisco, in mass meeting assembled in the German House on Monday evening, October 2, 1916, that Charles Evans Hughes should be elected President of the United States, and be it further resolved that we, and each of us, devote our utmost energies to secure his election, to the end that American mails, American property, American ships, American rights, and American citizens may be respected and protected from seizure and violation by any foreign power whatsoever.

Senator KING. I desire to put into the record the following communication:

BEAVER FALLS, PA., *March 4, 1918.*

E. LOWRY HUMES,
United States Attorney, Pittsburgh, Pa.

DEAR SIR: For your information, please be advised that at a meeting held yesterday afternoon the Beaver Falls Turnverein voted unanimously to withdraw our membership from the German-American Alliance. Ninety per cent of our membership is composed of English-speaking people and are all loyal to our Government.

Also beg to advise that there will be a meeting of the Beaver County Branch of the German-American Alliance next Sunday afternoon, March 10, 1918, in one of the German clubs in Monaca, Pa.

If there is any other information that you would like to know, will be glad to furnish same if at all possible.

Yours respectfully,

CHAS. H. HARVEY.

The committee desires to place in the record an article by Prof. Scholl, printed in the New York Times on March 2, 1918.

(The article referred to is as follows:)

AIMS OF THE GERMAN ALLIANCE—WOULD JUSTIFY THE REVOKING OF THE CHARTER—"STORED UP TREASURES OF GERMAN KULTUR" FOR AMERICA.

To the EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK TIMES:

At a meeting of the German Alliance not long since, as reported at the time, its President expressed the opinion that in the present crisis there is nothing it can do except to keep its organization intact and wait for better times to resume its usual activities.

Perhaps the Congress of the United States, now that its activities are under investigation, will be able to point out to it a real patriotic service, namely, dissolution. It is to be regretted that the members of the alliance did not see this duty long ago and perform it, when its performance could have redounded to their credit as whole-hearted Americans.

That this organization never had any justification for existing, has not now, and never can have, is made perfectly clear to any thinking man who reads its purpose, as declared in its constitution, or in those of the State organizations of like kind. There is no use in official quibbling, evading, or explaining.

I have before me the minutes of the Seventh State Convention of the German-American Alliance of Pennsylvania, held at Pittsburgh in 1906. The constitution-by-laws, &c., of this body are contained therein, as are numerous speeches and committee reports. They deserve a wider acquaintance than is afforded by the language in which they are printed and the obscure niche they occupy in the German-American annals.

The alliance "strives to awaken a sense of unity among the people of German origin in America;" to "centralize" their powers for the "energetic defense of such justified wishes and interests" as are not contrary to the rights and duties of good citizens; to defend its class against "nativistic encroachments;" to "foster and assure good, friendly relations of America to the old German fatherland." Such are its declared objects.

All petty quibbling aside, this program can mean nothing else than the maintenance of a Germanized body of citizens among us, conscious of their separateness, resistant to all forces of absorption. It is mere camouflage to state in a later paragraph that this body does not intend to found a "State within the State," but merely sees in this centralization the "best means of attaining and maintaining the aims" set forth above.

All existing societies of Germans are called upon as "organized representatives of Deutschtum" to make it a point of honor to form a national alliance, to foster formation of new societies in all States of the Union, so that the whole mass of Germans in America can be used as a unit for political action. This league pledges itself "with all legal means at hand unswervingly and at all times to enter the lists for the maintenance and propagation of its principles, for their vigorous defense wherever and whenever in danger."

The platform, which follows this appeal and pledge, contains twelve paragraphs, some of which are curious in the light of experience.

It promises to abstain from party politics, but without binding itself not to become partisan in case of necessity to defend its interests. A glance at the committee reports in connection with the declared principle of resistance to "nativistic encroachments" makes it clear that the leaders wished especially to use the "solid" membership of the alliance against such "Puritanic" encroachments upon personal liberty as threatened from restrictive liquor legislation. This hoof is quite plainly visible under the mantle of Germanizing idealism.

Again, it demands the introduction of instruction in the German language, because it along with English forms the world-language—a handsome boast—and because a more general knowledge of it favors a "clear and unprejudiced understanding and promotes mutual friendly relations," sous-entendu with the fatherland.

A sop is thrown out to the children of the old Forty-eighters in form of a demand for gymnastic training in the schools.

The reason for the demand for the "liberation of our schools from politics" is not apparent, unless it is to secure the German language on the school curriculum against agitations, or eject from the schools instruction in hygiene and the effects of alcohol insisted upon by the prohibitionists. In every other respect the alliance is frankly political in its aims.

In order to strengthen as much as possible this "centralized group" in combating "negative encroachments," such as prohibition, single-language schools, &c., it urges all Germans to naturalize as soon as possible and become active in public life. To the unsophisticated this looks like eagerness to attain Americanism in a rush. Unfortunately the alliance is also emphatically opposed to any restrictions upon immigration and the rights of naturalization, except for conviction of crime, and it is likewise in favor of the "abolition of all antiquated laws that hinder free intercourse" or "limit the personal freedom of the citizen" to enjoy to the full his European habits if they come in conflict with "nativistic" movements.

It recommends the founding of institutions for teaching the German language and literature and general German Kultur. It demands the encouragement of historical studies in order to heighten the German-American's consciousness of his own importance in the development of America.

Taken by and large, no more anti-American program could well be conceived, unless we are ready to accept their completely Germanized America as our standard of judgment.

The speech of the President of that year is quite frank and illuminating: "They [the former critics of the alliance] have learned to see that it is worthy of American patriots to arouse the self-confidence of the Germans of America, in order to inoculate the children of Uncle Sam very powerfully with all the good, the beautiful, and the noble that lies in the German national character. Also they understand that no more precious gift can be conferred upon the nation than the stored up treasures of German Kultur." He then quotes from the historian Lamprecht's speech in America an ominous sentence, which is now transparent enough to anyone. Speaking of the historical development of the United States and the rôle to be played in it by the German-Americans, he said: "And to think that this process, one of the most elementary and heretofore almost always unconscious processes of history, might this time be influenced consciously by human insight and power! What a proud feeling to be able here for once to carry on national 'Kulturpolitik' in the highest sense!" Whereupon President Hexamer exclaims in jubilant italics: "*What a task for the Deutschtum of the Republic!*"

Then he proceeds: "Whoever believes with Emanuel Geibel,

> Und es mag am deutschen Wesen
> Einmal noch die Welt genesen,

[freely rendered: The world may yet find a panacea for all its ills in the quintessence of Germanism] will not call them [the members of the alliance] 'bad Americans' because they wish to maintain their German language and their German customs."

"The German-Americans can fulfill their historic mission only by unity." "Every nerve must be strained to increase the respect for Germanism, by historical research, propaganda of all kinds, and especially by 'Anschauungsunterricht.'" This is the basis for that exaggerated use of the "Realien" in German textbooks, which is proving so offensive in its laudation of everything German. "Want of self-esteem, lack of self-respect is disgraceful and injurious: modest pride brings honor and gain. It must no longer be a matter of indifference to the German-American, whether one looks upon him as cultural compost (or not even that) or as a culture factor." Such are excerpts from this presidential programmatic address.

It was an evil day when a devil whispered such words into the ear of Gustav Bender and his colleagues of Washington, D. C., and led them to formulate the general demand that the Germans in America should not be "absorbed" but "assimilated."

A little attention to the context of the sentences quoted shows that these Germans demand the privilege of coming to America, getting citizenship on the easiest terms possible, while maintaining intact their alien speech, alien customs, and alien loyalties. That is "assimilation," the granting of equal political rights and commercial opportunities, without exacting any alteration in modes of life or "Sittlichkeit." "Absorption" means Americanization, a fusing with the whole mass of American life, an adoption of the language and ideals of the country, a spiritual rebirth into Anglo-Saxon civilization, and this has great terrors for the members of a German alliance.

A glance back over the whole scheme will show how cleverly it was made to unite the average recent comeoverer with his beer-drinking proclivities, with the professor

of German, who had visions of increased interest in his specialty, and the professor of history, who hoped for larger journal space and ampler funds, and the readily flattered wealthy German of some attainments, into a close league of interests, which could be used at the proper time for almost any nefarious purpose which a few men might dictate.

Add to this the emphatic moral and financial support of the German-language press as one of the most powerful agencies of the organization, and we have the stage set for just what happened a little over three years ago.

It is of no avail to try to cover anti-American political activity by openly pleading guilty to political activity in Pennsylvania against restrictive regulation of the liquor business.

* * * * * * *

Not only should the charter of the National Alliance be revoked, but every State branch should have the grace to acknowledge that its existence is a menace to the ideals of America and disband at once. The sooner the more hope of getting a little belated credit for real Americanism.

JOHN WILLIAM SCHOLL,
Assistant Professor of German, University of Michigan.

FEBRUARY 27, 1918.

Senator KING. The committee desires to put into the record the resolutions adopted by the German-American Alliance of New Jersey, which were prepared by Frederick Hirtzel, extending sympathy to Germany.

(The resolutions referred to are as follows:)

Whereas the continued sale by America of arms and munitions of war to the enemies of Germany is directly responsible for thousands of deaths and the wounding of thousands more; and

Whereas protest against such sales by a neutral country have been unheeded: Be it

Resolved, That the German-American Alliance of Elizabeth declare the sinking of the *Arabic* as justifiable and deserved; be it

Resolved, That the alliance indorse Germany's submarine policy and extend to her marine commanders the unstinted praise to which they are entitled; be it

Resolved, That traveling Americans, to escape the dangers of the war zones, be urged to make use of the ships of neutral countries; be it further

Resolved, That the sympathy of the alliance be extended to Germany in her hour of trouble.

Senator KING. The committee puts into the record also a letter from Patrick Ford, jr., addressed to Senator Chamberlain, relating to combinations between the National German-American Alliance and the Ancient Order of Hibernians, and a letter from Matthew Cummings to Mr. Ford, editor of the Irish World, dated January 28, 1907, in which he incloses clippings from Boston papers with reference to the alliance between the two organizations.

(The letters referred to and the inclosed clippings are here printed in the record in full, as follows:)

499 DE KALB AVENUE,
Brooklyn, March 11.

MY DEAR SENATOR: Inclosed please find letter and clippings that may be of use to Senator King in the matter of the German-American Alliance.

Mr. Cummings did not speak as the representative of the Irish in this country, only as the spokesman of the revolutionary Irish, with which party he has always been allied.

A few years ago Cummings was a leading factor, endeavoring to foment labor strikes. The New York World had several lengthy articles regarding his connections.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours.

PATRICK FORD, Jr.

Hon. GEORGE E. CHAMBERLAIN,
Washington, D. C.

[National officers: Rev. John D. Kennedy, chaplain, Danbury, Conn.; Matthew Cummings, president, Boston, Mass.; James J. Regan, vice president, St. Paul, Minn.; James T. Carroll, secretary, Columbus, Ohio; John F. Quinn, treasurer, Joliet, Ill. National directors: Patrick T. Moran, Washington, D. C.; Maj. E. T. McCrystal, New York City; Rev. M. J. Byrne, Lafayette, Ind.; W. J. O'Brien, M. D., Philadelphia, Pa.; John T. Kelly, Milwaukee, Wis.]

ANCIENT ORDER OF HIBERNIANS IN AMERICA,
OFFICE OF NATIONAL PRESIDENT, TREMONT BUILDING,
Boston, Mass., January 28, 1907.

Mr. PATRICK FORD,
Editor Irish World, New York City, N. Y.

MY DEAR BROTHER FORD: Inclosed you will find clipping from Boston Globe giving an account of my visit to Philadelphia. I think you will agree with me that this is good work. These two great races working together to combat and destroy English influences in this country will and must have far-reaching results.

With best wishes and hoping that you are enjoying excellent health, I remain,

Yours fraternally,

MATTHEW CUMMINGS,
National President A. O. H.

[Boston Globe, Friday, Jan. 25, 1907.]

A. O. H. ALLIED WITH GERMANS—UNION OF 1,500,000 MEMBERS TO GUARD NATIONAL INTERESTS OF BOTH RACES.

Matthew Cummings, national president of the Ancient Order of Hibernians, returned yesterday from Philadelphia, where with other executive officers of the organization he met a similar body of officers of the National German-American Alliance and formed an alliance between the two organizations to guard the interests of both races in this country.

The alliance is not a new thought in any way, as both national organizations had already voted in favor of it, and the meeting of the executive officers Tuesday in Philadelphia was a ratification of that vote and the final step in cementing the two organizations into one great unit.

At that meeting these resolutions were adopted:

"*Resolved*, That the joint conference committee of the Ancient Order of Hibernians in America and of the National German-American Alliance unanimously declare an alliance between the people of both organizations for the good of this Republic, on the following basis:

"1. Any measure of mutual interest passed by the executive committee or by a national convention of either organization shall be transmitted by its national officers to the national officers of the allied associations for approval and action.

"2. To oppose an alliance of any kind, secret or otherwise, with any foreign power on the part of the Government of the United States.

"3. To oppose the enactment, by the Congress of the United States or the legislatures of the various States, of any sumptuary or any other law or laws abridging the personal liberties of citizens.

"4. To oppose any and every restriction of immigration of healthy persons from Europe, exclusive of convicted criminals, anarchists and those of immoral character.

"5. To recommend a systematic investigation of the share all races have had in the development of our country, in war and in peace, from the earliest days, as the basis for the founding and continuance of an unprejudiced and unbiased American history.

"6. This agreement to be effective immediately upon the ratification of the same by the executive boards of both organizations, and to continue in force until abrogated by a majority vote of a national convention of either organization."

UNION OF 1,500,000 MEMBERS.

When seen at his office yesterday afternoon Mr. Cummings talked freely of this newly formed alliance and what it means to the Germans and the Irish in this country. He said:

"I arrived in Boston only this noon and as yet have not had an opportunity to get to my own home. It is true that this alliance between the two big organizations has been completed and it was to take the final steps that I went to Philadelphia.

"The National German-American Alliance is composed of about 6,000 societies and has a total membership of about 1,250,000. The Ancient Order of Hibernians

has about 3,000 different divisions or societies and has a total membership of about 250,000, so that by this new alliance we can bring the power of the united action of 1,500,000 to bear on such questions as we take up.

"For a very long time there has been the very best of friendly relations existing between the Hibernians and the German-American Alliance, as the interests of the two races in this country have been one. They have been working along the very same lines that we have, only we have heretofore been working as separate bodies on national questions, and from now on we will be found as a unit.

GERMANS PRESERVED LANGUAGE.

"It was the Germans who preserved our language when England sought to kill it, and it was the Germans who fought side by side with the Irish to save this country. We have many vital interests in common, and for the good of our glorious nations we have gotten together as one invincible body.

"The idea of the alliance came to the minds of Dr. C. J. Hexamer, of Philadelphia, president of the National German-American Alliance, and of myself about the same time. That was as long ago as the Boer War, when we had a national German-Irish relief committee, of which Dr. Hexamer was the chairman. The two races worked so well together at that time that the idea came to both of us that we should be able to do just as well in jointly advancing our cause as citizens of this country.

"In the face of impending national legislation the time for the two big organizations to come together seemed to be fully at hand. Dr. Hexamer wrote to me suggesting it. I was heartily in favor of the idea and so wrote him. The matter was then placed before the various bodies and was approved. Then it only needed the ratification and approval of the executive boards of each organization to create the desired alliance. This step has now been taken and the long-hoped-for union is now a fact.

"It has been figured out that 60 per cent of our foreign population comes from Germany and Ireland; that is 30 per cent from each, while England gives us only 11 per cent."

METHODS OF WORK.

Mr. Cummings was asked just what sort of work the alliance is now likely to take up. He thought a moment, and then said:

"Well, suppose, for instance, we wanted to take up this subject of national action on the Congo matter, or a scheme to form an alliance between this and some foreign country? If there is any truth in the saying that in union there is strength, we are now in a far better position to push our objections or to back our approval of any such matters.

"We propose to act at once on the bill now before the National Legislature relative to restricted immigration. We believe that the educational test, the money test, and the low vitality test are all unfair. We believe that every able-bodied European of good moral character, who is not an anarchist or a criminal, should be allowed to land in this country regardless of the money and the educational tests. As yet we have not considered the matter as it applies to the landing of Japanese.

"As a matter of fact the resolutions which we adopted at our alliance meeting in Philadelphia express very plainly what we aim at. Our action has been open and above board, and we have nothing to conceal. The members of the two big organizations represented in this alliance do not believe in this country forming an alliance with any other power, and especially with England. We will oppose any such legislation to the full extent of our power.

"We aim to be conservative and not to go off at half-cock. We desire fully to understand what we are doing, and then to do it with all our energy."

READJUSTING HISTORICAL CREDIT.

"What does this reference to a history in the fifth clause of the resolutions mean, Mr. Cummings?"

"It refers to the fact that in all of our current school histories, and most others, in fact, the Anglo-Saxon has been glorified and exalted to the exclusion of those others who did so much for this country, like the Irish and the Germans and the other countries. It means that we shall endeavor by systematic research to get at the true facts and to place them in a history which shall tell the truth about America and give credit where credit is due.

"Any man who is a Catholic and has Irish blood in him, even if he has to go back to his grandfather to find it, is eligible to membership in the Hibernians, while the only qualification necessary to join the German organization is that of German blood, as that organization is nonsectarian.

"I have placed the total membership of the A. O. H. as 250,000 persons, but there are a large number of other Irish organizations in this country, all working toward the same ideals, although on separate lines. Now that this alliance between the Irish and the German organizations has been completed, it can not be broken save by a majority vote of both national bodies, and I venture to predict that such a vote will never be taken. The national convention meets only biennially, and it will be one year after next July before the next national convention will be called."

President Cummings was asked how protests or resolutions in support of National or State legislation would originate in this new alliance for action.

He said that both he and Dr. Hexamer would keep in constant touch and that anything appearing to either worthy of united action by the alliance would be communicated to the other as a suggestion. If it meets with approval of the other head of the alliance, then the matter will be brought before the executive boards and finally before the general bodies for action.

[Philadelphia North American, Jan. 24, 1907.]

GERMANS JOIN IRISH TO FOIL BRITISH ALLIANCE—PLAN UNION WITH MAIN OBJECT TO AVERT ANGLO-AMERICAN UNDERSTANDING—IMMIGRATION AN ISSUE.

PROPOSAL BY PRESIDENT OF TEUTONIC SOCIETY RESULTS IN COOPERATION.

Approval was given by both Germans and Irish yesterday to the formal initial steps being taken by representatives of the National German-American Alliance and the National Ancient Order of Hibernians to form a union for mutual advancement and protection of the interests of members of the respective races as citizens of this country.

Germans were especially pleased to realize that overtures for the union had been made by the national president of the German-American Alliance, Dr. C. J. Hexamer, of this city, who last October, after approval of his executive committee, sent a proposal for cooperation to Matthew Cummings, national president of the Ancient Order of Hibernians, because of interests in common, especially in regard to proposed wholesale restriction of immigration and possible alliance of the United States with Great Britain.

In reply to this letter, Mr. Cummings met President Hexamer fully half way, thus anticipating the cordial meeting and practical resolutions adopted at the meeting of the representatives of both organizations in the hall of the German Society, Marshall and Spring Garden Streets, last Tuesday:

GERMANS COMRADES OF IRISH.

"Your views on this subject have been mine for many years. Our future in this country must be worked out on the same lines. There is nothing inconsistent between your traditions and sentiments and hopes for the future and ours.

"It was the Germans who preserved our language when England sought to kill it, and it was the Germans who fought side by side with the Irish to save this country.

"I fully and heartily agree with you when you say we have so many vital interests in common, and that for the good of our glorious Nation we should get together as one invincible body."

"The idea of this union came to me as long ago as the Boer War, when we had a national German-Irish relief committee, of which I was chairman," said Dr. Hexamer yesterday. "We got along so well then that there seemed to me no reason why we could not do likewise in advancing our cause as citizens of this country. In the face of impending legislation, the time for such a union seemed to me fully at hand, and, therefore, I made the proposal last autumn.

ANGLO-AMERICAN UNION A DANGER.

"Sixty per cent of our so-called 'foreign population' come from Germany and Ireland, 30 per cent from each, while England gives us but 11 per cent. Yet there is, and has long been, talk of an Anglo-American alliance. That is one of the dangers to this country that we will work to avert.

"As Mr. Cummings points out, the Germans saved the Irish language. That was as long ago as the twelfth century, and, therefore, in danger of being forgotten. But nowadays the preservation of the Irish language by Germans is going on, such professors as Zuess, Kuno Meyer, Thirmeysen, Windisch, and Zimmer being as deeply interested as any of their Irish coworkers. Prof. Zuess is in the Dublin University."

P. A. Wildermuth, counsel of the Pennsylvania branch of the German-American Alliance, one of the delegates to the meeting on Tuesday, denounces England in as strong terms as the most pronounced advocate of home rule, and regards the averting of an Anglo-American alliance as the most important issue, with immigration and the interstate liquor traffic as close seconds.

Senator KING. Dr. Karl Johann Heinrich Voss, in a speech made at Cleveland in October, 1916, said:

It is the beautiful and profitable task of German-Americans to prepare the way in this country for the German spirit and the German conception of life.

Prof. Eugen Kuehnemann, in November, 1915, at a German-American Alliance celebration at the Auditorium in Milwaukee, said:

Your loyalty toward Germany is your true loyalty to America. The delusion that the western world must be under the absolute rule of Anglo-Saxon thought is coming to an end. Germany in these days is obtaining for itself the right and power to take part in dictating the future destiny of the earth.

The committee puts into the record, for the purpose of showing the political activity of the organization, a translation of a circular printed in the German language sent out by the German-American Alliance of Wisconsin in 1908.

(The translation referred to is as follows:)

STATE ALLIANCE "WISCONSIN" OF THE
NATIONAL GERMAN-AMERICAN ALLIANCE,
Milwaukee, August 20, 1908.

To the German-American voters of Wisconsin:

Do not forget the primary election on Tuesday, September 1, 1908.

At the convention of this alliance held July 8, 1908, in Milwaukee, it was resolved in the interests of the principle of personal liberty to summon all the members of this alliance and German-Americans generally to vote at the elections this fall only for such candidates for office and for the legislature as declare themselves unqualifiedly opposed to prohibition, local or in any other form.

The directors of the alliance accordingly made it their duty to question all candidates for the legislature and for office concerning their attitude toward such legislation, requesting from the candidates answers to the following questions: (1) Are you in favor of a local-option law? (2) Are you in favor of a county-option law? (3) Are you for State prohibition?

A great number of the candidates answered these questions directly and without restraint; others answered evasively; and others not at all. In the case of the latter we were therefore compelled to seek information concerning their attitude elsewhere, but from sources which we considered trustworthy.

* * * * * * *

Because our alliance does not engage in party politics and has no individual interests to further, but only for the reasons given in the resolutions quoted must repel every attack on individual liberty, we have made this report in a wholly objective manner. We do not recommend to you any candidate; we only put you in a position to learn from these unprejudiced statements the views of the candidates seeking your votes on one of the most important questions of the present. We shall leave the election to your intelligence, your sound judgment, and your high esteem for our republican institutions which bear on their standard the word "personal liberty."

LEO STERN, *President*,
EMIL COURT, *Secretary*,
Directors of the State Alliance, "Wisconsin."

[Here follows a list of the candidates for the State senate, assembly, State offices, United States Senate, and the House of Representatives.]

Senator KING. The committee puts into the record the following letter, written by the secretary of the Erie (Pa.) Branch of the State organization:

PRO BONO PUBLICO.

DEUTSCH-AMERIKANISCHER ZENTRAL-BUND
VON PENNSYLVANIEN, ZWEIG ERIE,
GERMAN-AMERICAN ALLIANCE OF PENNSYLVANIA, BRANCH ERIE,
Erie, Pa., October 19, 1908.

Mr. P. J. BARBER, *City.*

DEAR SIR: Having failed to receive an answer to its communication of September 2, the Erie Branch of the German-American Alliance requests you again to state your position as to local option. No answer in due time will be acted on accordingly.

Yours respectfully,

PAUL BURKHARDT, *Secretary.*
207 East Twenty-fourth Street.

The committee desires to place in the record a statement as to the provisions of the German imperial and state citizenship law, enacted July 22, 1913, known as the Delbrück law, which provides in section 25 that "citizenship is not lost by one who, before acquiring foreign citizenship, has secured on application the written consent of competent authorities of his home state to retain his citizenship", being excerpts from the speech of Dr. Delbrück in the Reichstag in 1912 when the bill was under consideration.

(The matter referred to is as follows:)

The Empire of Germany has also quite another interest now in attaching to itself all Germans who have emigrated, for the motives of emigration have in great part become quite different from what they were formerly. The German who emigrates now no longer does so with a view of separating himself economically and politically from his country; on the contrary, the large majority of those who emigrate go with the object of serving their country economically and politically.

* * * * * * *

It is true that we recognize that there are cases where the German citizen abroad may have an interest in acquiring, side by side with his old nationality, a new nationality, the possession of which would still allow of his usefully representing the interests of his old Fatherland.

Senator KING. The committee desires also to insert in the record an extract from an article by Dr. O. Nelte on the law of imperial and state nationality, from "Archiv. der oeffentliche Rechts," volume 32, 1914.

(The matter referred to is as follows:)

Release by petition [from German nationality] closely resembles the loss [of German nationality] by the acquisition of non-German citizenship.

All cases in which, by virtue of settlement, of prolonged sojourn, or of other facts in the case independent of the will [to lose German nationality] foreign citizenship is acquired, can be eliminated.

Also peculiar circumstances may exist which may make the attainment of foreign citizenship desirable without implying a dearth of German sentiment. Such circumstances might be; that a German in a foreign land is seriously hampered in the pursuit of his business, in the acqiusition of land and the like on account of the lack of citizenship in the place.

In such cases the law provides the possibility of acquiring foreign citizenship by virtue of petition (Antrag) without loss of German nationality. It can be stated that by this adjustment the question of double citizenship, which may be rated as a contradiction according to public law on account of the fundamental collision in duty, is solved in a happy fashion and with consideration for all humble, justified interests

(Thereupon, at 12.30 o'clock p. m., the subcommittee adjourned.)

NATIONAL GERMAN-AMERICAN ALLIANCE.

SATURDAY, APRIL 13, 1918.

UNITED STATES SENATE,
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY,
Washington, D. C.

The subcommittee met at 9.30 o'clock a. m. in the room of Senator King, 407 Senate Office Building.

Present: Senator King (chairman).

TESTIMONY OF MR. BABBITT—Resumed and Concluded.

Mr. BABBITT. Six volumes of the Mitteilungen, the Bulletin of the National German-American Alliance, were submitted to me by the subcommittee with the request that I examine them and translate a few of the matters found therein bearing upon the objects and activities of the Alliance.

I personally read and examined the volumes published in 1912, 1913, and 1914, and I also made a casual examination of the volumes for 1911, 1915, and 1916.

Mr. Jewett, Mr. Klain, Dr. Rice, and Mr. Blume, all of the staff of translators for the Post Office Department, made translations from the volumes examined by them. Their translations I have rather hurriedly examined and feel justified in stating that the translations are essentially correct. These gentlemen are employed by the department because of their competency and their ability to make accurate and faithful translations.

The time was so limited that we made only a few excerpts from the publication, although its files contain many others of a similar character.

The selections translated and herewith submitted show aims and activities of the National German-American Alliance as follows:

1. An endeavor to keep the Germans as a separate body within the United States, retaining, as far as possible, their own language, traditions, and ways of living. The name of the society, Deutsch-Amerikanischer Nationalbund, as it appears at the head of their Bulletin, does not convey to the mind of a German the same idea as their translation, "National German-American Alliance," does to us. The latter plainly means an alliance of German-Americans, nation-wide in extent. The German word "National" is used consistently throughout the Bulletin to express rather the idea of "nationalistic," as we understand it; i. e., referring to a group or body of people having a common nationality. It is used in that sense referring to such groups representing, for instance, Bohemians and Irish. The title therefore could fairly be translated, "Alliance of German-Americans for nationalistic purposes", i. e., for preserving their nationality. Perhaps "German Anti-American Alliance" would not be too strong to express the idea.

2. There is complete evidence of a thoroughgoing, carefully planned activity, from the beginning of the organization, to influence legislation for the benefit of German nationalistic purposes in every way possible.

3. The Alliance aimed to be in touch with every organization which had a German character in any degree. It had branches in nearly every State, subbranches in many cities and counties, and through them tried to reach every social, educational, musical, religious, gymnastic, or other organization in which Germans took part and make the most of them for its propaganda.

4. Every effort was made to increase instruction in German in educational institutions. An already existing Normal Institute at Milwaukee for the preparation of German teachers was aided in every possible way, even to the extent of selling stamps in its behalf. Wherever there were private, parochial, or other schools in which the German language was the medium of instruction they were encouraged. Efforts were made to have German instruction given in the elementary classes of the public schools wherever possible. Prizes were given for successful study in German in various high schools and other institutions, and everything was done to aid and encourage the study of the German language, literature, and history in the colleges of the country.

5. There was a plan, clearly documented in the passages translated, to secure, by influencing authors and publishers, the production of a set of textbooks in history which should minimize the English origin and traditions of American civilization and glorify in every way possible the achievements of Germans in America. These books were to be introduced in the public schools wherever the Germans could control or influence the school boards.

6. Action was taken in every possible way to create impressions within and without the Alliance unfavorable to England and, in second degree, the other allies. There is definite evidence of a rapprochement between the Alliance and the Ancient Order of Hibernians. Dr. Hexamer is the authority for the statement that three-fourths of the population of the United States are German or Irish. Much is said about friendly relations with Germany for the German-Americans and all Americans. Nothing specific is found anywhere advocating such friendly relations with any other foreign nation except German-speaking ones and Ireland. But everywhere appears the most bitter hostility toward England and everything English. The Alliance used every means to keep its aims before the German-American public, to influence the non-German-American public, and to make itself and its objects known to Germany. They were apparently in touch with similar organizations in Canada and Brazil and other South American countries where any considerable number of Germans reside. All this activity was centered in the hands of Dr. C. J. Hexamer, who gave his whole time to the work and had a secretary, who also had no other occupation, and several clerical assistants. Very voluminous archives, card indexes, references of all sorts were carried on. The topics under which this matter was classified are given in some issues of the Bulletin and are very instructive as to the scope of the activities.

I have not had the time to translate all of the numerous articles, editorials, letters, reports, and so forth, found in these volumes bearing upon the six subdivisions which I have just enumerated,

but these volumes are replete with statements that support my conclusions and my testimony and clearly indicate the activities of the Alliance along each and all of the lines mentioned in these six subdivisions.

I herewith submit the translations.

(The translations are as follows:)

I. TRANSLATIONS FROM THE MITTEILUNGEN, THE OFFICIAL BULLETIN OF THE NATIONAL GERMAN-AMERICAN ALLIANCE, FOR THE YEAR 1911.

[From the January number, 1911, p. 4.]

CIRCULAR TO SCHOOL SUPERINTENDENTS AND TEACHERS.

The directorate of the German-American Alliance has addressed a circular, which is also signed by the chairman of the alliance committee for historical research, Dr. W. Fritoch, the worthy aged German physician, author, and historian, of Evansville, Ind., to the superintendents of the public schools, as well as the teachers and professors of American history, with the request that on December 7, the day of the unveiling of the Steuben memorial in Washington, they make clear to their students, through appropriate lectures, the significance of Steuben in American history. Once before, at the celebration of the two hundred and twenty-fifth anniversary of the first great German immigration, at which the cornerstone of the Pastorius memorial was laid in Vernon Park, Germantown, on October 6, 1908, the National Alliance, through its committee on schools, which consisted of Prof. Ferren, of Pittsburgh, and Prof. W. Haussmann, professor of German instruction and German literature in the Philadelphia High School for Boys, addressed the principals of schools with the request that they briefly sketch to their pupils the history of German immigration and expatiate upon its significance.

The circular with reference to the Steuben celebration is as follows, in the German translation.

"GERMAN-AMERICAN NATIONAL ALLIANCE.

(Incorporated by act of Congress.)

'*To the superintendents of the public schools, the teachers and professors of American history:*

"ESTEEMED SIRS: It is more than fitting that through the unveiling of a memorial as a tribute of honor erected by our country to one of its greatest heroes, we should grasp the opportunity to put before the eyes of the boys and girls who attend our public schools some facts which, to express it mildly, are not sufficiently brought out in our usual books of American history.

"With the exception of Washington and Franklin, there is none among the leaders of the American Revolution to whom the citizens of our free States owe greater thanks than the brave German-American soldier who made our cause his own, and who arrived just at one of the most critical periods of American history.

"This fine nobleman reorganized and disciplined, in his capacity as inspector general, to which he was named by Gen. Washington, our hopelessly demoralized Continental troops, and thereby not only smoothed the way to military success, which led to the emancipation of our country, but laid—and this fact can not too often or too strongly be impressed—the foundation for the victories which since then our armies have won on many a battle field.

"What our country has more reason to be thankful to Baron Frederick Wilhelm von Steuben for than to any other man is the recognition of the great truth that the fundamental condition of success in war is discipline. To the thoroughness of this experienced, brave, and untiring German soldier thanks are due that the history of the American war for freedom did not end differently.

"We trust, therefore, that you will not fail to portray to the pupils intrusted to your teaching the career of this man who was every inch a soldier and the benefactor of two nations which have never been in conflict with each other and which are united in common interests and common aims.

"Respectfully,

"Dr. C. J. HEXAMER, *President.*
"ADOLPH TIMM, *Secretary.*
"Dr. W. FRITOCH, *Evansville, Ind.*

"PHILADELPHIA, *November 30, 1910.*"

[February, 1911, p. 4.]

A VICTORY FOR THE NEBRASKA STATE ALLIANCE.

The State Alliance of Nebraska has come out victorious in a fight against a school regulation of hostile intent toward the community schools, fighting shoulder to shoulder in the legislature with representatives of the Lutheran and Catholic churches. The report from Omaha says: "The bill against the German parish schools, introduced by Representative Moody, of Custer County, has been defeated. The bill contained many hostile provisions against our parish schools. It provided that every child should attend the public schools at least three months in the year and to a certain extent placed the parish schools under the jurisdiction of the county superintendent of schools. Immediately after its introduction the directorate of the State Alliance took up the battle against the bill and Secretary John Mattes, jr., called the attention of the members of the legislature to the injustice of the measure. The German church congregations also armed themselves for the battle. Speaker Kuhl referred the bill to the committee on miscellaneous affairs [?], composed of the following members: Leidigh, Sink, Bartels, McCarthy, Boland, Heiliger, McClellan, Roberts, and Neir. The committee gave a hearing on the bill Tuesday at which its opponents spoke. Dr. Becker and Prof. Weller, of Seward, and Pastor Allenbach, of Lincoln, and, as representatives of the Catholics, Father Voll, of Crete, and Father Bradley, of Lincoln, spoke against the bill. As the injustice of the bill was made manifest Representative Sink, of Grand Island, made a motion to lay the bill on the table indefinitely, which was passed almost unanimously. Only Representative McClellan, of Valley County, voted against the rejection of the bill."

This disposes of the matter, as it is hardly to be expected that it will again be proposed in the full assembly. The whole case shows, however, how important is united action by our German element. It should be a notification for every German society to join the German State Alliance in order to be always on guard.

[February, 1911, p. 5.]

COMMUNICATION FROM THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE GERMAN-AMERICAN ALLIANCE TO THE NEW YORK SCHOOL BOARD.

At the session of the executive committee of the German-American Alliance held on December 7 at the Germania Club, Washington, the fight for the retention of German instruction in the public schools of New York City was considered. It was voted to give hearty support to the German element in New York in this matter, and a letter was sent to the school board, of which the following is a part:

"All regulations of municipal control which concern the city of New York, particularly such as relate to the public schools, attract attention throughout the country, since the city is the metropolis of America; and therefore the German-American Alliance views with anxiety the minimizing of the importance of instruction in the German language, the retention of which among the members and their descendants is one of its most important aims in other States and cities. The alliance supports and reiterates in the most emphatic manner all the reasons therefor which have been brought to the attention of your honorable board in resolutions, protests, and other communications, as well as in verbal arguments, to the end that not only the instruction in the German language shall be maintained but shall also be in your elementary schools organized as effectively as possible.

"All of which we respectfully submit to you.

"Dr. C. J. HEXAMER, *President.*
"ADOLPH TIMM, *Secretary.*"

[March, 1911, p. 5.]

THE LICENSING OF SOCIETIES AND CLUBS—CALL OF THE CENTRAL ALLIANCE OF PENNSYLVANIA.

To the German Societies of the State:

In the nearly 12 years of its existence the German-American Central Alliance of Pennsylvania has repeatedly succeeded in successfully combating legislation proposed from time to time in the legislature for the licensing of societies and clubs. Knowing that the danger this year is greater than ever, the alliance had already taken up the work, when in the meantime the bill introduced by Representative Wilson, of Jefferson County, was announced. The bill (H. R. P. 889) was referred

to the committee on law and order on February 28, and on March 1 the committee had received the petition of the Central Alliance for a hearing in case the committee was inclined to take the bill under the slightest consideration.

The Central Alliance takes its position from the standpoint of the decisions of the higher courts that retailing of spirituous beverages in German societies is not a sale within the meaning of the law, but a serving as in a family.

The branches of the Central Alliance are urged to have representatives who are fully conversant with the English language ready for telegraphic call in case it does not eventuate that the bill is quietly disposed of in committee. German societies, however, are earnestly cautioned to use the utmost care that no spirituous liquors be served to nonmembers in their halls and at their festivities, and that in case they have no charter they immediately procure one. It is also necessary that all German societies which do not yet belong to the alliance join it at once, that a solid phalanx may be presented against any further attempts to license societies and clubs.

The Central Alliance further opposes the bill of Representative Carter (H. R. P. 662), which is now before the committee on municipal corporations, to have city advertisements published in only one paper in cities of the second class, while the provisions of the act of March 7, 1901, prescribe three to five papers, of which one shall be German. Even if the amendment affects only cities of the second class, Pittsburgh and Scranton, yet the alliance will always oppose any encroachment on the German press, because the alliance recognizes in the German press its true and ever helpful ally.

For the German-American Central Alliance of Pennsylvania.

Dr. C. J. HEXAMER, *President.*
ADOLPH TIMM, *Secretary.*

PHILADELPHIA, *March 6, 1911.*

[April, 1911, p. 4.]

STATE ASSOCIATION OF NORTH DAKOTA.

Lively proceedings marked the annual convention of the State association of North Dakota held at New Salem March 17 and 18. From the annual report by the president, H. W. Mann, it appears that the State association has aroused attention among the law-makers of the State. He says of this: "It was the privilege of your president last winter, during the session of the legislature, to make the acquaintance of the German pastors of the State who acted as a committee to demand from the legislature certain favors for the German parish schools. If it were not generally known that I had in this the whole German alliance of the State behind me the gentlemen who manufacture laws would hardly have taken notice of our request. As it is, the gentlemen of the legislature are very careful not to step on the toes of the alliance, for they will need German votes in the future, and they have therefore a proper respect for the German Central Alliance. I have gladly supported the pastors in everything, since their aims and objects coincide wholly with those of our Central Alliance. We should go into the next legislature for German instruction in the public schools and that beginning with the third class the German language shall be taught alongside the English language. If the German language dies then there will die also German morals and customs, which are so dear to us and which work for the good of all the people" * * *

[May, 1911, p. 7.]

[Extract translated from correspondence from the State Association of Illinois:]

I will to-day limit myself to telling of the great achievement which the German American Central Association, 1,200 members strong, made in Peoria recently. For a long time a political clique had been working for the adoption of the so-called commission administration plan. The Illinois law referred to is incomplete and in all its details an abominable and harmful piece of work, undemocratic from the ground up, autocratic in every respect, and calculated to infringe on personal liberty. The purchasable English-language press made common cause with these politicians, and everything indicated that at the election the proposition would go through with a big majority, principally for the reason that the voters were uninformed of the inner workings of the law. Then, in the last hours, only a little while before the election, the Central Association took hold of matters with a strong hand. At a meeting it was decided to oppose the plan with all available resources. A resolution prepared for this purpose was adopted at a following meeting, and it was determined to hold a

mass meeting in the Colosseum, the largest building in the city, for the purpose of formulating a protest. A ringing call to the Germans went forth, and although only a few days intervened between this action and the mass meeting, there occurred what the German element in its most daring expectation had not looked for. With the help of the German press, which had fought the plan vigorously with the Central Association, it became possible that some 5,000 people attended the Colosseum. Local and out-of-town speakers spoke in thunderous speech against the acceptance of the plan; the resolutions of the Central Association were read in German and English and adopted with indescribable enthusiasm. And now began a contest such as the city had never seen for interest and bitterness. Every method was considered lawful by the supporters of the plan to attain their end. The plan was condemned in many meetings and circulars of the Central Alliance. To make a long story short, when the result of the vote was made known it appeared that the shameful piece of work was defeated by a majority of something over 750 in a total vote of over 12,000.

The Central Alliance from this time on stands strong and respected, and it has come to the comprehension of the Anglo-Americans that in all questions which concern a free form of Government or personal liberty it must be reckoned with.

With German greeting,

HERMANN GOLDBERGER.

[August 1911, p. 3.]

THE NATIONAL ALLIANCE AND THE CHURCH ELEMENT OF GERMANISM—RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED BY THE CINCINNATI CONVENTION OF 1909.

The German-American National Alliance, which now has a membership of 2,000,000 Germans, at its convention in Cincinnati in 1909 adopted unanimously the following resolution which was presented by the Maryland representatives:

"In view of the many-sided community of interests the convention recommends the creation of a special committee for church parishes and schools.

"The convention recommends to the State and city associations:

"1. To explain the aims of the alliance to the parishes and church schools within their territory irrespective of their creeds, respectively to their pastors and teachers, especially through the sending of the 'Basic Principles' [Grundsätze].

"2. To gain as members the parish officers, school authorities, and teachers."

[Extract from the report of the pastor, Dr. Julius Hofmann.]

The greatly preponderating position of Calvin as the highest spiritual power in America, as declared by Prof. Butler, is only a confirmation of the power of New England puritanism. The National Alliance is of the opinion that with the entrance of the first German colony a new factor entered into American culture. It calls attention to this factor and strives for a new construction of American history which shall give it due credit.

The significance of the German element is to be sought in this, that it shall place as against the puritanical a new conception of the world and life. One may call it [this German element] the element of personal liberty [Gesetzfreie] as distinguished from the statutory element of puritanism.

At the same time the German element appears, through its own speech, literature, and art, as a broadening of the otherwise comparatively simple puritanic culture: the German element is so considerable that its mission is to influence American culture if not to lead it.

Our opponents, for such they are, antagonize in us the other theory of life. This conception of life is, however, through our traditions a part of ourselves. We can not as Germans abandon it. Furthermore we believe that our theory of life is the superior one. It is so because it historically follows the one which opposes ours, the statutory. Mankind has ever striven to rise from a statutory view of life to one of personal liberty, and history has given its verdict on theocracy as a mode of life and government.

Now there appears in the land in which theocracy appears to be the most thoroughly overcome, in which the separation of church and state seems to be an accomplished fact, the most radical confusion of the spheres of the two, the church and the state: in the so-called prohibition movement a tremendous restoration of theocracy is attempted. Therein lies an historical retrogression which excludes us Germans from our own, active participation in American culture, which is our aim. It is essential for this theocracy that it follow the path of the law, which, however, was abandoned by the founder of the Christian religion, termed a fundamental error by the first theorist of the new religion, Paul of Tarsus, and recognized as such by Martin Luther, their follower in the new era.

Therefore, the protest against the regulation of life by law is an essential part of the evangelical, that is, the Christian dispensation. The view of liberty under the law is alone Christian, correct, and progressive. Accordingly, the Christian church, so far as it stands for the freedom under the law view, has in the German National Alliance its natural ally.

And further, we see in the alliance, here especially, of German Evangelical churches with the prohibition movement an abandonment of true Christian thought and of German culture [civilization]. It is unchristian and it is nativistic.

The German church, as German, no matter of what denomination, is injured by the movement, and has, as German church, in the National Alliance its natural ally. * * *

[September, 1911, p. 2.]

GERMAN DAY.

At the celebration of German Day, which in Hamilton, Ohio, was held in connection with the eighth annual convention of the State Association, Pastor Frederick gave an inspiring address, in which he said in part:

"* * * This day should be for us not only a day of proud remembrance, but of solemn warning. The warning before all else that what the fathers have bequeathed us, the rich treasure of German culture and the key to this, the German mother tongue, shall be protected and made the possession of our children.

"The invitation to this festival was a call to battle by your president. I read in it the command, 'On to the attack! Shoulder arms.' It concerns the new State constitution and the attainment of the aim which the Ohio Association has inscribed upon its banner: The defeat of political corruption through the adoption of the Swiss initiative and referendum and the final elimination of the question which capitalism and fanaticism is always trying to cripple us with, for the inflaming of passion and to draw attention away from other things, through a sensible license law such as the citizens of our neighboring State, which is strongly populated by Germans, secured years ago.

"Celebrate German Day, therefore, as a day of proud memories and earnest aspirations. One victory will follow another. There may be differences here and there on political, industrial, and denominational points, but no one and no thing shall be able to break asunder the ring which Dr. Hexamer and his associates have wrought—the National German-American Alliance."

[September, 1911, p. 5.]

AGITATION LITERATURE.

[Under the above head information is given where and how to obtain certain publications. Among those recommended for "propaganda" are: The German-American Alliance, its Aims and What It Has Accomplished, by Dr. Wm. A. Fritsch; Thoughts on the Future of Germanism in America, by Dr. Julius Goebel, professor in the University of Illinois. Chr. Schulz, of San Francisco, pays the cost of printing 5,000 copies of the latter. The publication "for propaganda" are distributed free, on payment of postage.]

[October, 1911, p. 2.]

[Extract from address by Dr. Julius Hofmann at church service preceding celebration of German Day, Sunday, September 10, 1911:]

And the German congregations. They should protect and strengthen the strong bulwark, the firm wall which the National Alliance typifies. That we at last after 300 years of vain effort are firmly joined together. That we have something great. That we finally have come out of the personal quarreling and the clash of societies. That we, if not already united, can and shall be. The German fights. And in this battle the churches and the National Alliance are naturally brethren in association and companions in arms. The National Alliance has reached out the hand. It resolves to let bygones be bygones. It was a great moment when it gave out the watchword in Cincinnati; to the German life conception belongs also the German faith. It is now up to the churches that they shall not appear small. Hail to all who comprehend the time, the hour.

II. Translations from the Mitteilungen, the Official Bulletin of the National German-American Alliance, for the Year 1912.

[January, 1912, p. 2.]

[An appeal of the financial committee, giving a report of the previous year's activities. The report of collections for the previous year shows the existence of definite funds for the objects of the propaganda under five headings, viz: 1. The combating of "nativistic efforts;" i. e., of attempts to Americanize the Germans. 2. German schools. 3. Improvement of history books in the schools; i. e., introducing books which give less attention to historical relations with England and magnify German achievements. 4. Establishment of good relations with other nationalistic organizations. 5. For the maintenance of personal liberty; i. e., antiprohibition, etc.]

* * * * * * *

To place the sum total of the efforts of the alliance on a larger scale, the committee has empowered the secretary henceforth to give up all his other business obligations and to devote himself exclusively to the alliance.

[A program is laid out for the organization to obtain financial support, as follows:]

The committee of ways and means recommends the creation of a special committee whose tasks shall be to solicit funds among the well-to-do German-Americans here to improve the financial situation of the alliance.

The following plan of work is recommended to this committee:

The committee makes clear in a brief pamphlet the aims and purposes of the alliance, its previous activity and results, as well as its financial situation.

The committee is extended by taking in confidential men from the State branches and subordinate branches within the States.

Such confidential men undertake to be the medium for procuring for the secretary of the committee a list of names of wealthy German-Americans of their State, from whom it may be expected that they can be enlisted in the cause of the alliance.

The secretary of the committee keeps a list of such names and notes in it the correspondence carried on with the individuals and its results.

The committee applies to the people entered in the list, inclosing the above-mentioned pamphlet, inviting them to take part in a collection for the National Alliance, and either to make a single donation to it or to pledge themselves to an annual contribution.

All letters sent out by the committee in this matter are to be signed by its chairman and secretary.

The committee requests the patrons of the alliance to communicate directly with the committee. For this purpose the latter designates a member of the committee as receiver of such contributed moneys.

The secretary of the committee keeps the confidential men informed of the result of the correspondence with the individuals in their respective States. If a personal interview with such person seems desirable, the confidential men can be commissioned therewith.

The committee is to keep the president of the alliance informed of the progress of this propaganda.

The committee turns over semiannually all moneys received to the treasurer of the alliance.

The expenses of the propaganda are borne by the alliance.

[January 1912, p. 3.]

AN APPEAL TO THE GERMAN SOCIETIES OF THE UNITED STATES.

[After summing up the situation in some preambles the following appeal is sent out:]

Every German society is therefore urgently requested to make the petitions of the Alliance its own and to send them directly with the signatures of presidents and secretaries to the representatives of their States. The officials of the State branches of the National Alliance are requested to send the petitions, which will immediately come to them properly drawn up, to all the Members of Congress of their States at Washington, and to request the branches of the State associations to do the same.

[From the January number, p. 4.]

[In the New Year's editorial progress is reported, the supplying of public libraries with the society's publications is recommended, the enlargement of the Bulletin is spoken of, and the members are urged to make efforts for the increase of its circulation.]

Every official of the State and city branches and also the individual societies

should do this. Furthermore [so should], those who have never yet been able to see that the Germanism of this country has every reason to stand firm and united just as well as the German Empire in Europe.

[February, 1912, p. 3.]

[In the correspondence from Minnesota occurs the following paragraph, after some discussion on the so-called Sheppard Bill then before Congress:]

It is sufficient for us to know that the Sheppard bill is nothing more than another fanatical attempt to encroach upon the rights of the individual, to shake the foundation of our Constitution, the guaranteed right of personal liberty. Wherever our societies have not yet stated their position toward this bill they should do it without delay. * * *

* * * * * * *

The State branch for New Jersey has performed excellent work in the congressional agitation. The petitions against the obstruction of interstate commerce were promptly sent to the president of the State branch, who has already sent the answers of 6 of the 10 Congressmen from New Jersey.

[February, 1912, p. 3.]

A GERMAN VICTORY.

[From Chicago, Ill., it is reported:]

The efforts of the German members of the school board, Oscar F. Greifenhagen, Henry W. Huttmann, and David M. Pfaelzer, to obtain for German instruction in the public schools once more the place which belongs to it and to secure for this branch of instruction a supervisor of its own who can watch over it as an expert, have finally been crowned with success.

[February, 1912, p. 4.]

[A discussion by Dr. Hexamer of the proposed peace treaties with England and France contains the following:]

For many years English diplomacy has endeavored—and it and the American press, which, with few exceptions, follows its example, is always in pursuit of this object—to put forward Germany as the disturber of international peace. They have even Anglicized the good old German word "Kriegsherr" by "war-lord" instead of translating it in accordance with truth by the English equivalent, "commander in chief"; whereby its significance has been perverted so as to give the opposite impression.

On every occasion offered me in the near and distant past—in short, always—I have urged it upon the German people to defeat the work of their slanderers, for in truth the Germans are the most peace loving of all nations, and no government of any people ever wishes the maintenance of peace more honestly for its unhindered public progress and cultural development than the German people. I, myself, have always done everything in my power to bring about a peace pact between the land of my birth and the home of my ancestors. For these reasons I have emphasized the narrowmindedness of the plan which considered only a peace treaty with England and with the French nation now allied with her by the so-called "entente cordiale." In all reports, petitions, correspondence, etc., which I have to sign, I have always proceeded from the fixed standpoint that in peace treaties of our government Germany and all other nations should be equally considered and have equal rights. The millions of Germans and our Irish fellowcitizens, and all their posterity, will never more permit our country to be involved in compromising treaties or alliances. Any attempts aiming in that or similar direction on the part of the Anglo-Americans will therefore meet with an irrestible obstacle.

[February, 1912, p. 4.]

Dr. Hexamer, president of the German-American Alliance, has been for the last weeks in an unenviable position. On one hand he was urged to protest in the name of the Alliance against the arbitration treaties with England and France now before the Senate and on the other hand he was asked to give his assent to the support of these treaties. He has done neither. According to the resolutions of the Washington convention the position of the Alliance must be a waiting one and remain so until there lies before the Senate a treaty ratified by Germany. A protest against the treaties under discussion with England and France is not best in view of the negotiations in

progress between the United States and Germany. * * * In order to be sure that negotiations with Germany are really in progress, Dr. Richard applied both to the President of the United States and to the German Embassy [and received answers which are given in English].

[February, 1912, p. 5.]

A LESSON FOR AMERICAN REPORTERS.

[At the end of a review, signed by Dr. Hexamer, of an article in the Outlook by Count von Bernstorff:] What the article makes especially clear for us is the necessity of opening entirely different sources for American news gathering. The English-language newspapers, the majority of which are always ready to proceed with American fairness, will come to this conviction themselves when they compare the calm presentation of facts on the part of the German Ambassador with the reports published by them at the time. They will doubtless then on the next occasion proceed more cautiously; that is, either demand thorough knowledge of the matters concerned or reports from reliable sources. We must, also, at last, free ourselves here in America from the English control of the press, as well as our own American exaggerations, which undermine the regard for free speech in our entire press and have an effect actually injurious to culture, whether among the American people themselves or with reference to the cultural development of the world.

[March, 1912, p. 3.]

GERMAN-AMERICAN WOMEN BEFORE THE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY IN THE SENATE.

For the first time in the history of the Germans in the United States there appeared on the 17th of February a monster delegation of German-American women in Congress and removed the impression entirely which some 50 prohibition ladies had made on the 30th and 31st of January.

[A long report follows, the beginning of which reads thus:]

A valiant army, consisting of more than 100 ladies of the women's branches of the German-American Alliance, recently took the Capitol by storm.

[March, 1912, p. 4.]

A LESSON FOR GERMAN SOCIETIES AND CONGREGATIONS.

[A Chicago German gymnastic society rejected with a large majority the proposition to carry on their deliberations in English.]

The society deserves double recognition. In the first place, for the rejection of the proposal, and, secondly, that they have brought out the cancer which is gnawing at the vitals of many German societies and congregations and removed it with a sure hand at its beginning. May all German associations take a lesson from it. The danger must be opposed vigorously at the proper time, openly and freely, as becomes German men. The sooner that Germans recognize their weaknesses the more easily can they be removed. * * * In the congregations and the church societies, as we learn from the lips of the clergy, the cause of the weakening of German congregations is the joining by Germans of Anglo-American congregations and church societies. Whoever will be and remain German must act as such in the family, in the society, and in the congregation.

[March, 1912, p. 8.]

[There appears a list of textbooks and monographs referring to instruction in German in American schools, recommending them and telling where they can be obtained. The next article, by the editor of the paper, is as follows:]

A REPLY TO A SPEECH MADE BY THE REV. DINWIDDIE ENTITLED "OUR DEAR GERMAN-AMERICAN FRIENDS."

Dr. J. C. Hexamer, president of the German-American National Alliance, in his speeches sometimes tells how the German-Americans, when they first appeared in Congress some 10 years ago, were represented by a Rev. Crafts as a "lot of Dutch anarchists." Dr. Hexamer points out how, by the vigorous action of the alliance in national legislation, many things have been changed.

[On the same page is a laudatory notice of a book just published in Berlin by a military society entitled "Deutschland Als Weltmacht."]

[April, 1912, p. 3.]

Another sign of the times and a consequence of the Anglophile attitude of American papers: James I. Regan, president of the Ancient Order of Hibernians, advises the young Irishmen who sit in great numbers in the editorial rooms of the American press, to become publishers.

[April, 1912, p. 4.]

As early as 1902 the German-American Central Union of Pennsylvania, at the instigation of the Western (now Allegheny County) Branch, put the question to the candidates for the legislature whether they were in favor of a certain measure.

[May, 1912, p. 3.]

[Referring to the naturalization laws and citizenship conditions of the Germans in other countries, the following paragraph appears:]

In the meantime they had learned that relationship of blood and race does not cease even abroad to cause the German citizen while abroad, even if he is speaking English in America or wearing a pigtail in China, not to be lost to his native land, in spite of that, in intellectual and economic relations.

[May, 1912, p. 4.]

[In criticizing a pessimistic article found in a German periodical it says editorially:]

The writer seems not to know that the Germans in Ohio, Indiana, New Jersey, and other States gave the politicians surprises in the last election of governors. This was four years ago. Since the foundation of the German-American National Alliance the Germans have gained in political influence and are still gaining.

[May, 1912, p. 5.]

THE ANTI-GERMAN AGAIN AT WORK.

Shall we German-Americans now by silence encourage the anti-German press to further disgraceful deeds? Have we any method at our command to bring our displeasure in this matter effectively to their notice? A means which in such cases has often been applied with success was the withdrawal of patronage as readers and advertisers, but it would not miss its effect if an educated public should show itself irresponsive to all the proposals and recommendations which are represented by these papers and to all political candidates who are supported by them.

[May, 1912, p. 6.]

[Referring to the immigration bill introduced by Representative Curley of Massachusetts:]

It is possible to advise the branches of the Alliance to petition the Committee on Immigration of the House of Representatives in favor of the bill; also societies of other nationalities should be instigated to petition.

[May, 1912, p. 8.]

[Quoting an article from a Lutheran paper, as follows:]

"A German club has been formed in Yonkers which already reckons 50 members and is working to the end that Yonkers obtain an honest city government in the German sense. This is for every German-American just as desirable as the desire that all Germans in our country should stand together in worldly affairs in order that the nativism which awakes from time to time and becomes active may not work with success against our religious schools."

[The article continues:]

"We note with pleasure that the conviction is gaining more and more in clerical circles that cooperation of all Germans is desirable in worldly affairs and that nativism is just as great an enemy of the German schools as of the social gatherings."

[June, 1912, p. 4.]

[In a discussion of the relations of the Turnvereins (German gymnastic societies) and the branches of the Alliance, occurs the following:]

In the report [of the committee of the Turnerbund on intellectual activities] as accepted is a statement with reference to the German language and the national alliance [Turnerbund]: "We see with regret that the use of the German language in the

Vereins, and especially during the gymnastic exercises, is falling more and more into disuse. Although the exclusive use of the German language is an impossibility and the admission of the English language seems necessary, we must still, in all seriousness, suggest that with the loss of the German language a part of the German life and German gymnastic spirit is lost. We recommend that officials of the Vereins, and especially the teachers of gymnastics, give the German language the preference."

[June, 1912, p. 5.]

[On the same subject:]

It is now of the greatest consequence that all branches of the National Alliance and allied organizations use their influence upon the members of the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization by telegrams, letters, and resolutions to report the bill favorably.

[July, 1912, p. 5.]

[An attack upon an article by George von Skal, entitled "The Kaiser in American Po itics," contains the following:]

He [Mr. von Skal] must know that the National Alliance has developed a successful activity in behalf of all the things which we have especially at heart and which, just because they are everybody's business nobody has taken hold of vigorously before: such as maintenance of German customs and views, the German language and German instruction, the German churches, German literature, opposition to narrow-mindedness and intolerant Puritanism in every form, as well as the beverage question, which bear upon a cheerful, sensible enjoyment of life. He must know that the Alliance is always on the spot when it is necessary to protect specific German interests and that it, in consideration of its really very insignificant means, has already accomplished very much good.

[August, 1912 p. 4.]

The proposal that the United German Societies of the State of New York, the National German-American Alliance, and the societies belonging to it, declare themselves opposed to all city and State expenditure for the celebration of the hundred years of peace between England and America "since this is a one-sided celebration and might cause other nationalities, with the same or still greater rights, to make similar demands for pecuniary support on the Government," has been accepted by the executive of the National German-American Alliance.

[September, 1912, p. 6.]

By the efforts of the president of the State Branch of Minnesota, in the month of of July a conference took place in the State capitol at St. Paul of officers and representatives of the branch with the governor and commissioner of the department of labor, commerce, and trade, to discuss the legislative propositions which are to be put before the next legislature.

[October, 1912, p. 3.]

[An address by President Hexamer dated Spetember 17, 1912:]

It is now time for the German-Americans in general, and the members of the alliance in particular, to make sure of the position which the candidates for Congress, who are either already nominated or soon expect to be nominated, take toward the resolutions expressed in our constitution and formulated by our national convention. I request you, therefore, to write immediately to the presidents of the branch societies of your State organizations and advise them to instruct the committee on legislation of each branch that the following questions be put in writing to the candidates in each place for answer. [A list of questions follows covering the following points: Immigration, prohibition, forest conservation, instruction in foreign languages in the public schools, especially German.] * * * The answers to these questions in definite form on the part of the candidates of your State is indispensable in order that the German-American voters in each congressional district may be instructed beforehand accurately upon the attitude of the candidates. The answers of the candidates are to be published by the respective committees of the branches and a copy sent to the central bureau of the National Alliance.

[November, 1912.]

[The November number contains reports from many of the States on the result of the interrogatories referred to in the last quotation.]

[December, 1912. p. 3.]

[In the Alabama report, the State president in his address to the delegates spoke as follows:]

Propaganda, gentlemen, is the chief thing; our existence and our future depends upon it. Able agitators ought to visit the Germans of the State and establish branches wherever possible. In this way the influence of the State alliance in politics would quickly grow, and the results would certainly follow. I advise you, therefore, gentlemen, to consider ways and means for providing the necessary means for the committee on propaganda. * * *

[The secretary in his report stated:]

We live to see the day when the votes of the German-Americans in the State give the sole decision in the election. In any case we have done all that has been possible in national affairs. Something like 600 letters and circulars have been sent by the secretary to Congressmen and Senators; partly to protest against making the immigration laws stricter, partly against the Sheppard liquor bill, and then as to the commercial treaty between England and the United States. In the first two cases our efforts were successful, and in the latter case the negotiations, so to speak, are in statu quo.

[On page 5 is an address by Hans Schmidt, vice president of the State organization, from which the following is translated:]

The German here in America had never been an office hunter. Then a time suddenly came when German men appeared who revealed this weakness. An awakening went through all German-America. The result was the foundation of the National German-American Alliance; and although many first smiled incredulously time showed them better. The alliance now counts more than 2,000,000 members scattered through all States of the Union. We have become a power with which the politicians must reckon. We will always remain good American citizens but at the same time we wish to cultivate German things and German manners We atatck no one; but if anyone attacks us, we bite.

[In the report from Indiana on the same page is the following, reprinted from a German paper in Indianapolis:]

The Democratic victory in the State of Indiana is at the same time a German victory [after stating the point at issue—local option]. For this reason the State alliance of German societies entered the political arena and named orators who made energetic propaganda against the movement. Their efforts were followed by success.

III. Translations from the Mitteilungen, the Official Bulletin of the National German-American Alliance, for the Year 1913.

[January, 1913, p. 2.]

THE TEACHING OF GERMAN IN INDIANA.

[Concerning the activity of the State alliance of Indiana and its board of commissioners for German education, the following interesting report is given out by Prof. J. H. Henke:]

1. In order to spur the youth, which is learning the German language, on to greater activity, every city alliance should present a gold and a silver medal for the best accomplishments of the students.

2. To properly foster a love for art in the German way, as well as to awaken a proper pride in the German-American youth for the accomplishments of the German artist [Wagner], a Wagner celebration by the singing [or glee] clubs is warmly recommended. An effort should also be made to interest the proper authorities in the holding of a Wagner celebration in the public schools.

3. In cities where there is a German theater it would be highly desirable to set aside a number of free seats, or at least make concessions in the price of seats, for the use of the students of German, in order to give them the opportunity to put to a practical use their knowledge of German and fill them with enthusiasm for the German language and German art. This plan is also recommended to all glee clubs in the holding of their regular concerts.

4. Inasmuch as there are a great many German settlers throughout the State who desire to remain real Germans but who, on account of the lack of necessary experience and initiative, have allowed the instruction in German to be taken from them, and who, therefore, without energetic action from without within a reasonable time, are sacrificed [or exposed] to a complete Anglicization; for this reason an educational

campaign from the larger cities should be brought upon the scene. By such settlers as these joining the State alliance and through the introduction of genuine German instruction, they would be lastingly held to the German nationality. An energetic force [of men], with the necessary understanding of the condition and with sufficient organizing and oratorical talent, should be employed by the State alliance, or, better still, by the National Alliance, to take such settlers unto themselves [embrace them in their organization]. The right force could, wherever possible, collect their expenditures from the settlers themselves. One hundred dollars should be donated by the alliance for this purpose.

5. Inasmuch as an energetic, educated German teaching profession is the first preliminary condition for the continued existence of German nationality in America, and because such a teaching class is simply unthinkable without a normal school, we therefore realize it as the first duty of the German nationality to put the German-American Normal School in Milwaukee beyond any doubt on a sound financial basis, that the board of directors and the teachers of this excellent institution may be freed from all worry for the future in order that they may give their undivided attention to this great and noble work. An active support of this institution is therefore a necessity. To send students from our State to this institution and realize the usefulness of the same, a sum of $250 should be given out yearly for scholarships.

6. To prevent any lack of advice from competent authorities for the State Alliance in its endeavors for a better German education, a permanent board of authorities, consisting of three supervisors from the heads of German-language teaching departments of the universities of the State, and two school teachers from the public schools, the president and secretary of the State Alliance to be ex officio members of the board.

Inasmuch as the same conditions exist throughout the entire country as in Indiana, it might be well to give a more detailed explanation of the plan.

Every member of the National Alliance is well aware of the successes which this movement for German instruction throughout the United States has had since the founding of the Alliance. These successes give the German nationality a right to hope for a future in the United States. But they are not enough by far, and are of importance only insofar as they point to the course which should be pursued in the future. This movement, then, has only made a beginning.

Quite independent of this German movement among the people another movement in favor of German instruction occurred in the last decade; namely, the increase of students of German in the high schools and universities. Sixteen years ago the University of Indiana had more instructors of Latin than German. In spite of the enormous growth of the university, the number of Latin instructors has decreased by almost half. On the other hand the number of German instructors has tripled itself. In the same space of time the number of high-school students taking German has increased from an insignificant number to 140. This shows the desire of the American for the practical. Whether properly or not, he [the American] is gradually turning from the old languages to the newer ones.

In spite of the fact that these figures are very encouraging for the teachers of German, there is still much left to be desired. There are, indeed, thousands of candidates for degrees from high schools and universities who have pursued the study of German, but only a very few who have command enough of the language to read with ease and enjoyment, let alone speak it. Under these circumstances German instruction has just about as much worth as the study of Latin. As soon as this is discovered by the practical American, German, like Latin, will be thrown overboard like a useless ballast. The representatives of this movement in the high schools and universities must better this condition. Many a far-sighted teacher has long been aware of this; but he is unfortunately helpless. The American board of education has little understanding for the needs of instructors of language, and this condition will not change unless pressure from outside sources is brought to bear.

Why should these two movements in favor of instruction in German, which, indeed, have the same goal, march still farther apart? Shall not the German instructor, supported by a mighty national assembly, succeed in removing the deficiency that stands in the way and thereby make every high school and university into a hot-house of German culture? Would not the instructors, in this case, play directly into the hands of the National Alliance?

* * * Furthermore, there are, besides many German church schools, several public schools where German is taught in each year of the school course. * * *

[Plans were discussed of subsidizing teachers of German to attend summer courses in the German normal institute at Milwaukee. It was decided, however, to center the effort at the Indiana State University at Bloomington.]

This granted $150 to establish a summer course for German teachers on condition that the State branch of the alliance would add $250. * * *

[January, 1913, p. 4.]

[As to electioneering activity against the Kenyon bill:]
The presidents and secretaries of all branches of the German-American Alliance are hereby ordered and requested to make out and to send the petition forms which they will receive promptly, with the name of the State and the date, the name of the Senator, of the branch, and of the officials whose signatures appear.

[February, 1913, p. 2.]

There will be submitted to the Legislature of Nebraska by the school committee of the State branch of the alliance a bill in accordance with which the introduction of foreign-language instruction in the public schools shall be made possible wherever a certain number of pupils enter for the instruction. To obtain a copy of the bill with special arguments in English, etc., write to the chairman of the school committee of the State branch, C. A. Sommer, Lincoln, Nebr

[February, 1913, p. 4.]

[A new chairman of the immigration committee, Mr. A. F. Trappe, had been appointed:]
He is specially qualified for this, having been for a long time secretary of the war immigration bureau of Maryland. He has already been heard from, and has sent to President Taft the following protest against signing the Burnett bill:
"In the name of the immigration committee of the National German-American Alliance we respectfully request your excellency to veto the Burnett bill and all similar measures which would exclude desirable immigrants by virtue of the so-called educational test."

[February, 1913, p. 7.]

Dr. H. H. Fick, president of the National German-American Association of Teachers, in his annual report on the activities of the branches of the National Alliance for German instruction expresses his recognition as follows:
"The agitation for the purpose of extending German instruction has, thanks to the efforts of the individual State branches of the German-American Alliance, better results to show than has been the case for years. Energetic propaganda in behalf of the German language are to be kept up in English circles. It is desirable to have the importance of German in the curriculum explained by competent speakers at meetings of English teachers. The National Alliance has earned deserved praise by the printing and circulation of propaganda in the English language * * *."

[March, 1913, p. 4.]

[In an article on President Taft's veto of the immigration bill:]
As is known, President Taft vetoed the bill and the Senate passed it with more than two-thirds majority over his veto. The battle seemed lost. Then the German-American Alliance notified its 500 branches by telegraph. A storm of dispatches overwhelmed the Members of the House of Representatives. The energetic action of the organized Germans brought victory. The House supported President Taft's veto.
[In a report of the Pennsylvania branch organization:]
In close connection with the efforts for children's choruses, although this connection can not be established until later, stands the introduction of German instruction in the elementary courses of the Philadelphia public schools. A beginning was made in December with the agitation, in the way of a recommendation for this instruction in one school in one district as a test. Some thousands of copies of an individual petition to the school board from the voters in the district are already prepared, and nothing will be left undone by the Philadelphia branch to collect thousands more, in order that the weight of the masses who announce themselves in favor of the introduction of German may have an impressive and successful effect. It will have almost a comic effect, that in this district, one of those having the smallest relative German population in the city, voters of Irish, English, etc., extraction, pay more attention to the agitation than the German-American nationality; this will, however, make the conditions all the more favorable for the success of the measure.

[March, 1913, p. 5.]

[At the New Year's Eve celebration of the Austro-Hungarian Club at Seattle, Wash., Mr. Stephen Silverman gave a short talk about the significance of the association, on the great principles of the National Alliance, and closed after he had praised the love of art and the ideals of the culture in the German spirit:]

Not only in this sense, but also on account of the strengthening and increasing of the power of German nationality in America, brought about by the connection with the National German-American Alliance, do we hail the founding of the Austro-Hungarian Club of Spokane, as well as its early appearance in the open, and we wish from our heart that it may have a long, noble, and blessed existence.

[March, 1913, p. 7]

[Report from Los Angeles, Cal.:]
The German-American Alliance of Los Angeles has sent to all members of that alliance circulars requesting support of the so-called Newlands river bill.

[April, 1913, p. 4.]

[Extract from the leading article, entitled "German Consuls in America":]
All honor to the German ambassador, Count Johann von Bernstorff. His activity, among the Germans as well as the Americans, bears successful fruit and can be extended to wider circles of the Germans, if the German consuls will work in his spirit and according to his example.

[April, 1913, p. 6.]

[Secretary E. Germann sent in the following:]
On the 22d of February a meeting of the executive heads of the [New Jersey] State alliance was held, at which we adopted the so-called home-rule bill. We hope to push it through the legislature.

[April, 1913, p. 6.]

And why are Germans ashamed of their ancestry and shake their German being and German language off like an uncomfortable shell? Is not the German nation counted among the mightiest of the world? Has not the German nation done her full share of work for the civilization of mankind? Did not Germany break the power of the Romans and give to the world the art of printing, through which last it was first made possible to carry the gospel of freedom to mankind? Has not the German people spilled more blood than any other for religious liberty? Were we not the pioneers along humanitarian grounds? And have we not obligated ourselves to plant many of our better characteristics and virtues in our new fatherland?
Therefore, Germans, Why will you not be German? What separates you from us, what makes you remain away from our alliance? Why are you first Catholics, Jews, freethinkers, and socialists before you will be Germans? Why should religion separate us?

[May, 1913, p. 4.]

In the propaganda against the educational test [for immigrants] the alliance has a new proof of the excellent organization, the resources available, and the trustworthiness and ability of its leaders.
Already at the second convention, which was opened on the 12th of September, 1903, in Baltimore, Dr. Hexamer was able to report that the directorate of the allianece had sent to every Senator and Congressman, as well as the President of the United States, petitions against the immigration bill. It succeeded in defeating in the Senate one of the worst resolutions of the bill passed by the House. * * *

[June, 1913, p. 7.]

The National Alliance, as is known, has worked in favor of physical culture, after the German standards, in the elementary schools.

[August, 1913, p. 1.]

[In this number is noted the formation of a German-Canadian National Alliance on the same lines as the National German-American Alliance. Its program is quoted from a Winnipeg paper, in part, as follows:]
We aim at the association of all German-speaking nations in Canada: Germans, German-Russians, Austrians, Hungarians, Swiss, etc., without regard to their religious belief; [we aim at] instruction in the German language alongside the English in the public schools. They learn to speak German at home, to be sure, but we must insist upon their learning to read and write German. * * *
We demand that the Germans in proportion to their numbers be represented in the local councils, parliaments, and cabinets.

We shall therefore have to take measures for a better distribution of the election districts. In the past the tendency has always been shown to unite a German district with a larger English one so that an English majority was certain.

At election times we will then support everywhere the German candidate, whether he be conservative or liberal. It is not of so much consequence to us to engage in political activity as to secure for the Germans due recognition. In the parliaments the German representatives on both sides of the house will then have an opportunity frequently enough to vote together on measures which concern us Germans directly—school legislation, local option, division of election districts, Sunday legislation, etc.

[August, 1913, p. 6.]

[Part of proceedings at a meeting of the Wisconsin branch:]

Another resolution of the convention which deserves imitation everywhere aims at the procuring of textbooks which give consideration to the importance of Germans in American history. * * *

As German-Americans we can point to a glorious past and look resolutely forward to a no less glorious future; but as Americans we are nothing but an unknown quantity in the great mixture of nationalities in this country.

* * * * * * *

President Leo Stern considered the time at hand to change our activities from the defensive to the offensive. He said it was necessary to make demands such as are to the advantage of the development of the influence of the German-Americans. For this is necessary a greater spirit of sacrifice, a more vigorous cooperation, a deeper understanding of the meaning and purpose of the National Alliance and the most complete unity in the German ranks.

[August, 1913, p. 7.]

[Dr. Hexamer:]

The National Alliance is the indestructible citadel in which the treasures of the highest and best of life's goods in German spirit, German sense, and feeling are safeguarded, and from where, in case of danger or loss looming up, fresh, never-failing restitution is offered.

[September, 1913, p. 7.]

[A review of a special article in The Echo, a Berlin commercial publication, contains the following:]

In regard to their estimate of the German-Americans, our compatriots in Germany should once for all be relieved of the mistaken idea—it is, to be sure, pardonable—that a German must remain unconditionally a German citizen or no longer be a German. Here in America the so-called nativists make enough trouble in a similar way—which is also easily excusable—by a sort of patriotism which may be called feudal. * * *

It should be the task of Germans in America not to rest until "Americanizing" means the same thing as "Germanizing": to work for German ideals, German science, German art and civilization [kultur], and for the imparting of German depth of soul to the character of the American people, and to cultivate the noble gifts which have come down to us from our ancestors.

He is not the true patriotic American citizen who casts off his Germanism and discards it like an old glove, but he who venerates his Germanism and tries to impart to his adopted country everything useful and laudable.

[October, 1913, p. 4.]

[An article on the decadence of the so-called "Pennsylvania Dutch" dialect, attributing the loss to the moving pictures, lamenting the suspension of the old Pennsylvania-Dutch Adler, of Reading, Pa., and recommending the Pennsylvania Germans to join the National Alliance lest they become entirely Americanized.]

[October, 1913, part 2, p. 2.]

[The president's address in part is as follows:]

[The alliance] is the National Alliance of all German-Americans, and it has the ear of the mass in your behalf for all details. The masses are only impressed by mass [quantity]. This is the National Alliance which can cry in your behalf, "the cause demands it." * * *

We are standing at the parting of the ways and we must stay on the tree, whether as a slender twig or a sturdy branch. * * *

An uncommonly important task of the central bureau is the distribution of press notices, and for this very reason it should be supplied directly with authentic news from the best sources.

The English press of our country is not quite so indifferently disposed to us now, even if there is still important work for us in this matter. The German-American press has become united with us more than ever. You have been able to follow them satisfactorily through the publication of the news received by the press agents from the central bureau and distributed everywhere. * * * [These press notices] will furnish authentic data for American or a German-American historical writing. * * * All this is reaching constantly extending circles in this country, and also in Germany, where a really definite understanding of the nature of our alliance has been considered from points of view which were utterly unjustified. In latter years this has improved somewhat, and so we find, even in Germany, voices enough which do justice to the real nature of our National Alliance and have understood its importance in a really comprehensive manner.

[October, 1913, pt. 2, p. 4.]

In June, 1912, the executive of the National Alliance, at the request of the United German Societies of the State of New York, determined to protest against all State or city expenditures for the celebration of the centennial of peace between England and America.

[October, 1913, pt. 2, p. 6.]

[The State Alliance in Indiana, after a preamble emphasizing the importance of the influence of moving pictures as an educational medium, proposes the following:]

That the State Alliance at the next national convention shall urge that this question be carefully considered by the theater committee and that, if possible, the attempt be made to have films of instructive character and German manufacture, as well as historical and classical films and those which present scenes from German fairy tales, pictures of cities, events from the old homeland, from German industrial life, etc., introduced as far as possible here.

[October, 1913, pt. 2, p. 15.]

[Report from the Ohio branch.]

[Recommendations:]

Forming connections between the National Alliance and associations in Germany with similar objects.

Common action with the United German Societies of New York in the matter of support for the German-American Normal Institute in Milwaukee.

The foundation of German gymnastic societies (Turnvereins): "The German physical education is the only rational one, constructed upon pedagogical foundations. A second important point is that (unless such are established) many of our young German-Americans will be lost to us in the matter of our theory of life, if they are obliged to join the Y. M. C. A. It must certainly be our duty to assure our theory of life to our young men for the future."

[November, 1913, p. 31.]

The press committee recommends the sending of the press bureau notices in the future not only to the dailies but also to the weeklies of the country, especially in States which have no German dailies.

[November, 1913, p. 36.]

[From proceedings of the annual convention:]

On motion of Delegate J. B. Mayer, the convention adopted a resolution of protest against alleged statements of the American Ambassador Page which might produce the impression that the English still ruled in the United States. * * *

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[From the report of the committee on propaganda at the convention:]

Most of the history textbooks used in the public schools either do injustice to the German pioneers and their descendants or overlook them entirely. We have, to be sure, historical books which can be read by experts; but the national executive should find ways and means for providing one or more books intelligible for children, in which the German shall properly be treated in all his activity, his suffering and endurance, and in proportion to his great participation in the development of his adopted country.

We regard the formation of children's singing classes as a further possible and excellent means to give and maintain for our young posterity affection for the German language and German ideals.

* * * * * * *

Further, it should be a life task to watch with Argus eyes over the relations between our adopted country and European States, in order that the good relation between America and Germany be not disturbed by any other foreign influence, for our position is in many ways dependent on a good understanding between our fatherland and adopted country.

[November, 1913, p. 42.]

Delegate Richard Bartholdt offered the following resolution, which was unanimously adopted:

"The alliance support all efforts in the direction of liberty and independence wherever such efforts appear, and therefore expresses its warmest sympathy for the Irish in their struggle for home rule."

[December, 1913, p. 4.]

[In a discussion of the significance of the centenaries of the German war of liberation:]

We need a loyal, united body of Germans to conquer for German nationalism in our new home a place in the sun and to win for the German immigration and its merits the recognition which is now only granted with reluctance.

In the west of the United States, which is even to-day still the land of unbounded possibilities, the conditions are more favorable. There the Germans manage to make their way and to attain their objects more successfully than in the east, where long struggles are necessary in order at last to reach what is desired.

IV. Translations from the Mitteilungen, the Official Bulletin of the National German-American Alliance, for the Year 1914.

[March, 1914, p. 6.]

THE NATIONAL ALLIANCE AS EXAMPLE.

[A German-Brazilian National Alliance by the association of German vereins [clubs, societies] is suggested in Porto Allegre.]

* * * And from these facts [concerning the status of Germanism in South America, as expressed by President Fonseca] the conviction has arisen that we have blossomed long enough in seclusion and patiently allowed ourselves to be shoved aside long enough now to resort to a contrary procedure, namely, to move forcefully, to make use of our elbows and to test the truth of the old proverb "In unity there is strength." In this way then has the suggestion been made by the association of German vereins in Porto Allegre to establish a German-Brazilian National Alliance in accordance with North American type, an alliance which is to unite all the German-speaking Brazilians into one large unified association.

[May, 1914, p. 2.]

THE NATIONALISTIC SIDE OF THE PROHIBITION MOVEMENT ILLUMINATED BY STATE PRESIDENT DR. DURAND.

* * * Through our action we have proved to the Anglo-Americans that we have the right to exist, and, therefore, we also must take the attitude in politics and civic life, which is due us, and belongs to us. * * *

[June, 1914, p. 9.]

AGITATION FOR GERMAN INSTRUCTION.

* * * The chairman of the school committee of the State association, Dr. Ransmeier, has communicated with the superintendent of public schools in New Orleans, to obtain permission from him that pupils who enter high school next year be required to study German. In order to be able to reach the parents of the children, circulars presenting the advantages of the mastery of the German language will be printed and distributed to the pupils. * * *

[July, 1914, p. 1.]

ELIMINATION OF FALSEHOODS OF HISTORY.

The chairman of the school committee indicates the difficulties and develops his plan.

"American histories are full of anti-German falsehoods which should be eliminated." German orators are wont to indulge occasionally in phrases of this kind. Now, how does this matter really stand?

Well, I think that any person who has taken the trouble to peruse critically the histories used in our schools will admit that historical writing has heretofore not been what it should be. However, it is not so much a question of downright falsehoods as of sins of omission; the great civilizational influence of the German population is left out of account in the story. Not a single word is written concerning what has been done by the German element of our population. Our aim, therefore, is not to eliminate but to supplement or correct the historical statement.

* * * * * * *

With regard to instruction in American history, the recommendations of the American Historical Association are now authoritative. This, to be sure, is only a private society, but its membership is composed of historians and persons interested in historical investigation, and of professors who write school histories, etc., and so the American Historical Association is often considered the highest authority. It is hardly to be expected that if left to itself it will ever deviate from the course upon which it has started, and attempts which we might make to convert it would have little prospect of success.

In the year 1909 the American Historical Association appointed a committee of 8 members to formulate recommendations concerning the teaching of history in the public schools. Two German professors, viz, Dr. Goebel, of Illinois and Dr. Faust, of New York, then made addresses before the American Historical Association on German-American history, on which occasion they threw light upon the defects of American histories and set forth the German point of view. What influence these addresses have had can scarcely be defined. They do not appear to have effected any alteration of the recommendations which doubtless had already been adopted.

* * * * * * *

Our campaign of resistance would consist in our carrying on a propaganda for the book by giving it our formal indorsement and on occasion by advocating through our branches the purchases of the book by school boards. As soon as we have a good book, which meets our requirements and is excellent also in other ways, so as to please other nationalities, with a smart publishing house behind it and with its organization, together with our organization, we shall probably have turned the trick. When other publishers see that they are at a disadvantage in selling their books written in strict conformity with the American Historical Association pattern and disregarding the Germans, it is to be expected that in future editions these books will be "corrected" accordingly. If you want to do anything with an American you must attack his pocketbook. Having once started the thing, when we have proved to publishers that they must reckon with our influence, the thing will run itself. Then we shall no longer have to bother with the recommendation of the American Historical Association.

In order to do some preliminary work along this line, I applied last December to D. C. Heath & Co., New York, N. Y., a firm meeting all requirements in a commercial way and whose new school history pays more attention to Germans than any other thus far published and to me seems excellent in other respects as well (Bourne & Benton, United States History, 1913). I inquired whether they might ultimately be willing to make a few further alterations of the book, so as to remodel it more in accordance with our desires. The answer was favorable, but as one of the authors is sojourning in Europe such definite suggestions as I would like to lay before the committee could not be formulated. I also wrote to another firm, which also showed great interest.

I then laid the matter before the central bureau in March. The idea was there heartily approved. The central bureau then very kindly undertook to write to all well-known publishers of school histories. This was intended primarily as a broad hint to convince publishers of the risk which they might run if they continued ignoring Germans in their presentations of history. The central bureau in this way discovered two other publishers who are preparing school histories, and who requested a detailed statement, which I have supplied. It is to be expected that one of them will produce a serviceable book. It is also reported that a firm has now declared itself willing to publish a book entirely in accordance with our scheme. We shall, therefore, presumably soon have several good books.

Meantime it would be proper, inasmuch as Heath & Co. have taken the first step in our direction, for us to carry on a propaganda for their book. We must encourage such people by powerful support. As soon as negotiations have proceded further I will lay the matter before the whole committee. The National Alliance does not need to be precipitate in the matter; still, it would be a good thing if individual State and city societies were to take up the matter at once and investigate Heath & Co.'s book. The Nebraska school committee, if possible next month at our State convention, will advocate an indorsement of this book. I am informed by the central bureau that Prof. Leo Stern, of Milwaukee, has also recently expressed himself as favoring Heath's book.

[September, 1914, p. 1.]

[The following article by Dr. C. J. Hexamer appeared on p. 1:]

ALL GERMANS SHALL HOLD FIRMLY TOGETHER AND SHOULD FIGHT AGAINST ALL HOSTILE ATTACKS.

* * * * * * *

In every city there should be a bureau of literature with an efficient press agent established, a press agent who should react immediately in the English language upon all hostile attacks and ignorant statements of irresponsible reporters of English newspapers.

Furthermore, in every branch of this organization collections should be inaugurated whose proceeds should be kept for the use of the national executive of the National German-American Alliance, right up to the time when the national executive, in accordance with the purpose of these collections, may apply them for our relations in Germany, or at any other place where a crying need is directed to us. * * *

[President Hexamer had the above followed by this summons:]

ALL SHOULD HELP.

To all German instructors, all those who have studied in German universities, and to every German who is literarily inclined, as follows:

The National Alliance in certain places lacks efficient coworkers who can readily handle the English written language and who are suitable for a press controversy. I request, therefore, that those who are capable work diligently for the German language in their homes in this way—that is, by reading the English newspapers carefully and by submitting letters to owners and editors of newspapers, as well as by submitting original articles to the Anglo-American press, * * * as I know, from authoritative sources, an attempt is said to be made, in case England is defeated, to pull the United States into an alliance with England. Therefore, it is important to show, even at this early date, what a colossal power the citizens of German descent actually form.

[September, 1914, p. 2.]

GERMANY'S HONOR OUR HONOR.

[Part of the article is as follows:]

An evident proof that also the sympathies of the Irish-American element, or at least a large part of them, are on the German side was the remittance of a check of $100 to Dr. Hexamer, which was a gift of the city attorney of Philadelphia, Pa., whose name is Mr. Michael J. Ryan, and who had been the Democratic candidate for governor of Pennsylvania. Other subscriptions have also been made from other parties of the Irish-American element in various cities. There is no doubt that the league between the National German-American Alliance and the Ancient Order of Hibernians, which represents the best element of the Irish-American nation, has withstood the test splendidly in the present critical time.

[September, 1914, p. 4.]

THE VALUE OF GERMAN MASS DEMONSTRATIONS.

* * * Gigantic German-American mass demonstrations have taken place in various cities. In other cities they are about to take place. * * *

Even if the Anglo-Americans do not understand us, we have long given up the task of converting them, but we must impress them; and that this has been successful to us there can not be the least doubt.

In all the States may be expected by the Germans energetic interference in electioneering. In some States, as in Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, New York, New Jersey, Minnesota, Washington, California, Oregon, and in others, this has already taken place. Prof. Leo Stern, the president of the German-American State Association of Wisconsin, and one of the most diligent champions of [the] American Germanism, could report that the compilation of the records of candidates for the assembly, the senate, and Congress is ready and has already been turned over to the press. These records, which give the disclosures concerning the attitude of candidates toward the prohibition question and other coercive measures, are kept in English and in the German language. * * *

[September, 1914, p. 6.]

KEEP ON WORKING BRAVELY AND CONFIDENTLY FOR THE GERMAN LANGUAGE AND SCHOOL.

[Parts of the article are as follows:]

In several States there is a definite aim to effect laws in the next legislature which would make easy the introduction of German instruction in public schools. Such work should be continued with energy.

* * * * * * *

There is a movement on foot to incite the Bohemians, Poles, and Italians against the German nationality. We can by tactful procedure on our part lead those nations to decide for us as definitely as the Swedes and the Irish have done.

Since Japan has now attacked Germany there is to be expected a general change in the attitude of America in favor of Germany, a fact which will ease up the work for us. Bills should be drawn up before the election in order to assure their acceptance. It will be most effective to hand these bills first to the lower house, and indeed during the very first days, so that it would receive a favorable place upon the calendar.

[September, 1914, p. 10.]

A SECOND SUMMONS.

[Parts of the article are as follows:]

Electing of liberal-minded State and congressional representatives at the next election.

To German orders, song societies, gymnastic societies, veteran societies, etc.:

A very happy interest has been shown throughout the land in the first summons of the National Alliance for the electing of liberal-minded legislative and congressional representatives. Especially well received was the publication of the vote in the Webb-Kenyon bill in Congress. In the very same way there must be in every State a close account kept concerning the activities of the members of the legislature.

The knowledge and experience which the management of the National Alliance in these 14 years has gathered demand a systematic distribution of subsidiary work among the State associations and individual associations of all kinds, and from these in turn upon their officials, delegates, and associates. This subsidiary work is the fundamental basis of an efficient organization and a successful administration. Without it no election can be won, neither can success be reached in any other field.

[September, 1914, p. 11.]

DR. HEXAMER'S PROTEST IN HIS WRITING TO THE ASSOCIATED PRESS.

[Part of which is as follows:]

Americans of German and Irish descent form three-fourths of the population of the country. The National German-American Alliance therefore requests the American newspapers here in this country, wherever they may be published, to frustrate Japan's plan to participate in the European conflict. We do this first, because we stand for world peace; second, because we wish to maintain peace within our boundaries; and, third, as a means to avoid the necessity for the American Nation finally to be compelled to enter into armed defense against the encroachment of Japanese invasion.

[September, 1914, p. 11.]

THE ABOLITION OF THE CENSORSHIP ON WIRELESS MESSAGES REQUIRED.

The president of the National German-American Alliance, Dr. C. J. Hexamer, has had issued to the assessors and the presidents of the State associations of the alliance the following order:

"Bombard President Wilson and Secretary of State Bryan with dispatches so that censorship on German-American wireless stations will be raised, because any sort of censorship which the United States exercises upon cable dispatches from England and England's allies is a farce, since dispatches can reach this country by way of Canada."

[September, 1914, p. 20.]

A PROTEST AGAINST THE SENDING OF COAL TO CANADA.

Mr. Adolph Niederpruen, secretary of the German-American local association of Detroit, has sent by telegraph a protest to President Wilson against an alleged violation of the neutrality laws through the sending of coal from the United States to Canada by way of Port Huron. The telegram reads as follows:

"Since my attention has been directed to the unusually large shipments of coal to Canada upon the Grand Trunk Railway by way of Port Huron, as secretary of the German-American local association—an association which is composed of 12,500 American citizens of German descent—I consider it as my duty and the duty of the members of this association to protest emphatically and to direct your attention . . this violation of the neutrality proclaimed by you."

[October, 1914, p. 4.]

SPEAK GERMAN.

The following is credited to the Nordstern (North Star), of St. Cloud, Minn., September, 1917:

"And the German language is again in honor. That we hear resounding now with happy confidence, because the German in this country is proud of his fatherland, prouder than ever, and he glorifies it and values it, and—a thing that he has not done for a long while—he is now again beginning to relate to his children stories concerning Germany."

[October, 1914, p. 5.]

SPEAK GERMAN.

We must support with all our power and energy the German press, the German theater, the German song, and the German unions and societies.

[October, 1914, p. 5.]

THE ANGLOPHILE PRESS.

The agitation against Germany in Anglo-American newspapers is now fully explained. Their hands are financially bound. Unfortunately, it is a fact that a whole line of American newspapers are supported by English capital. This explains their preference for everything that is English and the infamous instigation against Germany. It is also evident from this how it comes about that so many Englishmen fill offices as responsible editors. They are a menace to our country since thay lack all true patriotism. They would be ready at any time to force the American Nation into the war as an ally of Great Britain, if they had the power to do so. Fortunately, they have not this power. It is in the interest of the quiet and peace of our country to watch sharply their dirty and traitorous fingers and forestall their plots.

[October, 1914, p. 8.]

THIRD SUMMONS FOR THE ELECTING OF LIBERAL-MINDED LEGISLATORS AND CONGRESSIONAL REPRESENTATIVES AT THE NEXT ELECTION.

Summons to the candidates and voters of all political parties:

The legislative committees of the State and city associations in the entire country are requested to take part energetically in the congressional and legislative elections and to forward to the central bureau of the National Alliance a list of liberal candidates of the State, so that the above-mentioned bureau will be in a position to answer any possible questions of voters of the States in question.

[October, 1914, p. 8.]

CONTRABAND.

The position of the State Department in respect to the flagrant violation of neutrality.

Requests by letters, telegraph, and telephone are coming from all directions to Dr. C. J. Hexamer, the president of the German-American National Alliance, to protest to the Government in Washington against the delivery of war contraband goods, etc. However willing he is to respond to such justified demands, just so hopeless are such protests, nevertheless, in view of the attitude which the State Department at Washington takes in this matter.

[November. 1914, p. 4.]

FOR THE FORTHCOMING ELECTION.

Sample ballots may be procured without difficulty. The officials of various branches of the National German-American Alliance or members designated for this will be found everywhere ready to give necessary instructions. These sample ballots are necessary for citizens who for the first time make use of their right to vote or who are not wholly clear how the ballot is to be filled out in order to count in the battle against the enemies of personal freedom.

[November, 1914, p. 6.]

THE FOURTH SUMMONS.

For the electing of liberal-minded legislative representatives at the next election.

Summons directed to the enfranchised voters of all political parties.

To Americans of German birth and descent:

Another final warning for the main election on November 3. It is a question whether men are to be sent to Congress, or the State legislature, who stand for or against National or State prohibition. It is not a drink question. For the German-American in this election, his national existence or nonexistence is just as much at stake as for the Germans and Austro-Hungarians upon the battlefields of Belgium, France, and Russia.

[November, 1914, p. 8.]

SHARP CONTROL OF THE SCHOOLS NECESSARY.

Even in them [schools] misrepresentation of the world-war is brought.

* * * The National German-American Alliance and its State and branch associations have repeatedly, and not without success, submitted protests to the proper authorities against prohibition agitation in the school. They [the authorities] must double their watchfulness during this critical time. Not only must the nonsensical temperance instruction be thwarted—nonsensical because of its exaggeration—but the anti-German utterances of male and female teachers concerning the war and its causes must be opposed. * * *

THE UNIVERSITIES MUST ALSO BE WATCHED.

* * * Our attention must be directed also to the universities. Very peculiar history teachers are found in some of these universities, history teachers who treat the war from a one-sided viewpoint, namely, from that of England. * * *

[December, 1914, p. 3.]

BECOME CITIZENS.

A recommendation from the secretary of the National Alliance, Mr. Adolph Timm, a recommendation worth following:

[Summarized as follows: A speech delivered by Mr. Timm urging all German-Americans to become citizens so that the various branches of the National German-American Alliance can largely influence all elections.]

[December, 1914, p. 8.]

EFFECTIVE AGITATION.

Successes of the German-American literary defense committee.

* * * The work of the German-American literary defense committee has in the last few weeks taken on unexpected dimensions. Since the committee has resorted to the distribution of pamphlets, people's attention has been drawn by the committee not only from all parts of the United States, but also from Canada, Cuba, and South America. Up to the middle of November 57,000 pamphlets have been distributed free of charge. They are as follows:

20,000 copies of the article by Prof. Burgess, "The present crisis in Europe";
10,000 copies of the book The Truth About Germany;
5,000 copies of the article from Prof. Sloane, "Fair play and neutrality";
10,000 copies of the appeal of Mrs. Niessen-Deiters to the Americans;
5,000 copies of the article by Judge Grosscup concerning Belgium's neutrality;
2,000 copies of the communication from Prof. Schevill, "Germany and the peace of Europe";
3,000 copies of the letter from Gerhard Hauptmann; and
2,000 copies of the proclamation to the Evangelical Christians in America.

* * * * * * *

[December, 1914, p. 10.]

PROTEST.

The following significant warning was taken from the Sonntagsbote [Sunday Messenger], of Pittsburgh, Pa.:

"With all its monstrous frightfulness, this war has had at least one advantage: It has shown in the flashing of cannon how few friends our race possesses, over there as well as in America."

"Read the English newspapers carefully, criticize what the theaters present (for also in them the lying Anglo-Saxonism is promulgated); notice the politics; stand in eternal vigilance for German honor, and—protest."

[December, 1914, p. 11.]

THE GERMAN-IRISH RAPPROCHEMENT.

Found impressive expression in the Academy of Music in Philadelphia on the 24th of November.

Tremendous jubilation filled the house.

The audience sang "God Save Ireland" and "The Watch on the Rhine."

After the applause had subsided, Dr. Hexamer, the president of the National Alliance, stepped forward and delivered an address, which drew forth hearty enthusiasm. He threw light upon the causes of the war, and concluded as follows:

"The best that I have ever done for my fatherland I did when I succeeded, with the help of a number of my American friends, to bring about an alliance between your great national Irish-American organization and the 2,000,000 German-American citizens who are unified in the National German-American Alliance. Without these and their constant watchfulness and work in Congress for more than 10 years our country would have been enticed into an alliance with England. Instead of now enjoying the blessing of peace we should be having war and our young men would be at the front fighting for a country that has for so many centuries crushed freedom in the splendid Emerald Isle, the fatherland of our Irish-American brothers."

V. Translations from the Mitteilungen, the Official Bulletin of the National German American Alliance, for the Year 1915.

[January, 1915.]

[In the new year's greeting of the president of the Alliance there is a reference to the violation of neutrality by the United States resulting "from low commercial motives."]

* * * * * * *

[Report on a book of Dr. Goebel, of Illinois University.]

THE FIGHT FOR GERMAN KULTUR IN AMERICA.

Among the many contributions to German-American history which have appeared in the last years hardly any has greater importance for all Germans in America or offers them more instructive reading than the book by Dr. Julius Goebel, published recently by the firm of Durr, in Leipsic.

* * * * * * *

It will not be difficult for the reader of the book to discover the deep-lying impulses of the German movement in the awakening of the historical self-consciousness of the German-American feeling of unity.

In his first article Dr. Goebel declares that the Germans in America have become unified. The National German-American Alliance, numbering more than 2,000,000 members, is to-day a kultur power, the internal and external influence of which can not be fully estimated.

* * * * * * *

In another article, second of the essays and speeches gathered in Dr. Goebel's book, he emphasizes the importance of the conservation of the language for the continuance of a nationality and says that not only the continuance of Germanism but of modern intellectual kultur depends upon the conservation of the German language.

The Germans in America are an intellectual power, a moral power, by reason of unequaled national intellectual treasures. If they are to exercise this power, they must begin over again with their own youth the true German education, which forms totally different men than the native one, and they must influence the common schools of the country through teachers and example.

Thus wrote Dr. Goebel in 1886; what he longed and hoped for has been realized in the National German-American Alliance founded 14 years later.

Especially timely is the article bearing the title "Why do we German-Americans protest against imperialism?" It is based, on the whole, upon a speech delivered by Dr. Goebel before the members of the Stanford University in California on May 15, 1899. In it he characterized the new contribution to so-called civilization which England discovered of late years, which it wishes to impose upon us, imperialism. The Anglo-Saxon Alliance aims at nothing other than the promotion of English interests. The United States are to be pushed back into the position of a colony, independent to be sure, but obedient. The only power which has opposed England successfully in its imperialistic tendencies is Germany, which has driven out the commerce of England from many markets. Therefore, for years the open cry in England has been "Germany must be destroyed." The London Standard wrote soon after the famous message of the Kaiser to President Kruger, after the frustration of the raid of Dr. Jameson into the Transvaal, "If Germany to-morrow disappeared from the earth, day after to-morrow every Englishman would be richer."

Especially the following words from this speech of Dr. Goebel should be widely published:

"Much better than many a native American we can estimate the precious value of liberty, and so we protest against English imperialism as a crime against the spirit of American liberty. We protest against the farce of an alliance with England or any other power; a farce staged by a number of politicians who possess neither statesman-like wisdom nor diplomatic training. Conscious of the share which we German-Americans have contributed to American civilization, we protest against the English claim to make of this country an Anglo-Saxon colony. We are quite content to be Americans, and the German-Americans from the Atlantic to the Pacific are to-day united by their American patriotism in common protest against Anglo-Saxon imperialism."

The German-American National Alliance will fulfill this historic mission the sooner the more it grows into a political power conscious of its aims, standing above party politics.

[January, 1915, p. 5.]

THE VOTE ON THE PROHIBITION AMENDMENT.

We must courageously continue the work of organization begun so successfully by the National Alliance and its State and local federations. We have to do with enemies who will leave nothing undone to reach the aim they have set themselves. We must, in order to avert their schemes against personal liberty, do the same thing and form a fighting organization as complete and as effective as they have in the Anti-Saloon League. Only when that has been achieved we shall be able to await confidently the outcome of the battle.

[January, 1915, p. 11.]

SECOND GIFT OF THE NATIONAL ALLIANCE FOR WAR SUFFERERS.

The second gift for the war sufferers in Germany and Austria-Hungary, amounting to $100,000, has been sent by Mr. John Tjarks, in Baltimore, to the ambassadors of both countries. Count Bernstorff and Ambassador Dumba have gratefully acknowledged receipt.

[January, 1915, p. 11.]

MR. WEISMANN, AS REPRESENTATIVE OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE NATIONAL ALLIANCE.

Upon wired request of the president of the National German-American Alliance, Dr. C. J. Hexamer, Mr. Henry Weismann, president of the Brooklyn Branch of the National German-American Alliance, spoke before the meeting of the national executive council of the Ancient Order of Hibernians of the United States in New York. Mr. Weismann appealed to the members of the executive council to support the neutrality movement started by the Irish-German popular demonstration in Chicago. He further requested an indorsement of the resolutions adopted in that demonstration. These resolutions demand of Congress the passing of a bill empowering the President of the United States to prevent export of any war material to the belligerent countries of Europe. Mr. Weismann asked that an agitation be made among the Irish-American citizens of this country to achieve everywhe e indorsement of these resolutions.

[January, 1915, p. 11.]

QUOTATION FROM THE CHICAGO PRESSE, IN CONNECTION WITH A LETTER WRITTEN BY FULDA TO THE AMERICANS.

As long as we Germans cripple the German spirit from cowardly timidity, as long as we emphasize at home, in business, and in all business relations the Anglo-Saxon-American instead of remaining honest German-Americans, as long as we allow the German art in America to wither and with the German art also those men who might become the fathers of a German-American literature, so long we have no right to complain that the American treats Germanism as the majority of Germans in America treat it—contemptuously.

[January, 1915, p. 15.]

STATE CONVENTION OF ALABAMA.

It was resolved to protest against the hostile attitude of the Anglo-American papers.

[January, 1915, p. 16.]

STATE CONVENTION OF LOUISIANA.

The German consul in New Orleans, Dr. Paul Roh, declared that in former years the United States Government had treated differently from now the export of war material to belligerent countries.

[January, 1915, p. 17.]

[The Mitteilungen repeatedly published the following request.]

The editorial board urgently requests the officers of State and local federations to write down and send to the manager of the Mitteilungen short reports of all important events concerning all Germans and of successes of propaganda for the alliance and of political and other activities of the individual federations.

[January, 1915, p. 18.]

IOWA.

Dr. Ed. L. Durand, president of the German-American State Alliance of Iowa, writes:

* * * And now one thing which I may under no circumstances pass by in silence, the importance of the German press! What kind of war news are we served daily by the English press? How many lies are we not told daily; have we considered

what arduous, time-consuming work it is for our German press to get even approximately the truth out of all this heap of lies? And what a hostile tone the American press has assumed against everything German! Who helps us against these insidious attacks? Who protects us? Only the German press! * * *"

[January, 1915, p. 18.]

IMPOSING GATHERING FOR STRICT NEUTRALITY ON THE 27TH OF DECEMBER IN BALTIMORE.

The numerous orators relentlessly vituperated the British Government and at the same time attacked the President and the Secretary of State. Among other things, they pointed out that the Government immediately acted against the alleged use of secret German wireless stations in the United States because England demanded it, although it was only rumor which could not even be substantiated subsequently, while there was no objection to England using her cables without censorship and removing German subjects who were upon neutral ships even within the 3-mile limit.

[January, 1915, p. 19.]

[From the speech of Mr. Koelble:]
"* * * We Germans in America are far too modest; we stand too much. We should show our teeth more. * * * Wheat, rubber, steel, etc., are now sent by America to warring countries. If we wish to be neutral, we must not allow this. I have no confidence in the neutrality and the sense of justice of our administration. The best thing is to be an American, and before everything a lover of justice. Treat all in the same way. The day will come when we must square accounts."

[January, 1915, p. 19.]

CONVENTION OF THE CITY ALLIANCE OF KANSAS CITY.

[Speech of President Kern:]
"* * * As American citizens we must limit ourselves in feeling and utterance, but I expect that at the next presidential election in 1916 the two and one-half million members of the German-American Alliance will give palpable expression to their views about neutrality at the ballot box in unmistakable fashion. * * *"

[January, 1915, p. 20.]

CIRCULAR OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE NEBRASKA ALLIANCE.

"* * * therefore we protest vigorously, with all means at our disposal, against the undignified attitude of our Secretary of State, Bryan, who misuses the high office conferred on him by the President for abject services to a foreign power (England), from which the United States has never experienced anything good, which 140 years ago incited the bloodthirsty Indians against our colonists, 100 years ago burned our Capitol in Washington, 50 years ago built the *Alabama* to destroy our young commerce, which to-day again inflicts the most serious wounds upon our trade. * * *"

[January, 1915, p. 21.]

The German-American Alliance of Essex County, N. J., protests energetically against the export of arms, munitions, foodstuffs, and other merchandise to any of the belligerent powers of Europe or Asia.

[January, 1915, p. 22.]

THE SECRETARY OF THE STATE ALLIANCE OF GERMAN-SPEAKING CLUBS.

[Mr. Eugene Winter, in Portland, Oreg., says in the monthly convention:]
"We do not wish to be immodest, but we believe that we may credit a share of the interest in German instruction in Eugene to the propaganda work of the State Alliance of German-Speaking Clubs of Oregon. Not to mention the fact that the university has in Dr. F. G. G. Schmidt the right man in the right place, his ability and activity in the interest of the German cause as teacher and as private individual can not be sufficiently acknowledged by the Germans."

[January, 1915, p. 22.]

PENNSYLVANIA.

Secretary Timm, of the alliance, writes Mr. Bloedel, president of the Allegheny County branch:

"It is an agreeable duty for me to tell you that the legislative committee of the Central Alliance of Pennsylvania in a number of resolutions of gratitude, among them some for the German press and for all those who have helped to make the German part of the last election campaign a success, has also resolved to thank you particularly for your indefatigable conspicuous activity."

[February, 1915.]

Before the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, in Washington, D. C., appeared on January 4, under the leadership of Dr. C. J. Hexamer, representatives of the German-American Alliance and of the Ancient Order of Hibernians to protest emphatically against the violation of neutrality by export of arms to the allies.

Also present were representatives of the Germans of many cities, the president and vice president of the German-Irish Neutrality League, recently founded in Chicago, and lawyers of high repute. Dr. Hexamer said:

"* * * Permit me to say that the German-American Alliance is a patriotic American alliance incorporated under a law of Congress and embraces with its branches and membership of more than two millions every State and Territory of the Union.

"The members of our alliance are not actuated by selfish motives when they appear before you; it was only as good American citizens that we came here from our homes to plead for true neutrality and for American fair play. * * *"

[February, 1915, p. 10.]

THE PROTEST OF LOS ANGELES.

Imposing manifestation led by the German-American City Alliance.

* * * The export of arms results only in damage to the labor market and manufacturing.

[February, 1915, p. 12.]

FOR STRICT NEUTRALITY.

The founding of a national league decided upon at a conference in Washington.

On January 30 a conference was held under the presidency of Mr. Bartholdt in which the founding of a national organization to maintain American neutrality and other American principles was resolved. The German-American Alliance was represented by its president, Dr. Hexamer, and others.

A summary of the conference's resolutions is as follows:

To form a national organization with the following aims: First, an American cable, controlled by the Government, to secure an independent news service; second, an open sea for the trade of the United States and an unrestricted trade in noncontraband; third, laws prohibiting the export of arms and munitions; fourth, the establishment of an American merchant marine; fifth, "we obligate ourselves to support only those candidates for public office, without consideration of party, who place American interests above those of any other country; and are willing to contribute to the elimination of all undue foreign influences from American life.

[February, 1915, p. 14.]

APPEAL FOR PETITIONS TO PROHIBIT EXPORT OF ARMS.

To the Germans and all non-German friends of true neutrality in the United States.

The National German-American Alliance has published the following appeal:

"It is of great importance that the Members of Congress be bombarded by clubs and communities and by individual American citizens with petitions against the export of arms to England, France, and Russia, and that they be requested to vote for the Bartholdt-Vollmer resolution (H. J. Res. 377 and H. J. Res. 378), the Hitchcock bill (S. 6688), and the identical Lobeck bill (H. R. 19548)—carry the agitation into American circles, form in every locality of the United States an American Neutrality League, with Americans at the head of it, that these also in addition to the German clubs and communities may send petitions to Washington. Each club, each parish

is requested to have three petitions signed by the president and the secretary and to send one of them to the Representative of the district and the other two to the two United States Senators of the State; also three petitions ought to be signed and sent by individual American citizens."

[February, 1915, p. 22.]

NEBRASKA.

Annual convention at Omaha. Fine propaganda work done for introduction of German instruction in the schools. A report of this work follows.

[February, 1915, p. 23.]

The Brooklyn Branch of the alliance and its annual convention. President Weismann declares that all German-America for the first time in its history stands absolutely united.

The great kultur work, which, under the roar of cannon, is rising from its cradle in the old world, approaches us also imperiously. Shall America be opened to the victorious march of German civilization; shall German honesty, straightforwardness, thoroughness, German doctrine of freedom and right, here also take the place of the declining English influence? This becomes our great historical kultur mission.

For this we call the members of our nationality in throngs under our banners. The recruiting committee, newly created, makes an appeal for the association of clubs and individuals.

This great epoch must not pass without seeing all of you in our midst, that is the heart's desire of one who greets the sun of the Teutonic party as an enthusiastic American, penetrated by the consciousness that the American democracy, the true liberty of our new country, is about to achieve, through the reception of Germanic customs, Germanic ideas of duty and right, the strengthening and deepening which are the conditions of true national advancement.

[February, 1915, p. 27.]

WASHINGTON.

German-American Central Alliance, Spokane.

Five thousand letters and envelopes were printed and distributed among the members. They were to sign and send to the Senators and Congressmen of the State in Washington the inclosed petition to vote for the bill prohibiting the export of arms to belligerents.

[February, 1915, p. 27.]

WISCONSIN.

Protest against a belittling abuse of German family life:

The president of the State Alliance, Leo Stern, protests on the above ground to President Charles R. Van Hise of the State University against the use of a French textbook by Prof. Giese.

[According to the April number of the bulletin, the university promised to change the objectionable passage in the book.]

[Referring to the speech of President Stern:]

The magnificent speech was an appeal to the German-Americans to unity for the conservation of German customs and the German language and never to forget that the cradle of their ancestors stood upon German soil.

[March, 1915.]

WELL REFUTED.

A Catholic priest on "German atrocities."

The Priest Dahme, of the German Catholic St. Joseph's Church, in Bridgeport, Conn., writes in the Bridgeport Evening Farmer of February 2 the following:

"* * * Louvain would not have been further damaged if the citizens had kept their word to the victors. Why was Brussels not destroyed? The citizens kept their word. The question imposes itself, Was King Albert right when he opposed the Germans from the very outset? He should have known that England would desert him. England did not show herself willing to aid until his country was already ruined

and lost. * * * There must be a grave reason if King Albert is to appear justified in view of the situation into which he has brought the once flourishing Belgium. * * *"

[March, 1915, p. 3.]

QUEENS COUNTY, N. Y., PROTESTS.

In the session of delegates to the United German Societies the policy of our administration is sharply criticized.

According to the Long Island Beobachter the view was expressed that it is now time to give the President to understand that American citizens are not England's subjects, nor wish to be, even if he is the friend of England and Secretary of State William Jennings Bryan England's lackey. Justly one might say that the American people are now misgoverned by two men who in their hearts, deeds, and actions are Englishmen, and these two men are Bryan and Wilson. * * * Wilson and Bryan are only one thing, friendly toward England. Whoever as an American citizen stands on the side of right, justice, truth, and impartiality will rebel against the hypocritical policy of our present administration.

Then petitions were given to all delegates for the collection of signatures declaring against the present interpretation of neutrality by the administration.

[March, 1915.]

BRITISH BLACK BOOK (BY AN AMERICAN)—THE LATEST WORK OF RUDOLPH CRONAU, WHICH APPEARS IN ENGLISH, IS A FORCEFUL ACCUSATION OF ENGLAND.

[It is reported thus:]

His black book, befitting not only in color the British hucksters beyond the big pond, exposes relentlessly the hypocrisy used by England for centuries in her politics to whitewash herself in the eyes of neutral powers from the reproach of having let loose the war from sheer selfish ends and envy. The veil of lies and distortions which England, supported by ready henchmen, has thrown about her falls in tatters.

We can not wish this book the deserved success with a more apt word than Rudolph Cronau himself uses in his preface. "May truth destroy the bulwarks of lies of the allies and may the crash of the collapsing walls be heard over the entire world, that the nations may be compelled to listen and think."

AN ANSWER TO MR. F. CUNLIFFE-OWEN (IN ENGLISH) BY MAX HEINRICI, EDITOR OF THE PHILADELPHIA DAILY GAZETTE.

[In this article it is said:]

The alliance is not influenced from Berlin. Dr. Hexamer, since becoming the president and many years before, has not been in Germany. The purported important Prussian decoration he is said to have received is not a high one at all; rather the opposite, being the fourth class of the Red Eagle Order, and its award created a good deal of dissatisfaction among German-Americans, it being a far cry from a sufficient acknowledgment for his really great services in the spreading of German thought and kultur for the good of America. The alliance has no direct or indirect connection with the German Government. It has never received an inspiration or orders from Berlin, and would peremptorily refuse any were they tendered.

* * * * * * *

[In the same article Dr. Hexamer stated the position of himself and the alliance as follows:]

"* * * The millions of German and Irish American citizens and their descendants would never allow our country to enter into any entangling alliances with other nations. Any such attempt of Anglomaniacs would arouse them to furious opposition."

[March, 1915, p. 18.]

ANOTHER $100,000 FOR THE WAR SUFFERERS.

The collection of the German-American Alliance down to January 31 amounts to $319,713.17. Of this sum $300,000 has been given to the ambassadors.

[March, 1915, p. 19.]

IOWA—ANNUAL CONVENTION OF THE GERMAN-AMERICAN ALLIANCE, IN MANNING.

* * * The conduct of President Wilson, and especially of Secretary Bryan, who, in spite of all protests, indulged in a one-sided neutrality in favor of England, was strongly reproved by Mr. Durand in his report.

[March, 1915, p. 19.]

MASSACHUSETTS—MASS MEETING UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE CENTRAL ALLIANCE OF BOSTON AND VICINITY.

* * * The appeal appearing in German and English was addressed to the patriotic feeling of German-Americans and, in simple words, invited to close cooperation against all enemies of American neutrality and of the German home country.

* * * * * * *

The resolutions sent to the President, the officers of Congress, and the members of the Massachusetts delegation especially, recommend the refusal to export arms of any sort, the acceptance of the Bartholdt bill, and demand the preservation of the rights of neutral nations and the maintenance of strict neutrality by the United States.

A telegram sent in the form of a resolution to the German Crown Prince promised, as answer to his demand for its maintenance, as far as possible the American principle of fair play.

[March, 1915, p. 19.]

MICHIGAN.

The city alliance of Ann Arbor congratulates the Emperor, the brave German army, and the entire German people.

[March, 1915, p. 19.]

PENNSYLVANIA.

* * * Resolutions of protest against export of arms by the Allegheny County Branch and the Luzerne County Branch, including petitions to Congressmen and Senators.

[April, 1915, p. 8.]

GERMANS AND IRISHMEN.

The first vice president of the National German-American Alliance spoke on this theme at Portland, Oreg. The following is quoted from his speech:

"Reliable documents prove that Germany and Ireland have furnished much more than 60 per cent of the so-called foreign population, while England has given us barely 11 per cent, including the Celts of Wales."

[April, 1915.]

GERMAN KULTUR.

The German voters are its bearers and apostles, said Prof. Julius Goebel in a lecture at Cleveland. The following is quoted from this lecture:

"The attack [upon kultur] presupposes that German kultur does not rank with the so-called recent English kind, that we should have dissolved and merged in this new civilization. This we will not and must not. This civilization is not superior to ours. Our American kultur, or rather civilization (for there can as yet be no thought of true kultur in this country) is not the expression of a national unit, not the complete ideal of the development of a unified people."

[April, 1915, p. 12.]

CALIFORNIA.

Recognition of the energetic work of the National Alliance.

At the March meeting of the German-American City Alliance of San Diego, Delegate John Benesch stressed the absolute necessity of closest cooperation of all Germans in the city and country and praised emphatically the surprising energy of the German-

American Alliance, without which, in this time of sore trial for our national honor, considering the ignorance and prejudice of the non-German elements of the country, it [this honor] would have been dragged into the dust much more and worse owing to the slanderous press inspired and incited by England.

[April, 1915, p. 14.]

MISSOURI.

Annual report of the President Kersting, of St. Louis.

* * * The aim of the National Alliance is the conservation and propagation of the German language, the language of the greatest nation on earth, the language of the most progressive, noblest, and bravest nation in the world. * * * Germany and Austria are victors in the great world war, and to this result the German-American Alliance also, especially the City Alliance of St. Louis, has contributed its bit."

[May, 1915, p. 4.]

THE ANSWER TO COUNT BERNSTOFF'S NOTE.

It is anything but a justification of the attitude of our Government regarding neutrality. * * * It [the note] gives the impression of having been dictated by Sir Cecil Spring-Rice, the British ambassador in Washington. * * * The one-sided exportations of arms, munitions, and other war material to England and her allies by the United States are continual violations of neutrality. * * * Messrs. Bryan and Wilson do not know or are unwilling to admit that the continual furnishing of arms by the United States to England and her allies is an unneutral act with regard to Germany and Austria.

[In this article Wilson and Bryan are referred to as henchmen of England, and the arms traffic of the firm Wilson & Bryan is spoken of.]

[May, 1915.]

ANGLOMÁNIAC.

[In this article, aside from its avowed purpose, is a quotation from a speech of the president of the German Club in Troy, N. Y.:]

* * * Last year we began electioneering on nonpartisan lines. Nonpartisan may sound self-contradictory, but it is true, for we have recommended to our members for election candidates of both parties who sympathize with our ideas. Not as Republicans, not as Democrats, nor as Progressives may we or should we be politically active, but as German-Americans, truly now as the hyphenated citizens who advocate true liberty, true neutrality, true fair play. Here also we have been provoked to battle; we will fight the men of darkness as a strong unified power.

[May, 1915, p. 8.]

REFORM IN HISTORY TEACHING.

What is necessary in order to preserve the growing American youth from "kulturlessness" and superficiality. * * *

The lack of culture and superficiality of German-Americans as well as of the Anglo-American youth is only the result of the intellectual poverty of their American teachers, who, themselves deprived of the historical inheritance of a living national tradition by one-sided training, now contribute by an exaggerated glorification of the short period of American national history to the abandonment by their pupils, products of different branches of the tree of humanity, of the treasure of their family tradition. * * * Also the instruction in German in the lower grades needs a thorough renovation through engagement of teachers trained in history who have not only intellectually learned, by means of external historical deeds and individual deeds of heroism, but externally experienced the growth of Germanism, the development of its spiritual and political force.

[May, 1915, p. 9.]

GRAND MASS MEETING FOR NEUTRALITY.

More than 10,000 persons in St. Louis took part in it.

Dr. Carl Barck opened the meeting. He spoke about the patriotism of the recently so miserably slandered hyphenated Americans who (he said) are always ready to defend their new country. There is, however, another class of Americans who try their best to make the United States a colony of England. These people, to be sure, bear no hyphen and are born here, but behave worse than the most crabbed Englishman.

Congressman Barthold t said, among other things, it (the arms traffic) excites the spirit of resistance and revolution in 30,000,000 American citizens whose brothers and kin are being murdered or killed by American bullets and whose feelings ought to be sacred to an American Government, especially when the motive on the other side is merely Britain's gold.

[May, 1915, p. 21.]

OHIO.

[Following a report of the progress of German instruction in Cleveland, it is said:]

One can impress American statesmen and men in public life and force them to concessions only by a firm stand. This should be remembered by all German-Americans and all local and State branches of the National Alliance.

[June, 1915, p. 8.]

AGAIN $100,000.

For the fourth time Mr. John Tjarks, in Baltimore, * * * has sent the sum of $100,000 to the Ambassadors of Germany and Austria for the war sufferers, so that altogether $400,000 have reached their destination through the German-American Alliance.

[June, 1915, p. 12.]

MISSOURI.

["The German element of St. Louis and the *Lusitania* case," quoted from the resolution of the American Neutrality League of St. Louis:]

"We regret the terrible loss of American citizens through the sinking of the *Lusitania;* yet this sinking affords no reason for any excitement; in quiet deliberation the responsibility will be placed. The American passengers had been warned by the German Ambassador in the English papers. He saved the lives of several Americans who heeded the warning, and for this he should receive the thanks of the American Nation."

[June, 1915, p. 21.]

COMMITTEE FOR TEACHING OF HISTORY.

The committee recommends to the convention [of Pennsylvania] to urge the branch alliances to exert themselves that our American fellow citizens and especially their children may be enlightened as to the huge influence of Germanism upon the building up and development of this Nation. It is especially desirable that in the public schools the cultural achievements of Germanism, noticeable everywhere, be taught more than now. The children should be told and taught the names of the great men of American history who were of German origin. This is best done by means of a history text written on such lines, such as is published by D. C. Heath & Co., New York. The committee recommends that the introduction of this book in the different school districts be urged. The title of this book is Bourne & Benton's United States History, 1913. It is a school history which pays more attention to Germanism than any other book, according to the president of the school committee, Mr. C. A. Sommer, in the July number.

[July, 1915.]

PRESERVATION OF PEACE WTH GERMANY IS DEMANDED.

Upon request of the president of the National Alliance, Dr. C. J. Hexamer, telegrams were sent to President Wilson from everywhere. The message sent to the presidents of the 45 State alliances was as follows.

"Wire President Wilson that your members and an overwhelming majority of the citizens of your State do not sanction possible drastic measures against Germany, since they would not be justified, and have the branches of your alliance also telegraph protests."

[August, 1915, p. 4.]

WHY THE ALLIANCE CONSTANTLY WORKS AGAINST PROHIBITION.

* * * The Anti-Saloon League pursues also, as we have intimated, quite other and more far-reaching aims. One of these is to deprive all foreign-born inhabitants of this country of their rights, and especially to suppress and extirpate the German language. The worthy president of the German-American Alliance of Ohio, Judge John Schwaab, of Cincinnati, has pointed out in a report submitted to the president of the alliance that the attempts at suppression of German instruction in the schools are due to the same people who favor prohibition. This by way of warning.

[August, 1915.]

SAYVILLE.

* * * This latest act [suppression of the wireless station] shows the pro-British spirit of our Government and particularly of our President. Both he and Morgan, the master of capitalism, are to-day the greatest and most important allies that England still has in her attempt to strangle the German nation; without them the strife and murder would surely have been over long ago.

[September, 1915, p. 25.]

The committee on the German press has asked its working committee, composed exclusively of professional newspaper men, to submit to the convention of the alliance the following declarations:

* * * "We are convinced that only a more effective penetration of American political life by the purposes common to all German-Americans regarding especially the foreign policy of the United States can lead to a permanently successful development of the United States."

[September, 1915, p. 54.]

NEW YORK.—GERMAN DAY IN ROCHESTER.

* * * John E. Lenahan, as representative of the Irish societies ,pointed out that the fraternization of the Germans and Irish of America at this time would result in the founding of a great national organization to the end of restraining all legislation dictated from a purely Anglo-Saxon point of view.

[October, 1915, p. 7.]

[The first three pages are given over to German-American protests against the loan to the Allies.]

Dr. Hexamer on the necessity of political activity. Quotation from his Philadelphia speech:

"It is numerically proved that the Americans of German descent own more land in the United States than the Americans of any other nationality. And land gives power, at least ought to give it. And now the time has come to show that the German-American has power. * * * We German-Americans must now be the hammer and strike or be the anvil and go down."

[November, 1915, p. 4.]

MESSRS. WILSON AND ROOSEVELT AND THE GERMAN-AMERICANS.

Roosevelt is wilder than Wilson in his views. He calls all hyphenated Americans "traitors" because they do not blow into the British horn on which he toots continually since he became editor of the Outlook, which is subsidized with British money, with a reported salary of $100.000 per annum. * * * The strength of the alliance must not be scattered by party affiliations.

[November, 1915, p. 31.]

TO THE FARMERS!

[Quoted from a circular sent to the farmers by the alliance.]

"The large farm associations now recognize that the export of arms and munitions threatens the true interests of their occupation, for if the belligerents spent less money for war material abroad they would have sufficient sums for the purchase of foodstuffs and cotton, the long-established legitimate articles of American trade. No

loans and no money would be necessary. * * * The ending of hostilities therefore, is of the greatest importance for the interests of American agriculture.

"For this reason there should be no loans and no exports tending to prolong the war."

VI. Translations from the Mitteilungen, the Official Bulletin of the National German-American Alliance, for the Year 1916.

[January, 1916, p. 2.]

[Extract from a circular sent out by the national secretary, January, 1916:]

American day. * * * Steps should be taken in the State legislature so that this memorial day shall come to its rights as American day. It would be celebrated best if by an amendment of the State school laws it were made the duty of teachers in the public schools to explain to school children the significance of the day by means of a school history not written by an English pattern.

On the lookout for falsifications in history.—With regard to falsifications of German-American history the San Francisco convention resolved to urge the city and State societies to take action so that their school boards shall use in instruction in German-American history only such textbooks as properly appreciate the important historical cooperation of German-Americans and their cultural influences. The activity of the city and State societies in this domain is of the greatest importance and the best ability must be applied to this task.

[January, 1916, p. 11.]

THE PEORIA NEUTRALITY RESOLUTIONS.

At the neutrality convention in Peoria, Ill., December 12, at which the president of the National Alliance, Dr. Hexamer, was the principal speaker who attracted most attention, the following resolutions were adopted:

* * * * * * *

"With the consent of our Government and with its active support at a time of official prayers for an early peace, we had developed the production and shipment of munitions and other materials of war to such enormous proportions that the war in Europe has been considerably influenced in favor of a single group of the belligerents, and we supported these manufacturers by assigning American officers to other manufacturers whereby the United States was actually associated with the allies who were thus supported. Under cover of concealed threats we have conjured up an actual stopping of the legitimate use of the submarine against the munitions ships of the allies.

* * * * * * *

"We have filled the empty pockets of the allies, whom we favored, by a loan floated in the United States, politely called a credit loan in order to make it less objectionable to our citizenship and to conceal its real character. It was apparently the intention to discredit the representatives of the central powers and to expel them from American territory, while those of the allies according to all appearances were allowed to sun themselves in the splendor of official favor. Meritorious American diplomats at foreign posts who showed impartiality to the central powers were recalled. Officers of foreign armies are learning every detail and secret of the production of war material in American factories, while prominent American citizens of German or Austrian descent who advocated honorable neutrality are impudently and grossly denounced as 'hyphen-traitors' to their country by officials and a yellow press and are watched in the vague expectation of being found guilty of unpatriotic conduct. Racial hatred has been conjured up in this country and contentment has been destroyed and confidence in our Government shaken as a logical consequence of the President's policy of ignoring the petitions and protests of the people. Since our avaricious war industries see the best prospect for a permanent market for their products in the militaristic and navalistic support which has been suddenly created and fostered among our people by alarming publications and high officials, while, however, this support of 'preparedness' is in itself a real menace to peace; and

Whereas our complaints to the central powers have been made with the greatest energy, while our protests to the allies have doubtless passed into oblivion in their ministries whereby our allies have suffered further detriment: Now, therefore, be it

"*Resolved*, That the population of Peoria and suburbs at a mass meeting finds fault with the attitude of our Government to the European war and its problems and invites Congress to inaugurate a neutrality in accordance with humanity, justice, and good

will to all nations, a neutrality which will restore to our beloved land the independence, prestige, appreciation, and confidence which it enjoyed among the nations until the greed of gold soiled its coat of arms.

"*Resolved*, That the Congress be requested to lay an embargo immediately upon the criminal traffic in weapons and military material, the source of all our international and foreign differences.

"*Resolved*, That the Congress be requested to reject all radical military or naval programs for the duration of the European war."

[January, 1916, p. 20.]

OHIO—EFFORTS TO PUT A STOP TO THE TRAFFIC IN WEAPONS—LAST YEAR'S OFFICIALS IN CINCINNATI HONORED WITH A NEW TERM.

The German-American Society of the city of Cincinnati at the session of December 2, in the Deutscher Klub, at which Judge John Schwaab acted as president and Secretary H. Albertz kept the minutes of the meeting, devoted a large part of the time to America's traffic in weapons with the allies, and unanimously gave its approval to efforts being made by others to put a stop to it.

In the first place President Schwaab announced the receipt from National President Hexamer of a plea requesting the distribution of forms for a petition to President Wilson and the Members of the House and Senate in Congress.

This petition is to the effect that the Federal Government shall designate neutral ships to carry the parcels mail under the American flag. Forms for this petition have already been sent out by President Schwaab and have also already been sent to the Senators and Representatives in Washington and to President Wilson. Thus far a reply has been received only from Representative Alfred G. Allen. This letter was read by Mr. Schwaab. Mr. Allen says in it that a bill in the sense suggested was passed by the House at the last session of Congress but was defeated in the Senate by a filibuster, that such a bill will be taken up again in this session of Congress, and that he will vote for it with pleasure.

Interdiction of the exportation of weapons to Europe is also to be brought about by petition. The American Embargo Conference of Chicago has sent out circulars explaining that all neutrals in the country must first be organized in order to be able to exercise the necessary pressure upon Senators and Representatives in Congress. The conference has already started this agitation by sending out hundreds of thousands of postal cards, each of which has space for a small number of signatures to a petition for an embargo. These postal cards when sent out will be collected and Members of Congress will be notified of the number of signatures.

With regard to the sending of postal cards to Members of Congress, this is dispensed with, since it is feared that they will be laid aside, while their preservation will always leave documentary evidence of the number of signatures. The circulation by President Schwaab of postal cards received by him was approved and the expenditure of money sanctioned in advance. How widespread and strong the movement for bringing about an embargo in the country is was also shown by the receipt of forms for such a petition to Congress. The petition is from the organization of American Women for Strict Neutrality, which has been organized in Baltimore, Md. The petition blanks were distributed among those present. The officials of the Embargo Conference of Chicago and also those of the women's organization in Baltimore have English names, which proves that the movement desired is not at all confined to hyphenated Americans.

With regard to the last vote on State prohibition, Herr August Gorbach, president of the campaign committee, opposed the view that the liberal element has lost numerical strength in the last vote on prohibition. * * *

[January, 1916, p. 21.]

OKLAHOMA.

[Extract from an account of a meeting of the Oklahoma Branch of the German-American Alliance in Oklahoma City, December 5, 1915:]

A letter from Dr. Herman Gerhart of Chicago, president of the Embargo Conference, was then read. In this letter our alliance is invited to assist this association of noble efforts in making an end of the wretched traffic in weapons and other munitions. For this purpose persons were appointed in various localities who in accordance with a plea received by them from Dr. Gerhart are to work among their acquaintances. There are appointed for Oklahoma City, Rev. A. Walton and George Ross; El Reno, H. Schulz and O. Bliefernich; Okarche, J. Hausenstein; Enid, Ernst Denner; Kingfisher, R. Pappe; Edmond, F. Boschen; Guthrie, H. Braun; Norman, J. Brockhaus;

Wellston, Carl Belitz; Union City, Rev. Schäfer; Apache, S. Schneberger; Anadarko, H. Franz; Perry County, G. Pietriski; Shawnee, C. Binder; Bessie, Julius Hüssy; and Fairview, G. A. Wahl.

Any one fairly well informed on movements in this country knows what a wind is now blowing through the land, which should spur us on to greater unity and organization. It is a wave of political poison which is brought to bear upon German supporters and which gets its influx from the first citizens of our country. Why? Because, in the first place, the Germans demand strict neutrality instead of evasions, and, in the second place, because their hearts are with their native land, which they call disloyalty in Washington. American hypocrisy is now being carried to the limit. * * * When high interests of the country are at stake the German is there, more than he should be, but for the establishment of an industry of weapons and bullets he is not to be had, nor for a vassal state of England either.

HEINRICH SCHULZ, *Secretary.*

[January, 1916, p. 22.]

WASHINGTON—THE STATE SOCIETY DEMANDS INTERDICTION OF THE EXPORTATION OF WEAPONS—PETITIONS HAVE BEEN SENT TO BOTH SENATORS AND REPERSENTATIVES OF THE STATE IN CONGRESS.

The interdiction of the exportation of weapons and war material has been requested by the Society of the State of Washington in petitions to both United States Senators of the State, Wesley L. Jones and Miles Poindexter, and to the Representatives of the same in Congress, C. C. Dill, William La Follette, William Humphrey, Lindley H. Hudley, and Albert Johnson. The following is a copy of the letter sent to Senator Jones:

"DEAR SENATOR: The undersigned, officers of the Washington State Branch of the National German-American Alliance, representing at least 5,000 citizens of German descent in this State, are instructed to urge you as our representative in the Senate to use your influence in favor of an embargo on all ammunition and other war material, which is necessary in order to preserve the neutrality of the United States during the present European war. A continuance of this nefarious business may work as a menace to this great country.

"We firmly believe that the great majority of the citizens of the United States are anxious that the friendly relations which have existed between our country and the central powers of Europe previous to this war should be continued.

"We deem it our duty as American citizens to make this request and trust that you will use your influence to this effect.

"Very respectfully,

"STAATSVERBAND DES STAATS WASHINGTON.
"W. L. NILHORSTER, *President.*
"GEO. C. FENDLER, *Secretary.*"

[January, 1916, p. 22.]

WEST VIRGINIA—FOR RESTORATION OF PARCEL POST SERVICE TO GERMANY AND AUSTRIA-HUNGARY.

In conformity with the invitation of the National German-American Alliance, the Central Alliance in West Virginia has sent to the Representative of the first West Virginia district, M. M. Neeley, and the United States Senators, W. E. Chilton and Nathan Goff, and also to President Wilson, a petition advocating the restoration of parcel-post traffic with Germany and Austria-Hungary. The letter to the President reads as follows:

"Whereas the American postal authorities have suspended the dispatch of parcel-post mails to Germany, Austria, and Hungary because of the few neutral steamship companies plying their trade refuse to accept parcel-post mail, and in order not to destroy this important avenue for the commerce and intercourse with these countries, it is therefore the sentiment of the membership of the West Virginia Branch of the National German-Alliance that special neutral vessels should be provided for such parcel-post service.

"We respectfully petition and urge you, Mr. President, to inaugurate and support such measures as may best effect the reestablishment of this service in the shortest possible time.

"Most respectfully,

"F. C. RIESTER, *President.*
"J. C. JUNG, *Secretary.*"

The secretaries of the different societies in Wheeling and environs were requested to help by sending similar petitions to the President and their respective Representatives and Senators.

[January, 1916, p. 23.]

[There appears the text of the petition sent by the Wisconsin Society of the German-American Alliance to the President and to the 2 Senators and the 11 Representatives of Wisconsin favoring the establishment of parcel-post service with Germany and Austria-Hungary.]

[January, 1916, p. 26.]

GERMAN INSTRUCTION IN CHICAGO.

It was obvious that the war of the nations in Europe and the anti-German feeling of a large part of the American press might have a deleterious retroactive effect on instruction in the German language in the schools, and the Illinois Staats-Zeitung considered it its duty to have a reporter sound all members of the board with regard to their attitude to this matter. The result of this inquiry is the best proof that the school board of the city of Chicago in the faithful fulfillment of its duty to make the schools the best in the country, does not allow itself to be influenced by any question of nationality.

It finds its noblest task in giving to the youth of the city opportunity to acquire any knowledge which may be of use to it in its further advancement. Mrs. Ella Flagg Young, the former superintendent of schools, was a pronounced advocate of German instruction and helped it on to the best of her ability. What the present school board thinks of this branch of instruction may be inferred from the following expressions of the individual members: [The following persons are quoted as favoring the teaching of German in the public schools of Chicago: Jacob M. Loeb, president of the school board; John D. Shoop, the reappointed superintendent; Michael J. Collins, the former president; Harry A. Lipsky; Mrs. John MacMahon; Ralph C. Otis; Dr. Otto F. Warning; Mrs. Charles O. Sethness; John W. Eckhart; Mrs. Francis E. Thornton; Max Loeb; Hans William Huehl; Charles F. French; Charles R. Young; Dr. Stephen R. Petrowicz; Dr. Peter C. Clemensen; Edward J. Piggott; Mrs. George P. Vosbrink; Mrs. Gertrude Howe Britton; Robert Roulston; Ernst J. Kruetgen; Martin Schmidhofer.] * * *.

[February, 1916, p. 3.]

PROTEST AGAINST EXPORTATION OF WEAPONS—AN EMBARGO DEMANDED IN NUMEROUS PETITIONS TO CONGRESS.

Protests against the exportation of weapons and munitions from the United States to the belligerent nations of Europe have been sent to Congress by quite a number of branches and State societies of the National German-American Alliance. One of the most effective came from the city society of San Diego, Cal. It had been addressed to the United States Senators from the State and to Representative Kettner and the other Members of Congress from California. The following is the letter addressed to Representative Kettner:

"SAN DIEGO, CAL., *January 5, 1916.*

"Hon. WILLIAM KETTNER,
"*Member, House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.*

"DEAR SIR: The German-American Alliance of San Diego, the members of the same being citizens of the United States, as required by the by-laws and the fundamental principles of the National German-American Alliance, of which we compose a part, has instructed the undersigned officers to communicate with our Representatives in Congress from this State, expressing our views in regard to the avowed neutrality of our country toward the belligerents in Europe and the method and policies employed by our present administration in carrying out this neutrality.

"The German-American Alliance is an organization which is truly American in form and spirit, in seeking to assist in the advancement and development of this country on lines as laid down by the fundamental principles of our Government as announced by the founders of our Republic and enunciated by the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States.

"From the first landing of the German settlers under Dr. Pastorius at Germantown, near Philadelphia, in 1683, down to the present time you will not find a single act recorded against the German element which could be construed as unfriendly or inimical to the interests of our country or Government; but, on the other hand, we

find such heroes as Von Steuben, De Kalb, Mühlenberg, Herkimer, and others down to our Civil War, when 200,000 Germans helped to defend this Union against disruption. These are certainly historic facts which speak louder than any distortion of the truth that may be trumped up by designing agencies of the present day.

"The German-American Alliance has nothing in common with the country of our descent, except such achievements as culture and modern civilization have brought to the attention of the entire world and which have been found worthy of emulation. The only one desire and link expressed in the preamble of the principles of the German-American Alliance, is the one referring to the 'maintenance of friendly relations' with the mother country. The large element of German descent feel that our interests are reciprocal and consequently wish to avoid any cause that may disturb such amicable relations between this country and the country from which we have originated.

"The German-American press of the United States, the entire German-American population of our country, are practically unanimous at the present time in the firm conviction that our executive council, diplomatic, and consular service, are being unduly strained in favor of one part of the belligerents as against the other part, and thus making our avowed neutrality appear in the eyes of all honest and peace-loving people throughout the entire world as one-sided and unworthy of a great Nation like ours. We also wish to emphasize the fact that not only the people of German extraction share the above opinion, but we have reason to believe that the great majority of the American people likewise are impressed that a great wrong is being committed by the attitude of our Executive in Washington in the present European struggle.

"A large portion of the American press is controlled and owned by concentrated wealth and big interests; a part is directly subsidized by some of the belligerents. This lamentable condition has had the effect of creating false impressions and befuddling the public mind. The lust for trade and money has been a powerful agent in shaping our destinies and has blinded our conception as to right and wrong to such an extent as to make us incapable as unbiased judges.

"The gigantic European struggle is abnormal in the highest degree; no international law can properly and justly be applied to present conditions without offending one side or the other. New bases must be laid down from which we can hope to adjust our affairs. To find these new bases will require time and deliberation, but in the meantime we know this much, that we can be fair and honest to all. We can refrain from assisting any of them, and stand before the world with clean hands, at least from now on. It is never too late to do the right thing.

"We therefore feel impelled to urge and call upon your valuable assistance as a Member of Congress to use your endeavors to place an embargo on any and all materials of war, that may have a tendency to unduly prolong this terrible European catastrophe, and by so doing place your name and the name of our Nation on the roll of honor as a peace-loving and fair-minded people to all mankind.

"LOUIS FRITZ, *President*.
"WM. C. KRONE, *Secretary*."

The German-American State Society of Ohio, whose president is Herr J. Schwaab, of Cincinnati, and whose secretary is Herr Henry Albertz, has sent to all branch vereins the invitation to send embargo petitions to the congressional Representative of the district and to United States Senators T. E. Burton and Atlee Pomerene.

[February, 1916, p. 6]

[Extract from a circular of the national secretary, dated February, 1916:]
Petitions: Societies will receive four different petitions.
1. For interdiction of exportation of weapons, etc.
2. Against national prohibition.
3. For an amendment of the naturalization laws.
4. Against prohibition in the Federal Capital.

The secretaries of societies are requested to prepare the petitions for the societies immediately, making out three copies of each kind, one for the Representative of the congressional district in question, with the address, Hon. ——— ———, House of Representatives, Washington, D. C., and one copy for each of the two United States Senators from the State, with the address, Hon. ——— ———, Senate, Washington, D. C.

To Congressmen at large petitions may be sent from the whole State.

Four society petitions may be sent for 2 cents postage.

The society petitions are also to be used for individual vereins. It is very important that the agitation be carried into non-German circles.

It is recommended that petitions for individual persons be made quite long by the addition of lists of signatures.

Additional petition blanks of every kind will be gladly sent. Address National German-American Alliance, 419 Walnut Street, Philadelphia, Pa. Please indicate the number of each kind required, using the following designation:

1. Embargo petition, for vereins ———, for individuals ———.
2. Antiprohibition petition, for vereins ———, for individuals ———.
3. Naturalization petition, for verreins, ———.
4. Against dry capital, for vereins ———.

Respectfully,

ADOLPH TIMM, *National Secretary.*

[February, 1916, p. 20.]

NEW YORK—ORGANIZATION OF AN "AMERICAN NATIONAL PARTY" RECOMMENDED.

[Account of a speech made by Dr. Mandow, of Flushing, N. Y., at a meeting of the United German Association of Queensborough, held in the Astoria Schuetzenpark (rifle range), Jan. 5, 1916.]

[Aprll, 1916, p. 8.]

THE RESOLUTIONS OF WARNING AND THEIR FATE—RESULT OF VOTE SHOWS INFLUENCE OF THE ADMINISTRATION, OF THE MANUFACTURERS OF WEAPONS AND MUNITIONS, AND OF THE MONEY TRUST.

[Texts of the so-called Gore resolution, of the so-called McCumber substitute resolution, and of the so-called Fuller resolution are given there, together with tabulation of the vote on the motion to lay the resolution of warning on the table.]

[April, 1916, p. 16.]

[Extract from an account of an address delivered in English by Herr Henry A. Kerstrug, president of the St. Louis Society of the National German-American Alliance, in Eagle Hall, St. Louis:]

"The patriotism of German-Americans is also shown by their use of the German language, for which they are often wrongly criticized; for by speaking the German language and teaching it to their children they help to free the United States from England and the English language, so that Americans will some day have a purely American language, i. e., a mixture of many languages, in which the German idiom shall constitute no insignificant element.

(Thereupon, at 9.45 o'clock a. m., the subcommittee took a recess until 3 o'clock p. m.)

AFTER RECESS.

The subcommittee met at 3 o'clock p. m. in the room of the Committee on the Judiciary in the Capitol in executive session.

Present: Senators King (chairman), Wolcott, and Sterling.

The subcommittee decided to end the hearings, although they had the names of a dozen or more witnesses they had intended calling and had not called as yet (among them John Schwaab, of Ohio, and Henry Weismann, of New York), in view of the fact that they are unanimously of the opinion that the testimony heretofore adduced overwhelmingly supports their view that the bill (S. 3529) should be passed. They agreed unanimously to report the bill back to the Committee on the Judiciary on next Monday with the recommendation that section 2 be stricken out and that as amended the bill be reported to the Senate favorably with a view to its prompt passage.

(Thereupon, at 4 o'clock p. m., the subcommittee adjourned.)

(The following statement, submitted by Mr. Ohlinger in a letter to Senator King written on May 7, 1918, was ordered inserted in the record:)

As has already been testified, Dr. C. J. Hexamer, on August 3, 1914, gave to the German-language press in the United States the following appeal:

In this serious crisis which confronts Germany and through which she is passing it is the duty of us German-Americans to hold together firmly and faithfully.

The executive committee of the National Alliance is conscious of the seriousness of the occasion and is on guard for the best interests of our Germanism and is looking for the best means for preserving the dignity of the German name against the prejudice and ignorance of a minority in our own land.

I call upon every German and every German-American in the United States to get in touch with our representatives, and I command these representatives to go forward in a vigorous manner. There should be established in every city a literary bureau, with a thoroughly competent press agent, who could immediately make answer in the English language to all the hateful attacks and assertions of irresponsible and ignorant reporters of English newspapers. * * *

Now is the time, without consideration of person or natural inclinations, that we show that the words "blood is thicker than water" prevail also among those of German stock in our land.

Dr. Hexamer followed the above with a direct appeal to "all German teachers, all who have studied in German universities, and all German men and women having literary ability" to inaugurate a propaganda "in the Anglo-American press on behalf of the German cause." He closed this appeal with the following words:

I have learned from a responsible source that in the event that England is defeated an attempt will be made to draw the United States into an alliance with Englands Therefore, it is important at the very outset to show what a colossal power the citizen. of German descent are able to wield. (6 Official Bulletin No. 9, p. 1.)

It will be noted that Dr. Hexamer's first appeal sent out through the German-language press was dated August 3, 1914. War between Germany and Great Britain was not declared until eleven o'clock at night on August 4, 1914. Almost to the last minute Prince Lichnowsky, the German Ambassador in London, entertained the hope and belief that war could be averted. He and Sir Edward Grey were cooperating for the purpose of bringing about an adjustment which would obviate any recourse to arms. As Prince Lichnowsky has shown in the printed portions of his memoirs, he was ignorant of the real purposes of the Berlin government. War had been decided upon at the Potsdam Council which was held on July 5, 1914. It is a remarkable coincidence, to say the least, that the President of the National German-American Alliance should have summoned those of German descent in the United States to come to the assistance of the fatherland even before war was declared between Germany and Great Britain, and while Prince Lichnowsky still had hopes of a peaceable issue. It would also be interesting to identify the "confidential source" from which Mr. Hexamer learned that the United States would be drawn into an alliance with Great Britain. These appeals, coming at the time they did, evidence an intimate and prescient familiarity with German diplomacy and its purposes. Can it be possible that the President of the National German-American Alliance was more reliably informed as to the real purposes of the Berlin government than the representative of that government at St. James?

One incident recorded in the Official Bulletin (7 Official Bulletin No. 4, p. 7) may serve to indicate the degree of intimacy which prevailed between the leaders of the National German-American Alliance and German officials. Mr. Theodore Sutro had for many years been president of the New York State Alliance and of the New York City Branch of that Alliance. In 1911 he was elected Sixth Vice President of the National Alliance. This office he held until 1913, and was then made Chairman of the National Legislative Committee of the National Alliance. On the occasion of his birthday in 1915, his colaborers in the National Alliance joined in doing him honor. Count Von Bernstorff, the German Ambassador at Washington, and the German Consul General in New York, Dr. Falcke, were among the invited guests, but were unable to be present and sent messages of congratulation. The notorious Dr. Dernburg, however, did grace the occasion. Dr. C. J. Hexamer paid high tribute to Mr. Sutro as his "dear friend and faithful comrade in arms."

Anyone who scans the history of the National Alliance will find that wherever there was need to battle for the principles of our Alliance and for the dignity and position of all Germanism in general and of our German-Americanism in particular, our Theodore Sutro always took his place in the front ranks. * * * Friend Sutro never denied me and does not deny me now, either in services of friendship or in the service of our great and common German cause in these United States. The present world war in Europe which witnesses all Germany standing forth as one man, proves to us of German stock here in America that loyalty is no empty dream. It proves to us also unmistakably the real need for this great German-American organization and for the ideals for which our Sutro has always worked and striven with us with all his power and ability. In this thought we must conquer or go under. Just as in a united Germany all her heterogeneous members are defending her highest possessions in common, in order to preserve for the world the German idea and German life and German ideals, just so it is most becoming to all German-Americans that they follow the magnificent example of Mr. Sutro by preserving for our republic the German-American idea, German-American life and German-American ideals.

The Alliance immediately identified Germany's cause with its cause. "Germany's Honor, our Honor" is the heading of an article urging propaganda in favor of Germany in the September, 1914, issue of the Official Bulletin. President Wilson's proclamation of neutrality, issued in August, 1914, was subjected to bitter criticism. The October, 1914, Official Bulletin, on page 2, publishes a letter from Professor Julius Goebel under the heading "In German Heart and Spirit we are one. The position of German-Americans." Stating that the letter "deserves the widest circulation," the Official Bulletin then sets it out in full, including the following statements contained in it:

We are convinced that the defeat of Germany would be an irreparable injury for American culture, which is more intimately bound up with that of Germany than with that of other European Nations. We abhor as an unpardonable crime every frivolous war, and we, as Germans, know no more heroic ideal than that of peacemaker. But we believe also in the moral right of the holy war, which the German people is to-day waging for its position and destiny in world history, and we lay aside the effeminate gossip of world peace as a hypocritical phrase when it is designed to break the vital power of a great people. For it is a crime against life itself, either through power or through the coercion of a court of arbitration, to prevent the development of a people like the German. * * * May the howl of anger against Germany which went through this land during the last few weeks serve as a call to unity for every German-American and every Anglo-American with German sympathies. Where there is involved the existence of the annihilation of a noble people and of a Kultur to which America owes the best she has, there can be no carrying of water on both shoulders, and no indifferent standing by. Nothing is farther from our purpose than to injure

the feelings of our fellow citizens of English, French, or Slavic descent. But we demand the right, according to the law of our perception, to enter the lists on behalf of the truth, and to furnish our fighting brothers all possible material and moral assistance of which the German heart in the hour of need is capable.

The propaganda carried on by the Alliance in the beginning decried American neutrality. It was not until after the British navy, in honorable warfare, had driven the German navy and German merchant ships from the seas, and the German government, fearing open conflict, had resorted to submarine assassination, that the propagandists of the National German-American Alliance began to agitate for "neutrality." The American Neutrality League was organized by representatives of the National German-American Alliance. The President of the Alliance and Mr. Carl A. M. Scholz were among those representatives. (7 Official Bulletin No. 2, p. 8.) The Executive Committee of the Alliance sent out an appeal to its members to organize a branch of the League in every locality, "but with Americans at the head." (7 Official Bulletin, No. 2, p. 14.) President Hexamer in his letters also conveyed the advice that the Neutrality League should be given an American guise by placing "Americans" and those whose ancestors for several generations had resided in this country, in the foreground. The Executive Committee of the National Alliance also urged all members to petition their representatives in Congress to pass measures prohibiting the sale and export of arms and munitions.

The officers of the Alliance who have testified before the Committee have disclaimed any connection between the National German-American Alliance and the Pan-German League of Germany. This is astounding in view of the evidence of their official publication. The Official Bulletin for September, 1915, contains the proceedings of the Eighth Convention of the organization. On page 21 are listed the organizations and delegates in attendance. Among the organizations so listed are the Pan-German League (Alldeutscher Verband), and the names of the men representing the League are given. They were Dr. C. A. Kern and Gustav Schenck. Mr. Adolph Timm was present at this Convention and acted as its Secretary, and as such Secretary must have prepared the list of accredited delegates published in the Official Bulletin. There were also present at this Convention Mr. John B. Mayer, the President of the Pennsylvania State Alliance; Mr. Theodore Sutro, representing the New York State Alliance; Mr. John Tjarks, representing the Maryland Alliance; and Mr. Joseph Keller, representing the Indiana Alliance. It passes comprehension how these gentlemen who were present at this Convention and took part in it could have overlooked the fact that representatives of the Pan-German League were also participating as accredited delegates in its proceedings.

Much has been said by officers of the Alliance in regard to the naturalization work which it conducted. The work performed by the Alliance in this direction went no further than merely preparing candidates to answer questions when they appeared for their final papers. The motives of the Alliance in conducting this work were neither disinterested nor patriotic. It was carried on in conjunction with the propaganda for the Alliance's own peculiar objects and purposes. It encouraged Germans, Austrians, and Hungarians to become naturalized in order that they might acquire the right to

vote. At the same time that it was assisting them to get the ballot, it was industriously consolidating them as a political factor in favor of its own objects. This is made very clear in a speech of Mr. J. B. Mayer, President of the Pennsylvania Alliance, published in the Official Bulletin for June, 1915, on page 2. The purpose of this work is further revealed in the bitter opposition of the organization and of the German language press to the proposed Young amendment to the New York Constitution. This amendment, introduced in the Constitutional Convention at Albany in August, 1915, provided that after January 1, 1918, no person who was unable to read and write the English language should receive the suffrage. The New York Staats-Zeitung—a paper which has been most disloyal to the ideals of America—denounced the amendment as "a pro-british propaganda, which will not cease with the end of the war, but will then rather begin its widest activity. It affects primarily us Americans of German blood, who in this war will also be left to their own resources. The race war which we upon the soil of our America will have to go through will be our world war." This newspaper was undoubtedly correct in proclaiming as the slogan of the National German-American Alliance and of other German-American organizations, the words "German, German to the marrow."

Professor Julius Goebel, who up to the present time has always been one of the honored leaders and spokesmen of the Alliance, set forth his views of assimilation in an address to the New York City Branch on May 27, 1912. He said:

> A few years ago there appeared, under the title the "Melting Pot," a drama in which the author, a well-known Zionist, Israel Zangwill, announced as the final conclusion of all wisdom, that America was the great Melting Pot in which the different races and Nationalities with everything that distinguished them—their languages, their inheritances, their views, and their customs—would be thrown in order that in that Melting Pot they should be transformed into "Americans." For us German-Americans this preachment of this play denotes a mixture of empty phrase and unhistorical thinking. It represents the very opposite of what we are striving for, and this ideal of the Melting Pot must be opposed and defeated by us the more decisively the more enthusiastically it is taken up by the thoughtless rabble. * * * We do not need to permit ourselves to be remolded and transformed into "Americans," but we are Americans in a political sense, and in that sense alone, when we take our oath of allegiance and unite ourselves to the great body of our German-American racial kin. * * *
>
> Thanks to German resistance, the Roman Empire perished under the hallucination that it could suppress or even annihilate the individuality and the peculiar life of different races in order to subject them to the yoke of a common language as of a common state and political organization. The open or concealed attempt to submerge our German racial individuality—that is, our speech, our customs, and conceptions—in the slop kitchen of a national Melting Pot has its origin in the same hallucination and will also, though it may be in a different manner, be bitterly avenged.

This speech, together with a number of other speeches and essays by Professor Goebel, was published in book form in Germany in the year 1914, under the title "The Battle for German Kultur in America." The volume is dedicated to the President of the National German-American Alliance, and the work and objects of the Alliance are described in great detail. This book undoubtedly contributed its part toward the mistaken impression that prevailed in official circles in Germany, i. e., that the United State was powerless to take any effective stand against German aggressions on account of the large population of German origin whose allegiance was primarily to Germany rather than to the United States.

On September 15, 1915, Dr. Hexamer sent an appeal to all the State Alliances, urging them to get their members to protest against any investment in the loan of the allies. They were urged to interrogate their banks as to whether they contemplated buying any of the allied bonds and to threaten their banks with a withdrawal of deposits if the answer was unsatisfactory. The National Alliance itself set the example by addressing such a communication to the banks in which it kept its deposits. According to the Official Bulletin for October, 1915, page 2, The Merchants-Mechanics National Bank of Baltimore gave an evasive answer to the questionaire and the funds of the alliance were immediately withdrawn from that institution. The same number of the Official Bulletin, on page 38, records that the Executive Committee of the Delaware State Alliance received a letter from Dr. Hexamer warning them of the dangers to be apprehended from investments in the bonds of the allies. In the same letter, however, according to the Official Bulletin, the German War Loan was recommended as a safe investment.

The officers of the alliance have denied its connection in any way with disloyal organizations. The Official Bulletin itself is authority for the statement that the work of the American Embargo Conference and of the American Truth Society were officially recommended to the membership of the organization. The American Truth Society numbered among its trustees leaders of the National German-American Alliance—Bernard H. Ridder, of the New York Staats-Zeitung, Rev. G. C. Berkeneier, and Rev. Wm. Popcke. The magazine known as the Fatherland was officially recommended to the membership of the National German-American Alliance through the pages of the Official Bulletin. It was further recommended by a signed statement from Mr. Hexamer, as President of the National Alliance. The organization known as the Teutonic Sons of America was formed by the leaders of the Branch Alliances of Detroit, Buffalo, and Toledo, operating in conjunction with Albert Kaltschmidt and Gustave H. Jacobsen. The two last named have been convicted of conspiracy and are serving sentences in Federal penitentiaries.

The tendency of the activities of the Alliance is well illustrated in the utterances of its officers as published in the Official Bulletin. At the celebration of the tenth anniversary of the organization of the Akron Branch, held on October 31, 1915, Mr. John Schwaab, of Cincinnati, president of the Ohio Alliance and fifth vice president of the National German-American Alliance, expressed in his speech the following patriotic sentiments:

> If we are shaking the edifice of this great Republic, as we have been accused of doing, then our countrymen should mark well that the German tears down only when he expects to erect something better in its place. I read no English newspapers at present as a matter of principle. I do not wish to allow the grewsome lies which they print to rob me of my sleep. When we emerge victorious from this war, we shall continue to be hated for 50 years to come.

According to the Official Bulletin, the audience, made up of Germans, Austrians, and Hungarians, which packed the hall, "received Mr. Schwaab's brilliant address with frantic applause."

When the resumption of submarine warfare finally forced the United States to break off diplomatic relations with Germany, the

Official Bulletin took the pains to reprint the following defense of Germany's course from the pen of Prof. John A. Walz:

It is almost pathetic to see the German statesman plead with the administration in Washington to have some regard for the fact that the German people are in a life and death struggle with greatly superior enemies. But the administration saw things in its own way, and the American people will stand behind the President, for in foreign relations we are a limited autocracy, not a democracy.

We shall fight Germany because Germany is using the only method and weapons she has to prevent England from starving German women and children. We do not say this, nor do we admit it, but that is the rock bottom of reality. No advantage, moral or material, can come from it to America or to the world. There seems to be a fatality about this war that it seizes nation after nation, apparently against their will. There are millions of good Americans to whom this war will bring nothing but unspeakable sorrow.

But nowhere in that number of the Official Bulletin, nor in the April or May numbers, is there a single word in vindication of American policy or even in explanation of America's course in breaking off relations and finally declaring war.

The propaganda for the unity of the German element which the alliance carried on prior to the declaration of war by the United States on April 6, 1917, was continued even after that event. Perhaps the most amazing manifestation of this propaganda is contained in the circular which the National Alliance urged all its subsidiary organizations to send to their members. This circular contained among others, this amazing statement (9 Official Bulletin No. 5, p. 8):

For the rest, we citizens of German descent and subjects of the German Empire must in the future also hold together closely and intimately for common protection and mutual comfort.

The National German-American Alliance apparently set out to perpetuate, during the period of our national peril, the racial cleavage which it had created during the years preceding the war. Instead of summoning those of German descent to join with all other citizens in the defense of those things which we hold dear, it urged them to "hold together closely and intimately" with the subjects of the German Empire, the enemies of our country. One may well ask what need there might be for citizens of German descent to ally themselves with the subjects of our enemy "for common protection," and also now any true American could find any common ground for mutual comfort with the enemies of our country. Can it be that those things which would have afforded satisfaction and comfort to the subjects of Germany, such as the sinking of our transports, the defeat of American armies and of the armies of our allies, and the slaughter of American soldiers would also afford satisfaction and comfort to the members of the National German-American Alliance?

Rev. S. G. Von Bosse seeks unctuously to explain the poem entitled "Enough," which appeared in the September, 1917, number of the Official Bulletin of his organization. In a welter of piety he describes it as an appeal for sympathy. The words of the poem themselves do not permit this interpretation. It is not an appeal for sympathy, but a trumpet call to treason. For carrying into practice the very ideas expressed in this poem, Capt. Henges was court-martialed and sentenced to Leavenworth prison.

Throughout the hearings the officers of the National German-American Alliance have sought to identify themselves with the great element in our population which is of German origin. They have

sought to ward off the attacks made upon them for their own misdeeds by pretending that those attacks were aimed at our loyal citizens of German descent. This attitude of the officers of the National German-American Alliance is as cowardly as it is contemptible. They do not represent, and never have represented, the great element in our country which is of German blood. They represent and have represented no one but themselves and a small coterie of noisy propagandists who were more interested in Germanism than in Americanism. The overwhelming majority of our citizens of German descent are absolutely and unqualifiedly loyal to this country, its ideals and institutions, and their sons are to-day fighting our battles. The cloud which the alliance and its leaders have so insidiously sought to place on these loyals citizens must be swept aside and the stigma placed where it alone belongs—upon the National German-American Alliance and those responsible for its disloyal and disgraceful career.

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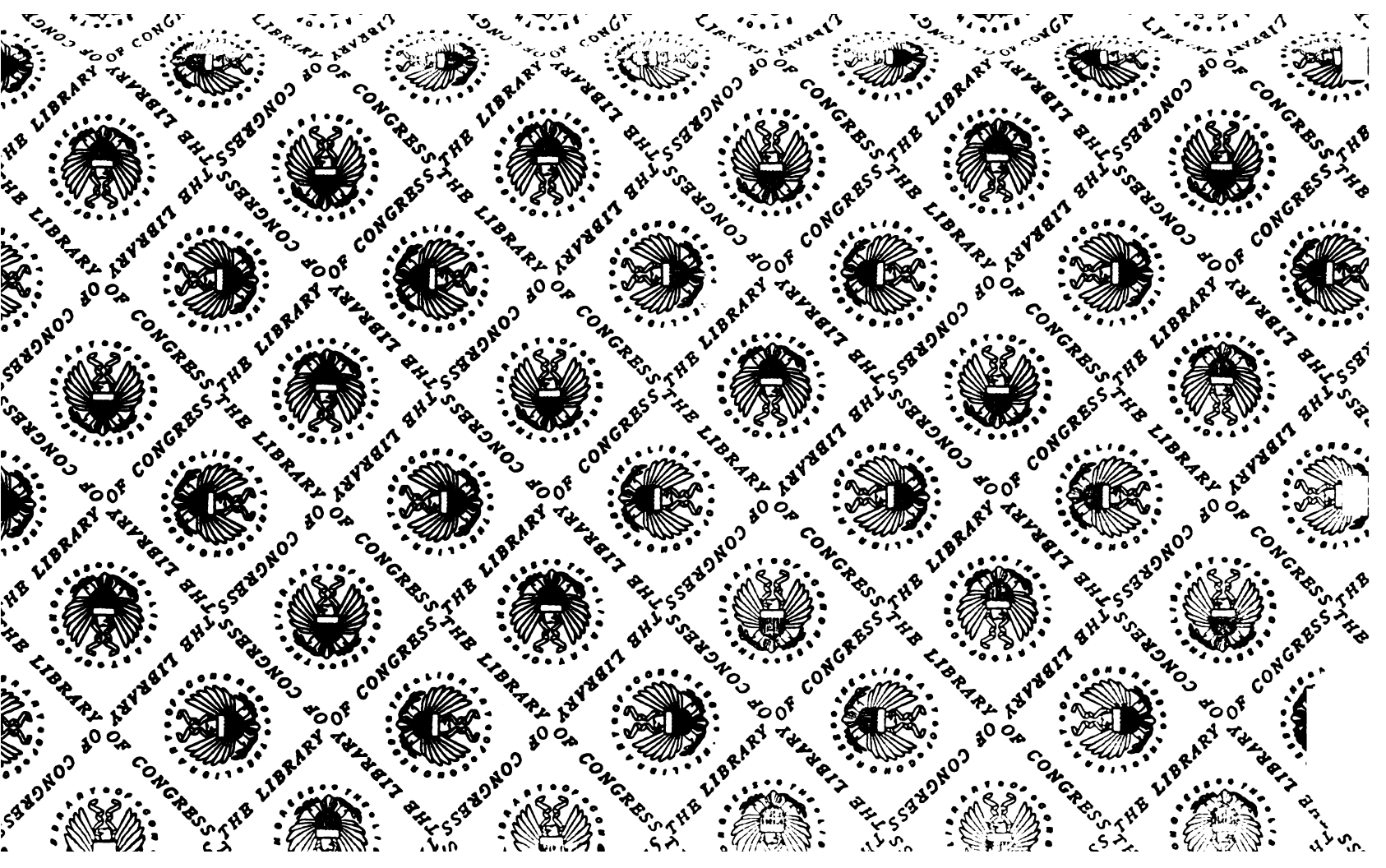
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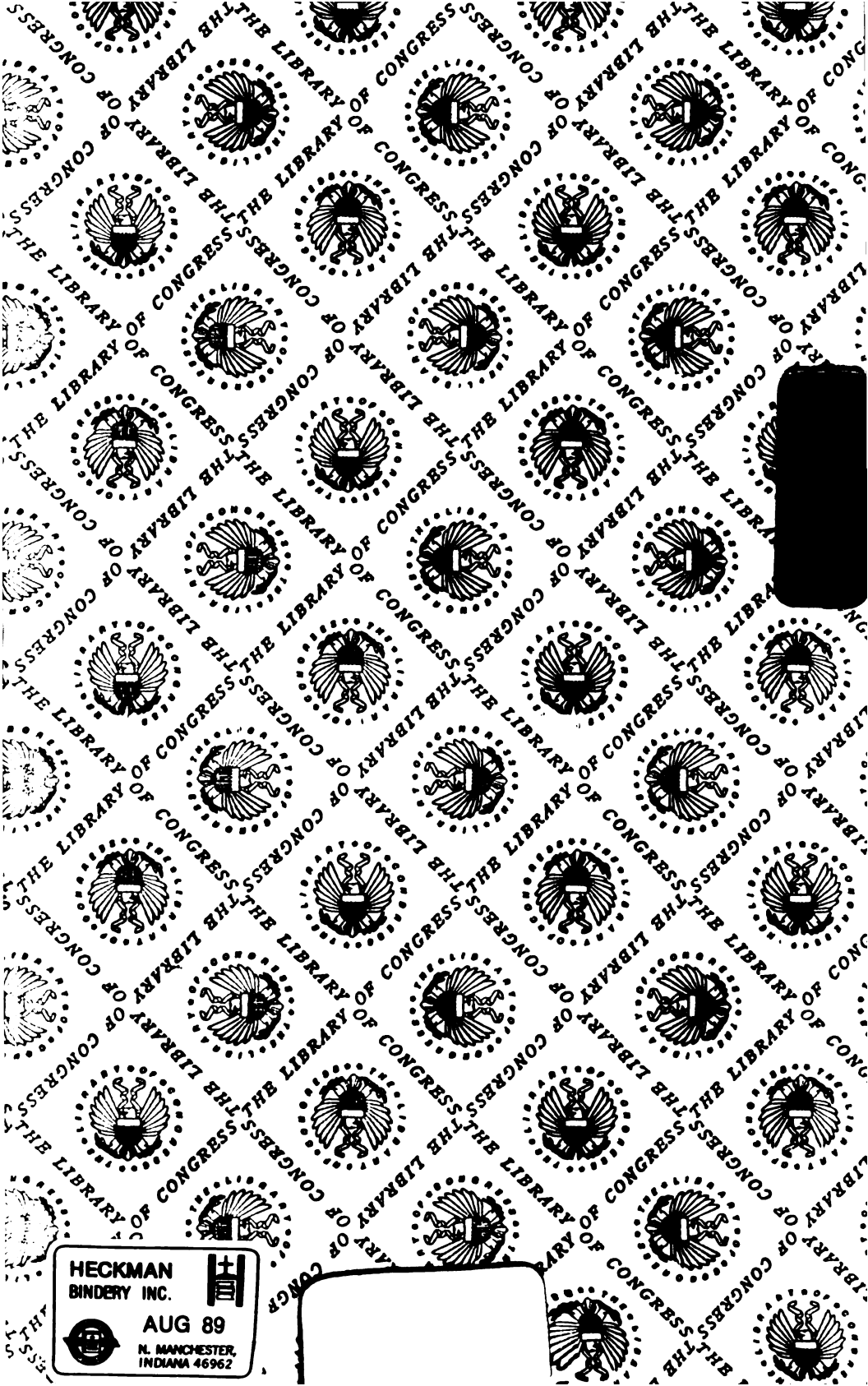

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